

BRILL'S STUDIES IN INTELLECTUAL HISTORY

General Editor

A.J. VANDERJAGT, University of Groningen

Editorial Board

M. COLISH, Oberlin College

J.I. ISRAEL, University College, London

J.D. NORTH, University of Groningen

H.A. OBERMAN, University of Arizona, Tucson

R.H. POPKIN, Washington University, St. Louis-UCLA

VOLUME 83



MAGIC AND DIVINATION AT THE COURTS OF BURGUNDY AND FRANCE

Text and Context of Laurens Pignon's
Contre les devineurs
(1411)

BY

JAN R. VEENSTRA



BRILL
LEIDEN · NEW YORK · KÖLN
1998

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is also available.

Die Deutsche Bibliothek - CIP-Einheitsaufnahme

Veenstra, Jan R.:

Magic and divination at the courts of Burgundy and France : text and context of Laurens Pignon's *Contre les devineurs* (1411) / by Jan R.

Veenstra. – Leiden ; New York ; Köln : Brill, 1997

(Brill's studies in intellectual history ; Vol. 83)

ISBN 90-04-10925-0

ISSN 0920-8607

ISBN 90 04 10925 0

© Copyright 1998 by Koninklijke Brill, Leiden, The Netherlands

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

*Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910
Danvers MA 01923, USA.
Fees are subject to change.*

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

*Dedicated to the Memory of my Grandfather
Jan Riepke Atsma (1903-1977)*

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	xi
Abbreviations	xiii
Introduction	1
 Chapter 1: THE TREATISE AND ITS AUTHOR	
1.1 The Prologues of <i>Contre les devineurs</i>	7
1.2 Divination and Magic: The Themes of <i>Contre les devineurs</i>	10
1.3 The Rise of Magic and Astrology: The Contexts of <i>Contre les devineurs</i>	21
1.4 Life and Works of Laurens Pignon, OP.	28
1.5 The <i>Chronica compendiosa</i> and the War of 1411	34
1.6 The King and the Evil Spirit	41
 Chapter 2: THE PACT WITH THE ENEMY	
2.1 Motives for Murder	43
2.2 The Devil's Advocate	48
2.3 <i>Epistola ex tenebris infernalibus</i>	50
2.4 The Magic Court	59
2.4.1 The Case of the Apostate Monk and the Tower of Montjay	59
2.4.2 The Case of Two Augustinian Monks	64
2.4.3 Doctor and Sorcerer: The Cases of Jehan de Bar and Arnaud Guillaume	67
2.4.4 July 1403: The Case of Poinson and Briquet	72
2.4.5 Two Secular Trials: The Cases of Margot de La Barre (1390) and Jeanne de Brigue (1391)	77
2.4.6 Magic and Calumny: The Case of Valentina Visconti	81
2.4.7 The Case of the Shroud of Christ	85
2.5 The 'Bal des Ardents' and the Dangers of Pagan Ritual	89
2.6 Conclusion	95
 Chapter 3: HISTORY AND DIVINATION	97
3.1 Simon de Phares: The First Historian of Astrology	98
3.2 History between Sacred and Secular	102
3.2.1 Re-reading the Signs	104
3.2.2 The Eschaton	107
3.3 Signs from Heaven	112

3.4	Astrology, Burgundy, and History	119
3.5	Astrology and the Court of Burgundy	127
3.6	Conclusion	134
Chapter 4: A CRITIQUE OF SUPERSTITION		137
4.1	Censure of Superstition	138
4.1.1	Censure and Lay Instruction in France around 1400	138
4.1.2	The Limits of Lawfulness and Possibility	143
4.1.3	From Pastoral to Inquisitorial Censure	148
4.2	Classifying Superstition: Magic or Astrology	153
4.3	Demons	163
4.3.1	Dualism	163
4.3.2	Naturalisation of the Demonic	166
4.3.3	Demonic Illumination	173
4.4	Dreams	176
4.5	Stars, Causes and Free Will	184
4.5.1	Stellar and Divine Determinism: Augustine, Boethius, and Aquinas	184
4.5.2	Pignon on Causality in CLD	189
4.5.3	Pignon on Causality in CDE	193
4.6	Conclusion	199
RECAPITULATION		201
INTRODUCTION TO THE MANUSCRIPT		
1.	Codicological Observations	207
2.	The Edition	
2.1	Treatment of the Text	208
2.2	Structure	210
3.	History of the Manuscript	211
4.	Pignon as Translator	213
<i>CONTRE LES DEVINEURS</i>		223
Appendix I: THE CONFESSION OF MASTER JEHAN DE BAR		
1.	Introduction	343
2.	Text	351
Appendix II: PROGNOSTICATION ON THE LIFE OF JOHN, DUKE OF BURGUNDY, AND HIS HEIRS BY MASTER ALOFRESIN		
1.	Introduction	357
2.	Text	366

Appendix III: THE TWELVE SIGNS OF THE ZODIAC AND A GAME OF
NUMEROLOGICAL DIVINATION

1. Introduction	373
2. 'Les 12 Signes dou firmament'	375
3. The Text of <i>Les 12 Signes dou firmament</i>	381
4. A Numerological Game	393

Glossary	403
Bibliography	409
Index of Names in CLD	419
Index of Names	421
Index of Subjects and Titles	429

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book could not have been completed without the help of a number of people to whom I am profoundly indebted. These prefatory lines I will use to express my gratitude first and foremost to professor Arjo Vanderjagt and professor Martin Gosman, who have supported and encouraged my work. Professor Gosman supervised my work on the critical edition of the French texts that the reader can find in the second part of this book. His careful reading of the editions and his acute and elucidating criticism have proved a great stimulus. Professor Vanderjagt put me on the track of the Burgundian diplomat and intellectual Laurens Pignon and motivated me to undertake the edition of Pignon's *Contre les devineurs*. His expertise and unremitting support have made this book possible.

Others contributed to this work. I thank professor Alasdair MacDonald and professor John North for reading and correcting the text and for their useful suggestions. Special thanks should also extend to dr Frank Fürbeth with whom I had the opportunity of discussing some of the themes that feature prominently in this book, and who was so kind as to provide me with important source material.

The smaller contributions of a number of esteemed colleagues should not remain unmentioned. Annemarie de Gendt, Lodi Nauta, Lisa van Hijum, Arend Jagersma, and Paul de Laat provided me with valuable information and suggestions at various stages of the work and, of no less merit, on occasion lent me a willing and patient ear. I thank Peter Binkley who as member of the 'Centre for Classical, Oriental, Medieval and Renaissance Studies' (COMERS) of the University of Groningen organised several workgroups, where I was able to present my work and discuss it with some of my colleagues at COMERS. Professor Dick de Boer organised a symposium on lotteries and invited me to present a paper on lot-casting and books of fortune. His initiative proved a source of inspiration for the third appendix.

A number of institutions that enabled me to do my research should be mentioned. The *Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research* (NWO) provided me with a number of grants over the past few years which enabled me to conduct my research in the Royal Library in Brussels and which allowed me to attend several conferences in order to present aspects of my work. The Royal Library in Brussels, The National Library in Paris and the National Library in Madrid enabled me to study sources from their collections. Last, but not least, the Department of Philosophy of the University of Groningen provided me with the facilities to prepare the text of this book for

the printer. Hauke de Vries deserves special thanks for his technical advice and assistance.

A final token of gratitude and appreciation is to my parents, who bore with me and supported me during the writing of this book, and to my close friends Pieter Bas Bouma and Yvonne Tijhuis for the confidence they placed in me.

Jan R. Veenstra
Drachten, September 1997

ABBREVIATIONS

CC	<i>Corpus Christianorum</i>
CDE	Pignon, <i>Traictié de la cause de la diversité des estaz</i>
CLD	Pignon, <i>Contre les devineurs</i>
DBM	Wickersheimer, <i>Dictionnaire biographique des médecins en France au Moyen Age</i>
DCD	Augustine, <i>De civitate Dei</i>
DDC	Augustine, <i>De doctrina Christiana</i>
DDD	Toorn, K. van der, et. al. eds., <i>Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible</i>
DSO	Migne, ed., <i>Dictionnaire des Sciences Occultes</i>
DTC	Vacant and Mangenot, eds., <i>Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique</i>
EJ	<i>Encyclopedia Judaica</i>
Godefroy	F. Godefroy, <i>Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française</i>
HMES	Lynn Thorndike, <i>A History of Magic and Experimental Science</i>
HWDA	Bächtold-Stäubli, ed., <i>Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens</i>
KJV	King James Version of the Bible
Opie	Opie and Tatem, <i>A Dictionary of Superstitions</i>
PG	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i>
PL	<i>Patrologia Latina</i>
RAC	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
SCG	Aquinas, <i>Summa contra gentiles</i>
ST	Aquinas, <i>Summa theologiae</i> ¹
TL	Tobler-Lommatzsch, <i>Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch</i>

¹ The tripartite structure of the articles from the ST is indicated by means of the following abbreviations: (1), (2), (3) etc. refers to the arguments at the beginning of each article; (R) refers to the *responsio* in the middle of each article; and (r1), (r2), (r3) etc. refers to the refutations of the initial arguments at the end of each article.

INTRODUCTION

Men at some time are masters of their fates
(*Julius Caesar* I.2)

The *Traité contre les devineurs* (Brussels, Royal Library, ms. 11216) is part of the vast Burgundian library amassed by four generations of Burgundian dukes. The manuscript is a treatise against the abuses of divination and magic and is dedicated to the second of the Valois dukes of Burgundy Jean Sans-Peur, or, as he is known in English, John the Fearless. The book was written in 1411, in all likelihood by a Dominican friar named Laurens Pignon, who was then the newly appointed father confessor of the count of Charolais, the future Philip the Good. The treatise has never before been edited and survives in only one manuscript copy. The present book offers a critical edition of the treatise and a study of its socio-historical and intellectual context.

When Georges Doutrepoint in *La littérature française à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne*, his comprehensive study of the Burgundian library, drew attention to the treatise, he did so by discussing it in connection with a number of texts that he regarded as the crucial representations of Burgundian literature, such as the *Justification* by Jean Petit, the *Geste des ducs de Bourgogne* or the *Pastoralet*. Doutrepoint placed the treatise in ironical opposition to these Burgundian monuments of literary propaganda that tried to disculpate duke John, who had stooped to political assassination to further his ends. The political adversaries of John the Fearless, no doubt, saw him as the devil's accomplice, and even the duke himself pleaded unaccountability for his crime since, as he said, the devil had put him up to it. 'Il méritait bien qu'un auteur, qui se dit «son humble et dévot subject et serviteur», lui dédiât un traité exposant dans quelle mesure «le diable peut savoir la disposition et ordonnance et le gouvernement des royaumes des seigneurs temporels, conspirations et traysons, quar de telles choses souvent il se mesle»'.¹ This remarkable relationship between Burgundy and the devil, which Doutrepoint believed the author of *Contre les devineurs* to imply, will be a Leitmotif in the following study.

At first glance the theme of *Contre les devineurs* would appear to be quite extensive. Not only does the treatise censure various superstitions, fortune-telling and different forms of magic that are commonly associated with the lower classes and popular beliefs, but it also criticises the propensity of kings

¹ Georges Doutrepoint, *La littérature française à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne* (Genève 1970), p. 289.

and princes to consult astrologers, diviners and dream-interpreters and in general all those prognosticators, some of them scholars and academics, others mere charlatans, who frequented the courts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This does not mean that the author of *Contre les devineurs* would have been obliged to travel down the various layers of society to collect the materials for his study. Like hot air and other volatile substances, beliefs and practices concerning magic and divination have a tendency to rise rather than move down. Common superstitions and ritual magic are generally regarded as an attribute of popular culture. Its popular adherence never kept it from rising in society and gripping the imagination of more gullible members of the nobility. Sophisticated forms of divination, including astrology, the 'royal science', were almost exclusively found in the higher echelons of society, practised by clerks and scholars, and patronised by nobility and royalty. A careful scrutiny of the courtly environment would, therefore, reveal it to be a most comprehensive microcosm of all the sagacities and follies inherent in the main theme of the treatise.

Contre les devineurs is largely theoretical in nature and is for the greater part a 'translation' or paraphrase of five questions from the *Summa theologiae* (2a2ae.92-96) and three chapters from the *Summa contra gentiles* (III.84-86) both by Thomas Aquinas. Yet the discussion contained in the treatise is fuelled by real events and was intended to instruct and admonish the duke and his court to stay clear of divination and magic. It was written in the very midst of the first stages of the Burgundian-Armagnac conflict from which it takes its cue, and its most immediate field of historical reference is therefore the French-Burgundian court centered in Paris in roughly the period 1380-1411. This period coincides with the reign of Charles the Mad: a disastrous period for France, in which the king's nearest relatives vied with each other for political power, not to mention the contents of the treasury.

This introductory study into the historical and intellectual context of *Contre les devineurs* is divided into four chapters. The first chapter will deal with the author and his treatise and will focus on (1) the over-arching theme of *Contre les devineurs*, namely the concept of *superstitio*, and (2) the motives that caused the composition of the treatise. Two phenomena in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century motivated Pignon to take up his pen: (a) the rise of magic and sorcery; and (b) the rise of divination and astrology. These last two themes are further elaborated in chapters 2 and 3.

The second chapter deals with magic at the courts of France and Burgundy under Charles VI. For the courtiers magic was not merely something they believed in, it was also a political tool for incrimination and calumny. The disastrous reign of Charles VI was marked by scandal and courtly intrigue and this festering environment proved particularly propitious for rumours and accusations of sorcery. It will be demonstrated that the Burgundian court took

an ambivalent attitude towards magic. On the one hand, Philip the Bold was willing to subsidise magicians, apparently wagering on the efficacy of magic; on the other hand, his son John the Fearless did not shrink from denouncing magic and using it as an expedient political means of slandering and accusing his opponents. The Burgundian lawyer Jean Petit will introduce us to the political use of sorcery since his work is a major source for the belief in magic and its incriminating applications in early fifteenth-century France. He will guide us into the bizarre world of courtly magic.

The third chapter deals with divination and astrology in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Astrology was greatly stimulated by the patronage of king Charles V, and astrologers abounded at the courts of Burgundy and France. Divination and astrology did not carry the dark implications of sorcery and *maleficium* (though Pignon on occasion asserted that they did) and their political uses and social applications were, first and foremost, aimed at making sense of history; they were a device for understanding the way of the world in God's greater scheme of things. Thus astrology could legitimate the rule of kings and princes and reveal the true meaning of history. The fifteenth-century astrologer Simon de Phares is a prime exponent of the political use of astrology. Himself a victim of libelous accusations of sorcery, he fights back by writing a *Recueil des plus célèbres astrologues* in his defence in which he argues for the lawful and superior status of his art. The *Recueil* is a major source for the study of court astrology in the later Middle Ages, and hence Simon de Phares will introduce us to the world of court-astrologers and their attempt to read history from the stars.

The fourth chapter will deal with the central theme of *Contre les devineurs*, namely *superstitio*. *Superstitio*, defined in such a way as to encompass all practices and beliefs related to magic and divination, was the subject of a vast theological and philosophical literature that tried to explain the preternatural phenomena inherent in magical practices and in foretelling the future. This literature is essentially divided between a rationalistic approach that tries to explain extraordinary facts from natural causes and a moralistic approach that tries to explain these phenomena in terms of demonic agency. Among scholastic authors such as Pignon a mixture of both approaches is common. The fourth chapter explores moralistic and naturalistic views by means of some of the structurally most important themes of *Contre les devineurs*: demonology and a theory of causality.

The fourth chapter thus concludes the introductory study of Pignon's treatise. The main aim of this study is to elucidate the contents of *Contre les devineurs* by exploring the socio-historical and the intellectual contexts that informed it.

Three appendices have been added after *Contre les devineurs*, containing the editions of a number of short texts that supplement and elucidate the

themes of the treatise and the issues raised in the introductory study. These appendices constitute small dossiers and can be read as separate essays even though they owe their presence in this book to their exemplary nature.

The first appendix contains the confession of a court magician, Jehan de Bar, who was condemned and burned in Paris in 1398. In the introductory study his case is dealt with in relation to the French-Burgundian court and it is specifically relevant to *Contre les devineurs*, since this magician belongs to the group of people that the treatise criticises and of whom the author, Pignon, says that they are not 'digne de vivre'. The presence of Jehan de Bar's confession in this book needs no further justification; its documentary value in relation to the themes of this study is self-evident.

The second appendix contains a political pamphlet in the form of a prognostication on the life of John the Fearless. Though written in the sixteenth century to emulate the emperor Charles V, it sees the emperor as a true son of Burgundy and almost a century after the death of the second Burgundian duke, continues the apologetic literature that Burgundian authors produced to justify Burgundy's aggressive and ambitious power-politics, that reached their first and most famous peak in the assassination of the king's brother Louis d'Orléans in 1407. The prognostication, supposedly written long before the events it 'predicts' by an astrologer named Alofresin, is a perfect example of the political uses of divination, for the text does nothing less than offer a grand justification of Burgundy's place in history. The prognostication of Alofresin, it will be shown, originated in the sixteenth century, perhaps in the former Burgundian lands, but certainly against a background of Burgundian national sentiment, even after the 'state' of Philip the Good and Charles the Bold had collapsed, and the emperor Charles V had become the fulcrum of political hope. Its relation to the themes of *Contre les devineurs* is therefore less direct, but its exemplary nature, reflecting as it does a Burgundian attempt to read its history in the stars, is unmistakable. The prognostication of Alofresin has not been edited before and has earned itself a modest place in secondary literature as a 'horoscope' of John the Fearless. This erroneous interpretation needs correction, for which the present study offers a suitable occasion.

The third appendix, finally, contains two (popular) divinatory texts that may in part, at least, be regarded as representative samples of a literary genre that Laurens Pignon and his fellow moralists abhorred. The first text gives prognostications based on the position of the Moon in relation to the twelve signs of the Zodiac. The second text is a numerological game, that, if it ever was taken seriously, might tell us something about the gullibility of courtiers, and if not, might reveal something about entertainments at court. Both divinatory texts are from the same early fifteenth-century Burgundian manuscript and are therefore not only central to the period, but also to the

courtly environment under consideration. In other words, the texts may have been read and used by the very people Pignon sought to admonish in his treatise.

Pignon's *Contre les devineurs* is a minor treatise on a major theme. It broaches a subject that lies at the heart of civilisation, even at the heart of human nature. It touches on the relation between what we believe and what we do, between the world of ideas and the world of history and contingent reality. People do not always act according to their professed beliefs, but beliefs of one kind or another are indispensable for perceiving some good, the attainment of which, Aristotle argued, every activity has for its object. Magic and divination, the main themes of this study, feature prominently among the perennial beliefs that have motivated mankind in its pursuit of its prime goods: health, good fortune, and knowledge. As systems of belief, magic and divination each held a particular promise; in the case of magic this was control over the fickleness of fortune, in the case of divination intellectual control over the contingencies of life. Censors of superstition would reject these beliefs, which assume the existence of a world of occult powers and an equally mysterious coherence and design of all things, on the grounds that this dream of order was brought about without proper proof and investigation, and, worse, could serve as an alibi for irresponsible behaviour. Magic and divination were seen to challenge both reason and morality.

On the whole the monotheist religions, though they adopt their own version of a Grand Design and contain a fair amount of what we call magic, experienced magic and divination as a threat. For Christianity in particular, the world's fortunes and future are at God's disposal, not man's. Despite their deep roots in Christianity, magic and divination in the Middle Ages posed two serious problems: (1) magic claimed to solicit powers that are appropriated to God alone; (2) the truth of divination required the immutability of the course of history: the rationale of precognition is predetermination. Hence the Biblical counterparts of magic and divination, miracle and prophecy, were preferably regarded as divine interventions in worldly affairs, rather than man's meddling in matters divine. But whereas magic could be rejected on the grounds of human presumption, the determinist danger of divination was strengthened by the doctrine of God's omnipotence. If God is all-powerful, how is it possible that His foreknowledge (the fruit of His omniscience) does not bring about the future of necessity. It was by emphasising man's free will and responsibility and divine justice that determinism was assuaged to the point of harmlessness; but the belief that history has a pattern and a purpose (even though it is not rigidly deterministic) remained close to the heart of medieval Christendom.

Pignon's emphatic plea for man's freedom and responsibility and his vehement rejection of determinism never made him question the idea of a

greater scheme of things. In a sense, as we will argue in chapter three, Pignon adheres to a historicism that is very similar to that of the astrologers and diviners that he opposes. Modern minds will no longer accept medieval ideas on the design of history and they will be more sensitive to the frictions between a belief in man's freedom and a belief in God's omnipotence, but belief in the ineluctable patterns of history and the need to reassert man's responsibility and free choice are forever with us. In expounding the vices of modern historicisms, Karl Popper consciously expressed himself in phrases that echo the tradition of criticism of which Pignon is a minor representative. His words may serve as a motto for this book.

Historicism tries to shift our responsibility on to history, and thereby on to the play of demoniac powers beyond ourselves; it tries to base our actions upon the hidden intentions of these powers, which can be revealed to us only in mystical inspirations and intuitions; and thus it puts our actions and ourselves on the moral level of a man who, inspired by horoscopes and dreams, choses his lucky number in a lottery. Like gambling, historicism is born of our despair in the rationality and responsibility of our actions. Religion should not be a substitute for dreams and wishfulfilment; it should resemble neither the holding of a ticket in a lottery, nor the holding of a policy in an insurance company. The historicist element in religion is an element of idolatry, of superstition.²

² K. R. Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies* (London 1969), vol. 2, p. 279.

THE TREATISE AND ITS AUTHOR

(The Tempest V.1)

This Biblical example of a king who came to ruin because he availed himself of the services of a soothsayer is brought to mind in the second chapter of the third part of the *Traitié contre les devineurs* as part of a warning. If lords and princes, the author, Laurens Pignon, says, remain faithful to God and take heed not to involve themselves with sorcerers, charmers and diviners, God will allow them to prosper. If, however, they should choose to indulge in these vile matters, God will abandon them. The consequences of such an abandonment are not to be taken lightly. They will lose their sense and reason, their authority and lordship will perish, their realm will be lost to their enemies, and finally they will, body and soul, be cast into eternal perdition. 'J'en apele tesmoing experance', Pignon adds, 'qui est de present en ce royaume en l'an ou nous sommes mil .cccc. et .xi. et desja a duré plusieurs annees precedans, ne la fin n'est encore prochaine'. This note is of great importance since it provides us not only with a date for the treatise, 1411, but also with a direct occasion for its composition. Unfortunately the text does not explicitly state what grave events took place in the years leading up to 1411 that could serve as an illustration of Biblical truth. We only learn that these ominous events were caused by bad government, injustice, covetousness and excessive ambition which resulted in tyranny, apostasy and negligence regarding the true faith, 'dont nous sommes doleureusement pugni et en peril de perdicion et destruction totale'. What

¹ I Sam. 28:6.

were these events that lead to such a dangerous predicament? What lord or prince had involved himself with soothsayers?

The answer, it would seem, is provided by the opening of the book, for the treatise is dedicated to John the Fearless, the second of the Valois dukes of Burgundy. In two prologues, Pignon, the author, provides his readers with a justification and a program for his treatise. Having noticed how the doctrines and the teachings of the true faith have been jeopardised by the enormous and superstitious claims of diviners who call themselves 'astronomers' and assert that celestial motion and stellar influence determine people's fortunes and choices, Pignon found the time had come to write a serious admonishment against the errors of these people. They claim to know secrets that cannot be known in any natural way, they claim to be able to predict a person's fortunes from his nativity horoscope; furthermore they claim that the science of the stars enables them to choose propitious days for commerce, the affairs of state and in general all enterprises a person may embark on in his lifetime. Though the influence of the stars and the heavens on the hustle and bustle of this world is an accepted truth for medieval man in general, this influence, religious authorities felt, should never be sought beyond material and temporal affairs. For applied to man's will and freedom of choice, this influence would open the door to a rigid determinism in which, according to the mechanics of the universe, good and evil actions have celestial causes and God's justice in reward and punishment would be irreparably compromised. One feels as one leafs through the pages of the treatise, that the remnant of concealed or overt paganism in the many sometimes archaic forms of divination and ritual magic which Pignon discusses, provided enough of an outrage for him to write his invective.

In the second prologue he briefly summarises his reasons for writing the treatise. The first is that many lords and princes and people of high rank have lent their ears to diviners and given them audience. The second reason is the apparently alarming popularity of prognostications that circulated in little scrolls of which Pignon has intercepted one and the contents of which he discloses in his treatise to prove how foolish and cryptic these prognostications are. The third reason Pignon brings forward, is the hatred and resentment of the diviners and their adherents *vis-à-vis* the clergy. From his own experience Pignon mentions one example of a rather violent discussion in which an astrologer defended his science against the allegations of the clergy. Public preaching against these superstitions, we learn, was not uncommon, and neither were restrictive measures against diviners that followed afterwards. In the sermons of Jean Gerson, the greatest theologian and preacher in the early fifteenth century, several instances can be found in which he

censures popular and courtly interest in magic, divination and sorcery.² From the first prologue we learn that Pignon himself has on several occasions preached on this very subject in the presence of his lord, the duke of Burgundy. And since he sees it as his duty to preach the truth, he has deemed it necessary to write his treatise, not to disclose his own ideas or sentiments, but simply to explain and translate,³ from Latin to French, the arguments and admonishments of the Bible, the Fathers, and ecclesiastical authorities. He does not mention these authorities, but, as the reader may verify from the text and the commentary to the edition below, the greater part of the treatise is a vernacularisation of a number of questions from the *Summa theologiae* by Thomas Aquinas. The author humbly begs his lord to have his counsellors examine the fruit of his efforts, so that the duke may be assured of its orthodoxy and may take heed not to involve himself with diviners or suffer them to lodge in his house, for not only a prince but also his officers and servants should be good and faithful Christians.

The warning is clear enough, though Pignon takes care not to implicate his lord too explicitly in any magical or divinatory practice. The prognostication, for instance, that he includes in the second prologue is in no way linked to the duke, and any reference to potential malpractices on the part of John the Fearless are oblique, to say the least. Still, the above mentioned passage in the third part of the treatise makes it unmistakably clear that recent events had taken a turn for the worse and become serious enough to parallel Saul's trespass and inevitable doom. The comparison with Saul is ominous with regard to the personal history of John the Fearless, who was killed in 1419, but unfortunately it is not unique. Other authors⁴ had used the same text to rebuke their kings and princes for their interest in prophecy, necromancy and soothsaying. These admonishments clearly testify to an increasing interest in divination, but texts such as *Contre les devineurs* are more than

² See, e.g., his sermons *Vade in domum* (Oct. 21, 1397), in: Jean Gerson, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Mgr. Glorieux, 10 vols. (Paris 1960-1973), vol. 5, pp. 563-583, esp. p. 572; *En la fête de la Toussaint* (Nov. 1, 1391?), in: *Œuvres complètes*, vol. 7(2), pp. 992-1005, esp. p. 1001; and *Pour la réforme du Royaume (Vivat Rex)* (Nov. 7, 1405), in: *Œuvres complètes*, vol. 7(2), pp. 1137-1185, esp. pp. 1183-1184.

³ On Pignon's status as translator, see 'Introduction to the manuscript', pp. 213-222 below.

⁴ A famous example, and no doubt a model for many others, is John of Salisbury, *Policraticus* II.27. Hilary Cary, *Courting Disaster: Astrology at the English Court and University in the Later Middle Ages* (London 1992), p. 93 and p. 195, n. 4, gives a few additional examples from English sources. Throughout the present study the following editions of the *Policraticus* were used: John of Salisbury, *Policratici sive de nugis curialium et vestigiis philosophorum libri VIII*, ed. C. C. I. Webb, 2 vols. (Frankfurt a. M. 1965); and John of Salisbury, *Frivolities of Courtiers and Footprints of Philosophers; Being a Translation of the First, Second, and Third Books and Selections from the Seventh and Eighth Books of the 'Policraticus'*, transl. Joseph B. Pike (New York 1972).

mere censures of royal curiosity regarding the future. They address a variety of themes ranging from ritual magic to astrology, and they may either take the form of moralistic attacks on superstition or philosophical criticism of complex divinatory techniques such as geomancy and judicial astrology. In addition to this a number of these texts owe their existence to social and cultural pressures that are not limited to courtly dabblings in the occult, and have, be it sometimes on a modest scale, made a contribution to the theological reflection on superstition, magic and demonology. This theological interest was slowly but decisively (such is the advantage of historical hindsight) moving in the direction of that great demonological obsession known as the great witch-craze. In many ways *Contre les devineurs* is a case in point. Though essentially a moralistic treatise, complete with an Augustinian demonology, it flirts (in its choice of sections from the work of Aquinas) with a philosophical critique of astrology, providing brief discussions of causality and free will. Moreover, Pignon claims to have written his treatise as a reaction against an increase in occult interests. It will be clear that for a proper appreciation of the theme of the treatise and its relevance a close examination of its context must be made. This contextualisation is the purpose of this introductory study.

The disastrous events leading up to 1411 will presently be the focus of our attention, but before we can return to these events to which the author claims to have been a witness, we must concern ourselves with him, and, prior to this, with the main themes of his treatise.

1.2 *Divination and Magic: The Themes of Contre les devineurs*

The critique of divination may be as old as the art itself, but it has been part of intellectual culture at least since classical Antiquity. The surviving records of the ancient world testify to the enormous importance of omens, auguries and the science of astrology. Cicero explained that he knew of no people whether civilised or barbaric who did not believe in the bestowal of signs of future events or in the ability of certain privileged individuals to interpret those signs.⁵ Nevertheless, universal belief does not make universal truth, and Cicero's dialogue *De divinatione* is one of the most important statements of scepticism concerning divination surviving from Antiquity. Cicero essentially mediated a number of critical reservations of a Greek predecessor, Carneades, and would pass on to the Middle Ages, mainly via the works of

⁵ Cicero, *De divinatione* I.1, transl. W. A. Falconer, Loeb Classical Library, Cicero vol. 20 (London/Cambridge, Mass. 1992).

Augustine,⁶ a number of critical arguments against astrology and divination to oppose the difficulties that the prevailing philosophical justification of these arts in terms of the prevailing world view (a Stoic one for Cicero; a Christian one in the Middle Ages) posed. These arguments mainly revolved around one central issue, namely the problem of free will and responsibility as opposed to astrological fatalism. Not only the critique of astrology, but also the craft itself had a strong tradition and was favoured by great proponents.

In late Antiquity and the Arabic world the authorities of Ptolemy and Albumasar amongst many others firmly established astrology as a science, and in the Latin West Aristotelian physics (especially the doctrine of efficient causation) made astrology an indispensable asset of the scholastic world view. Though at the same time also critical literature regarding divination and astrology came to full bloom with at its centre the same age-old arguments, there was no one in the Middle Ages who doubted the major premiss, namely that of stellar influence on the world.⁷ The critique of astrology essentially toned down the sharp edges of celestial influence by confining it to the physical frame of the world, thus safeguarding the human soul from causal determinism and keeping moral responsibility and divine justice in reward and punishment inviolate. This restriction still left astrology with a vast array of possible applications, though it did prohibit all astrological attempts to predict events that were somehow tied up with free choice. Free choice, in order to be free, cannot be subject to natural causation, which also means that it cannot be foreknown. Any attempt to make predictions regarding the affairs of everyday life (people's fortunes and happiness) would presuppose a rigid determinism that swayed both body and soul. Naturally such an error was in desperate need of extirpation, and this, so it would seem, is the main purpose of *Contre les devineurs*.

But how real was the determinist danger? Most medieval practitioners of astrology would agree that the stars incline but do not compel, and among their numbers rank prominent Churchmen like cardinal Pierre d'Ailly (ca. 1350-1420) who besides being a pillar of orthodoxy also drew up a nativity horoscope of Christ and made astrological calculations to determine the end

⁶ Augustine's DCD V is based on a lost section of Cicero's *De fato*. Another important mediator of sceptical arguments was Sextus Empiricus. For a concise survey, see: Theodore O. Wedel, *The Mediaeval Attitude Toward Astrology Particularly in England* (1920, repr. 1968), pp. 6-13.

⁷ See: J. D. North, "Celestial Influence - The Major Premiss of Astrology", in: *Stars, Minds and Fate: Essays in Ancient and Medieval Cosmology* (London 1989), pp. 243-298; Edward Grant, "Medieval and Renaissance Scholastic Conceptions of the Influence of the Celestial Region on the Terrestrial", in: *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 17 (1987), pp. 1-23.

of time.⁸ To his mind astrological prognostications concerning human affairs posed no serious threat to his beliefs nor to man's free prerogative. Celestial influence on a person's body would also extend to a person's senses and appetites and if man is not master of his natural inclinations, the stars will be master of him. His behaviour is a perfectly legitimate object of astrological inquiry. The stars may incline but they never necessitate the will, and no astrologer need resort to such an extreme deterministic creed to justify his art. For the rest, with the general acceptance of the premisses of stellar influence and causation, astrology was virtually ubiquitous.

A few remarks should be made regarding Thomas Aquinas (the main source of *Contre les devineurs*) who did a great deal to harmonise astrology and Christian ethics as part of his larger enterprise of making Aristotle and the Christian faith compatible.⁹ In the writings of Aquinas one can find arguments both in favour of astrology and opposing it. Aquinas the 'Aristotelian astrologer',¹⁰ while discussing the unlawfulness of divination by the stars¹¹ (*divinatio per astra*, something Aquinas preferred to distinguish from *astrologia*), naturally defends any scientific prognostication that predicts an effect from its cause. Only in two domains, namely that of contingency and free will, need the astrologer fear to tread, and even success in those areas can easily be explained in terms of causality: relatively few people are swayed by reason, the greater part by far will follow their physical passions (*passiones corporales*) and be susceptible to celestial influence. Astrological predictions may therefore be true when public events and large groups of people are involved. This is still the voice of Aquinas the Aristotelian, but Aquinas the theologian gives one additional reason why astrologers may be successful and that is through demonic information. Demons (whose foreknowledge, by the way, is also based on knowing what effects will follow from certain causes) may reveal the future to astrologers; and hence fortune-telling always entails the risk of demonic association. Significantly, Aquinas does not expound the matter himself, but simply quotes Augustine.¹² The problem of divination from the stars had nothing to do

⁸ Laura Ackerman Smoller, *History, Prophecy and the Stars: The Christian Astrology of Pierre d'Ailly 1350-1420* (Princeton 1994). See esp. pp. 46-47 on free will. Cf. also chapter 3.2.2, below.

⁹ Cf. the remarks of Jacques Halbronn, "L'itinéraire astrologique de trois Italiens du XIII^e siècle: Pietro d'Abano, Guido Bonatti, Thomas d'Aquin", in: *L'homme et son univers au Moyen Age* (Louvain-la-Neuve 1986), vol. 2, pp. 670-672. For a brief survey of Aquinas's ideas on celestial influence, see: North, "Celestial Influence", pp. 273-278.

¹⁰ North's phrase; "Celestial Influence", p. 277.

¹¹ ST 2a2ae.95.5.

¹² ST 2a2ae.95.5(r2). Cf. the treatment of the same matter in CLD II.2.3. The reference to Augustine refers to *De genesi ad litteram* 2, 17, 37 (PL 34, 278-279).

with the science of astrology, but with the suspicions of demonic interference in those applications of astrology that lacked a proper scientific foundation. Focus thus shifts from astrology to the demonic pact. Despite its introductory remarks about astrologers, *Contre les devineurs* does not oppose the tenets of astrology: its main theme is the association with demons. Following Augustine, Pignon might have called his treatise *De divinatione daemonum*.

In the opening chapters of book I, Pignon gives a general survey of his theme, and he provides a few definitions. Thus he makes the standard distinction between two kinds of astronomy:¹³ the one dealing with celestial motion and the influence of the stars on nature, which allows astronomers to predict storms, famines, pestilences and the like; the other dealing with judicial astrology, i.e. with predicting people's fortunes and unravelling secrets. The former, of course, is legitimate, whereas the latter is not. All contingent events resulting either from the will of God or man, or resulting from multiple causes¹⁴ cannot be the object of scientific astrology and all attempts to predict these are undertaken at the instigation of the devil, who consequently is the main constituent of the definition of divination. All divination aims at acquiring knowledge of hidden and future things that are known only to God through either explicit or implicit invocation of the devil.¹⁵ In the former type of divination, the diviner somehow acquired the help of invisible spiritual powers, whereas the latter consists mainly in the observation of signs, data or objects that are already present. The kinds of divination that involve the explicit invocation of the devil (*cum expressa invocatione daemonum*, in Aquinas's terminology) comprise 'prestige' (*praestigium*, divination from illusory apparitions to sight and hearing), dream-interpreting (the interpreters are called 'songeurs' because they are not only the interpreters but also the recipients of prophetic dreams), necromancy (conjuring up and consulting the dead), 'Pythonic' divination (in which the spirits do not speak through the dead but through the living), geomancy, hydromancy, aeromancy, pyromancy (divination involving the four elements), chiromancy (palmistry) and haruspicy (the examination of the entrails of sacrificial animals).¹⁶ Why a diviner would need demons or spirits to study the lines on one's hands or the entrails of animals is never made clear, and one is tempted to subsume these practices under the second type of divination which does not require express demon-worship. This type comprises judicial

¹³ CLD I.2.

¹⁴ Expounded in CLD II.6.

¹⁵ For this definition, see: CLD I.3. The distinction between an implicit and an explicit pact with the devil derives from Aquinas's ST.

¹⁶ CLD I.3.

astrology and the study of horoscopes, the interpretation of certain signs and omens (such as the flight and song of birds, the movements of animals, or even simply sneezing), the selection of propitious days, the study of physical proportions (physiognomy) and the drawing or casting of lots.¹⁷ As will be clear by now, judicial astrology is but one of many forms of divination. And the subject matter of *Contre les devineurs* extends even further, for it also includes magic.

Pignon introduces the slightly misleading term 'sortilege', which suggests lot-casting, but from his discussion of the topic it shows 'sortilege' has nothing to do with *sortes*, but should be interpreted as sorcery.¹⁸ Sorcery or magic does not primarily belong to the same category as divination. It does not aim at foreknowing the future, but at procuring prosperity, at curing and warding off disease, bad luck, or any other catastrophe. There is, naturally, some measure of fortune-telling involved in it as well as belief in omens and propitious days (trying to prevent or remedy misfortune is often linked to foreknowing it), but on the whole sorcery deals with the application of magical devices in practical rituals that try to accomplish or establish something. *Contre les devineurs* mentions the use of stones, words and herbs, the ritual uses of certain prayers to cure diseases, the observance of omens and propitious days to prevent misfortunes, and, most sinister of all, the cultivation of private demons. It is in this context that the author speaks of witches ('vieilles sorcieres') and their illusory transvections, thus placing himself among the precursors (though he is only a minor one) of the great witch-craze. The subject matter which thus extends not merely beyond the bounds of astrology and divination, but even slightly beyond the bounds of magic,¹⁹ still retains its unity through the central theme around which everything revolves: the pact with the devil.

It is clear that the historical line that connects *Contre les devineurs* to the earlier-mentioned *De divinatione* by Cicero is very thin. Apart from a common theme and the free will argument couched in a discussion of causality, there is very little the two have in common. Certainly the religious, but also the philosophical world of *Contre les devineurs* is radically different from Cicero's. Nevertheless the two texts share a few properties that are of immense importance from a methodological point of view and that validate a brief comparison. These properties concern the referential domain of the

¹⁷ CLD I.4 and 5.

¹⁸ See CLD I.6, note 78.

¹⁹ Norman Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons: An Enquiry Inspired by the Great Witch-Hunt* (London 1975), makes a strong plea to distinguish magic from witchcraft. Whereas the former is ubiquitous in the Middle Ages, witchcraft was essentially based on the mythology of the witches' sabbath and the devil's pact, which did not gain prominence until the later Middle Ages.

text, i.e. the way they relate to other texts and the way they relate to their socio-historical context.

It has been pointed out that Cicero's dialogue, rather than reflecting divinatory practices and problems of Rome under Julius Caesar (*De divinatione* was written in 45 BC), introduced a new concept in Roman literature (the term *divinatio* as an abstract noun was possibly used for the first time by Cicero).²⁰ The theme and arguments of *De divinatione* are a re-elaboration of a specifically Greek debate that was now adapted for a Roman audience. It made ample use of the documentary resources of Roman divination but, no doubt, rearranged the material, so as to cause serious shifts in meaning. Divination in Cicero's dialogue, e.g., essentially means 'prophecy', i.e. the possibility of formulating propositions about the future. This, however, was neither the sole nor the prime purpose of actual Roman divination, which was steeped in religious ritual and was essentially concerned with the skill to perform the proper rituals that might avert impending disasters. The interpretation of auguries and omens as a means of knowing the future, came second.²¹ Cicero's dialogue is, therefore, less reliable as a source for actual Roman divination than might appear at first sight. As a text it is more concerned with other texts than with reality. The surviving books of the historian Livy,²² for instance, are by contrast deemed more reliable for the wealth of details they furnish and because they do not seek to emulate Greek philosophical discourse.

The case of *Contre les devineurs* is much the same. Though it is not the first treatise to deal with divination, it is among the first to deal with it in French. It translates fairly traditional material and tries to adapt it to the interests and the tastes of a French-Burgundian court audience. The discrepancy with reality is equally blatant. An illustrative example may be the set of four kinds of divination involving the four elements that we encountered earlier: geomancy, hydromancy, aeromancy and pyromancy. Their presence in *Contre les devineurs* derives from the *Summa theologiae* by Thomas Aquinas²³ who may have derived the list from the *Decretum Gratiani*²⁴ or from the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville.²⁵ The ultimate source was a text by the Roman antiquarian Varro, so that, consequently, no one in the Middle

²⁰ John North, "Diviners and Divination at Rome", in: Mary Beard and John North, eds., *Pagan Priests: Religion and Power in the Ancient World* (London 1990), p. 57.

²¹ North, "Diviners", pp. 55, 61.

²² North, "Diviners", p. 51.

²³ ST 2a2ae.95.3(R).

²⁴ *Decretum* II.26.3+4.1 (PL 187, 1342-1343).

²⁵ Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* VIII.9 (PL 82, 310-314).

Agnes knew how these forms of divination were practised.²⁶ The transmission of these names is a purely literary phenomenon and has no bearing on medieval realities. What holds for these four types of divination by extension proves to be true of the entire genre to which *Contre les devineurs* belongs. As Dieter Harmening²⁷ has shown in a comprehensive study of the medieval ecclesiastical-theological literature opposing superstition, the material is exceedingly traditional, which is not only true for the kinds of magic and divination under discussion, but also for the theological framework in terms of which these forbidden practices were discussed.

One of the most important theoretical frameworks by far was the one developed by Thomas Aquinas in ST 2a2ae.92-96. It was copied in *Contre les devineurs* and served as a model for several other treatises on magic and superstition. Since it is of vital importance for the meaning and structure of *Contre les devineurs*, we must briefly summarise Aquinas's argument.

The conglomerate of divination and magic, which he labels superstition, is dealt with by Thomas entirely in terms of religious worship. The worship of the one true God is his theological point of departure. Like evil, superstition is not a thing in itself, but a *privatio boni*, a corruption of the virtue of religion. Worship may be corrupted in two ways: either with respect to its object or with respect to its mode, which means one can either deflect the worship one owes to God and direct it at some created being, or one may worship God in an improper and unfitting way. This is Aquinas's definition of superstition; it is the vice that corrupts the virtue of religion either through idolatry (worshipping the wrong object) or through what Aquinas calls an *indebitus cultus* (improper mode of worship).²⁸

From the treatment of the *superstitio indebiti cultus*²⁹ it becomes clear that undue worship partly concerns the Old Law which, though it takes up a substantial part of Holy Scripture, is believed to be no longer relevant for Christianity. Aquinas explains that undue worship either concerns the misrepresentation of divine reality, or unauthorised worshippers. As an instance of the former Aquinas mentions the Old Law. Its main task is to foreshadow the *mysteria Christi*, but now that Christ has come and fulfilled the Law, observance of the Old Law is superfluous and anachronistic. As an instance of the latter Aquinas points out that ministers must be authorised

²⁶ Dieter Harmening, *Superstitio: Überlieferungs- und theoriegeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur kirchlich-theologische Aberglaubensliteratur des Mittelalters* (Berlin 1979), pp. 214-215.

²⁷ Harmening, *Superstitio*, p. 72: 'Denn damit ist ein wichtiger Aspekt der kirchlichen Superstitutionsliteratur sichtbar gemacht: Sie bildet aufs Ganze gesehen, keine Wirklichkeit ab, sondern tradiert und überträgt'.

²⁸ ST 2a2ae.92.1(R).

²⁹ ST 2a2ae.93.1; CLD II.1.4.

by the Church; no one may conduct religious worship and rituals without proper authorisation. It will be noticed that apart from irregularities in Christian worship the *superstitio indebiti cultus* also encompasses Judaism. From a Christian point of view the Jews still lived according to the Old Law. By regarding their religion as undue worship it was not associated with idolatry, divination and magic and hence not with the devil's pact. Despite the frequent outbursts of violent antisemitism, the Jews were never persecuted as witches.³⁰ Significantly, the type of the witch or sorcerer is absent from Jewish religion itself, even despite its great tradition in magic. The reason for this may be that Satan had never materialised significantly enough to be a partner in the infernal coalition that so exercised the minds of theologians and inquisitors.³¹

Next to undue worship, Aquinas distinguishes misdirected worship: worship not given to God but to His creation. This type of superstition can be subdivided into three subspecies according to the three different ends of divine worship, which entail: (1) the reverence one gives to God; (2) the instruction one receives from God; and (3) directions one receives from God regarding one's behaviour and actions. The corruption of these ends produces: (1) revering idols; (2) making a pact with demons to acquire knowledge (divination); and (3) following superstitious observances.³² The following outline with the sections from Aquinas's *Summa* and the corresponding sections from *Contre les devineurs* may be useful. *Superstitio* (ST 2a2ae.92) has two genera of which the second can be distinguished in three species:

Superstitio:

1. *superstitio indebiti cultus* (ST 2a2ae.93; CLD II.1)
2. a. *superstitio idololatriae* (ST 2a2ae.94; CLD II.1)
- b. *superstitio divinationum* (ST 2a2ae.95; CLD I.3, I.4, I.5, II.2)
- c. *superstitio observationum* (ST 2a2ae.96; CLD II.3)

The different forms of divination that we discussed earlier are subdivisions of 2b, and the earlier mentioned magical practices (what in *Contre les devineurs* is called 'sortilege') fall under 2c. Though in Aquinas's classifica-

³⁰ Antisemitic sentiments, of course, did merge with the ideology of the witchcraft-delusion, as, e.g., the term 'witches' sabbath' clearly shows, but on the whole the persecution-ideologies regarding Jews and witches followed separate paths. Witches, for instance, were never accused of stabbing or crucifying the consecrated host or of poisoning wells. See: J. B. Russell, *Witchcraft in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca/London 1972), pp. 167-168.

³¹ Joshua Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk Religion* (New York 1970), pp. 15 ff.: 'Jews were *ab initio* excluded from the medieval fraternity of sorcerers and witches'.

³² ST 2a2ae.92.2(R).

tion 'idolatry' is strictly speaking the first species of the second genus, this genus as a whole can, nevertheless, be called idolatry as well. Aquinas does not use this term but his designation of misdirected worship points unambiguously in this direction. We may conclude, therefore, that *superstitio idololatriae* is idolatry in a strict sense involving the actual worship of idols, whereas the genus as a whole is idolatry in a general sense, since the principle of misdirected worship is at the background of all three species. Aquinas makes this clear when he refers to the *superstitio observationum* as a *reliquia idololatriae*.³³ Pignon follows the text from the *Summa* very carefully but makes some changes in the nomenclature. The *superstitio indebiti cultus* and the *superstitio idololatriae* are conflated and all species of superstition are subsumed under the general heading 'divination' rather than *superstitio* (though this word is also frequently used).

The categories that Aquinas develops in these five questions from the *Summa theologiae* form part of a larger discussion of virtues and vices and they clearly articulate non-orthodox forms of religious worship, such as paganism, Judaism and deviant forms of Christianity. Since they are essentially defined negatively in terms of Christian virtues, derived as it were from the proper forms of worship, it is hardly surprising to find in them the reflections of past Christian literature on superstition, rather than a reflection of reality. The several types of *divinatio* that Aquinas discusses (such as divination through demons, the stars, dreams, auguries, lot casting) derive from ancient authorities (among whom Augustine takes pride of place) and the same goes for the magical practices that he refers to as superstitious observances (the so-called *ars notoria* which allows the acquisition of knowledge, *scientia*, via supernatural means; observances that produce bodily changes, as when a disease is cured; fortune-telling; and the use of phylacteries, i.e., amulets and the like). Having been derived from exceedingly traditional material, these categories, despite their comprehensive claims, are ill suited to reality, and applying them to a particular historical context (which is precisely what the author of *Contre les devineurs* sets out to do in his prologues) is not entirely unproblematic. Any treatment of the *superstitio idololatriae* would seem to be entirely academic in a Christian world (Aquinas emphasises its anachronistic nature), yet in *Contre les devineurs* idolatry is the backcloth against which all heresies and superstitions that the author perceives in the world around him are viewed. In the case of the Waldensians, to mention but one of many possible examples, such a backcloth produced a frightful distortion of the beliefs of these people.

³³ ST 2a2ae.96.3(R).

The other two categories, *superstitio divinationum* and *superstitio observationum*, though developed on the basis of a purely theoretical concept, prove to have some social implications on closer inspection, that are relevant to *Contre les devineurs*, but it is uncertain whether they can be brought to bear on real social groups. *Divinatio* is conceived of by Aquinas as a kind of *ars*, not as a real science, but as a practice requiring certain skills and some form of knowledge, and therefore, though it will always be done *consilio et auxilio daemonum*,³⁴ it belongs to the world of the cultured and the learned. The *superstitio observationum*, by contrast, is a general term for practices and superstitions that lead a tenacious life among the common people; they are relics from a pagan past that still seem to be a vital aspect of popular culture. Aquinas shows himself most conscious of the difference when he deals with fortune-telling (as one of the superstitious observances). Fortune-telling is different from *divinatio*; in fact, *divinatio* aims at *praenuntiatio futurorum*,³⁵ i.e. predicting the future for its own sake, whereas fortune-telling aims *ad praecognoscenda aliqua fortuna vel infortunia*, i.e. predicting only fortunes and misfortunes. As examples of fortune-telling he mentions the observance of portents and propitious days which he considers to be *reliquiae idololatriae* and which are *sine ratione et arte*.³⁶ Devoid of reason and skill, they are part of popular rather than high culture.³⁷ The distinction is implicit in *Contre les devineurs* also: the *superstitio observationum* is identified as 'sortilege' or sorcery³⁸ and as examples the earlier mentioned 'vieilles sorcieres' are mentioned alongside the Waldensians. These 'witches' and 'heretics' are unmistakably part of popular culture. High culture, it would seem, is also represented. When Pignon deals with *divinatio*,³⁹ we are given the examples of several people who were condemned and burned (along with their books) as heretics in Paris for having practised magic in Dijon, Sens and other places. As the historical reconstruction in the following chapter will show, some of these magicians can be identified. Some were or pretended to be physicians and can be shown to have received princely patronage. Awareness of the social dimensions of the categories that Pignon uses, may, however, be the result of the author's desire to be comprehensive, to make his arguments applicable to the whole of society. It does not mean he actually represents real beliefs. When he mentions stumbling at one's threshold,

³⁴ ST 2a2ae.95.3(R).

³⁵ ST 2a2ae.95.1.

³⁶ ST 2a2ae.96.3(R).

³⁷ Harmening, *Superstitio*, pp. 178-179.

³⁸ It is important to notice that the author of *Contre les devineurs* does something which Aquinas does not do: namely identify *superstitio observationum* as sorcery or magic. Aquinas does not distinguish a separate *ars magica*. See Harmening, *Superstitio*, p. 217.

³⁹ CLD I.3.

sneezing, and having one's coat eaten by mice as bad omens, he is not giving examples of superstitious observances that were part of early fifteenth-century French folklore, but he is quoting Augustine.⁴⁰ Despite the social implications that the categories of *divinatio* and 'superstitious observance' seem to have, there is, certainly in *Contre les devineurs*, not enough ground to use them as sources for a description of early fifteenth-century realities.

The ideas and concepts as developed by Aquinas to some extent receive a contextualisation in *Contre les devineurs*. They are applied to heresy, witchcraft, magic and astrology, and, last but not least, to the grave misfortunes of the year 1411 that we still have to unravel. The contextualisation itself, however, is more a hint, or a suggestion, than a real design. References to the immediate socio-historical environment are relatively rare and indirect, even though this historical context furnished the author with the motives and the incentive to write his treatise. By carefully and slavishly copying the arguments and categories that he read in Aquinas, Pignon creates the impression that these ideas are comprehensive and adequate descriptions of the realities he perceived. As we have already stressed, this may not be assumed *a priori*. The purpose of this introductory study is to elaborate the socio-historical and intellectual context of the treatise, which at the time no doubt seemed to the author to be of inferior importance compared to his theological and moralistic concerns, but which is nevertheless of vital importance to us, since it will allow us to see the treatise in its proper perspective. Behind the sometimes purely literary forms of *Contre les devineurs*, we can, especially in the prologues, discern the real social pressures that motivated the author; these we must reconstruct, though oddly enough *Contre les devineurs* itself cannot be the prime source. The treatise, therefore, must be used not as a source for the context, but a reconstruction of the context must be used to aid a better understanding of the treatise.

As Livy (whom we mentioned in our earlier example) is a more reliable observer of divinatory practices and beliefs than Cicero, so too Pignon's treatise must be supplemented by the observations of contemporary chroniclers, who did not necessarily perceive more than our author did, but had more occasion to speak about it. The most important chronicler is the Monk of St. Denis⁴¹ who wrote a chronicle on the reign of king Charles VI of

⁴⁰ CLD I.6.

⁴¹ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis, contenant le règne de Charles VI, de 1380 à 1422*, ed. L. Bellaguet, 6 vols. (Paris 1839-1852). The Monk of Saint Denis has long remained anonymous but was in 1976 tentatively identified as Michel Pintoin (Nicole Grévy-Pons and Ezio Ornato, "Qui est l'auteur de la chronique latine de Charles VI, dite du Religieux de Saint-Denis?", in: *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 134 (1976), pp. 85-102). Common practice among historians, however, has validated the use of designations such as 'the Monk' or 'le Religieux', even in the literature after 1976. Cf. R. C. Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue: Crisis at the*

France. His work will be one of the main sources for our historical reconstructions, not only because he is an immediate eye-witness of many of the events he records, but also because he displays a profound interest in the superstitions of his age. Another important chronicler is Froissart, though his vast chronicle ends approximately where the period that we are concerned with (ca. 1380-1411) begins. His work was continued by Enguerrand de Monstrelet⁴² (after 1422), the Burgundian chronicler, who copied in his chronicle a few texts that are of great importance for our subject, but whose interest in superstition, divination and magic is negligible. Juvenal des Ursins deserves mention: his chronicle⁴³ was written somewhat later (possibly after 1430), and he uses the chronicle of the Monk of St. Denis as one of his sources, but since Juvenal's father was one of Charles VI's courtiers, his work must nevertheless be viewed as an important source of information. The literature of the early fifteenth century contains yet other famous texts that are of great documentary value, such as the anonymous *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*⁴⁴ or the *Journal* of Nicolas de Baye,⁴⁵ the 'greffier' of the Paris Parlement. Their different perspectives can occasionally furnish us with details and appreciations that cannot be found in the other sources.

1.3 *The Rise of Magic and Astrology: The Contexts of* Contre les devineurs

The realisation that the relation between treatises against magic and divination and their socio-historical contexts is far from unproblematic does not preclude the possibility of making some generalising remarks on late medieval magic and divination. It is not the subject itself of these treatises that must be approached with some reticence but the terms in which it is expounded. Divination and magic lived through a remarkable efflorescence in the later Middle Ages. Astrology and more popular forms of divination developed from an elite to a popular culture; political prophecies abounded in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. But also the censure of these practices

Court of Charles VI 1392-1420 (New York 1986), pp. 205, n.3, pp. 206-207, n.11. Also in the present study Pintoin will be referred to as the Monk of St. Denis.

⁴² *La Chronique d'Enguerrand de Monstrelet, 1400-1444*, ed. L. Douët-d'Arcq, 6 vols. (Paris 1857-1862).

⁴³ Juvenal des Ursins, *Histoire de Charles VI, roy de France (...) depuis 1380 jusques à 1422*, eds. Michaud and Poujoulat, in: *Nouvelle Collection des Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France* (Paris 1836), vol. 2, pp. 339-569.

⁴⁴ *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris 1405-1449*, ed. Alexandre Tuetey (Paris 1881); *A Parisian Journal 1405-1449*, transl. Janet Shirley (Oxford 1968).

⁴⁵ Nicolas de Baye, *Journal de Nicolas de Baye, greffier du parlement de Paris 1400-1417*, ed. Alexandre Tuetey, 2 vols. (Paris 1885).

increased; we find clergymen preaching (and writing) against the unsavoury interests of the courts, complaining that the nobility is inclined to consult astrologers and diviners on all their daily undertakings. We find scholars criticising the art of prediction. Most forbidding of all we find an increasingly fierce opposition to the practice of magic and sorcery in both common and elite circles, which not infrequently resulted in trials and executions. Various reasons could be adduced for this surge in interest, but we will focus on three areas, namely the social, the political and the intellectual, that are of particular relevance to *Contre les devineurs*.

1. The social pressures of fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century France, which bred anxiety and desperation and which will be dealt with in the present and the following (second) chapter, comprise some of the greatest catastrophes of the later Middle Ages. First of all there is the continuing conflict between England and France known as the Hundred Years' War; then there is the great division in Latin Christianity known as the Great Schism. Whereas war brought great material and physical suffering, the Schism caused a spiritual crisis and caused people to believe the end of time was near. Next in line is the great plague that routed a substantial part of the European population. But also smaller disasters were a cause of general vexation and one of these in particular comes to the foreground in our examination of *Contre les devineurs*. King Charles VI of France (1368-1422, crowned 1380) was insane⁴⁶ and as his mental illness debilitated him more and more, a power-struggle ensued between the princes of the blood royal. At certain periods of time this power-struggle was settled in favour of the dukes of Burgundy, notably John the Fearless and his son and successor Philip the Good, who laboured to create a Burgundian state, but it also led to the English occupation of Paris.⁴⁷ Desperate predicaments make people resort to desperate remedies to find hope, comfort and some ease for their pains. But general disasters in themselves are not sufficient to explain the growing interest in magic and divination. At least one other factor was of great importance and that is the role of politics.

2. In the later Middle Ages magic and divination became increasingly important as political instruments. Accusations of sorcery and magic (all involving the notion of the devil's pact) proved an expedient means of slandering, condemning and eliminating one's enemies or political adversaries, whereas, by contrast, predictions and prophecies were equally expedient means of justifying and consolidating or simply commenting upon policies, cultural developments and the general course of history.⁴⁸ This

⁴⁶ On Charles VI's insanity, see: Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue*, pp. 1-21.

⁴⁷ On the role of astrology in relation to the English occupation, see chapter 3.4, below.

⁴⁸ Cf. the remarks by Carey, *Courting Disaster*, pp. 15-20.

theme, distinguishable but not separable from the former, will be expounded in the second and third chapter of this study. The political uses of sorcery and magic become apparent from a number of spectacular trials in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that created unfortunate precedents and placed sorcery high on the political and religious agenda.

A notorious case was the trial of the Knights Templars⁴⁹ who on October 13, 1307 were arrested *en masse* by order of king Philippe IV le Bel (Philip the Fair) who was in desperate need of money and who thought the time had come to combine the elimination of a very powerful political obstacle with the attempt to strengthen his financial position. The accusations launched against the Templars were entirely fictional and only substantiated by confessions procured under torture. They consisted of the renunciation of Christ, spitting on the crucifix, sodomy, orgies with female demons, and the worship of a great idol in the shape of a head with a beard, that was to be anointed from time to time with the fat of roasted infants. Since the Temple was very powerful and was technically subject only to the jurisdiction of the Holy See, the charges had to be made so horrendous that no pope would be able to reject them without compromising his own integrity. For this reason the Temple was accused of being an organised heretical sect of idolators and demon-worshippers. On March 18, 1314 the last prominent members of the order perished in the flames, among them the grand master Jacques de Molay who recanted his confessions and proclaimed the order's innocence. Accusations of the demonic pact thus proved to be excellent political tools, and so did, by extension, accusations of ritual magic.

A famous instance of this is the case of pope Boniface VIII (in office from 1294 to 1303) who in 1310-1311 was posthumously tried for ritual magic.⁵⁰ Boniface was involved with Philip the Fair in a conflict about the taxes the king had imposed on the clergy. Boniface proved a determined opponent and issued a few bulls against the king, which Philip wished to have annulled. By favouring the election of the French pope Clement V, one of Boniface's successors, he gained a compliant papal ally. The posthumous trial of Boniface was never followed right through to the end once the aim (annulment of the bulls and the lifting of the ban from some of Philip's servants) was reached; besides the king may have been far too busy with the trial against the Templars. Nevertheless the trial of Boniface is of great interest, since it gives an elaboration of the charges brought against the Temple. The pope was accused of having three private demons, one suitably named

⁴⁹ Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons*, pp. 75-98; Th. de Cauzons, *La magie et la sorcellerie en France* (Osnabrück 1974), vol. 2, pp. 221-300. The literature on the Templars is vast; for a choice list, see: Cohn, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

⁵⁰ Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons*, pp. 180-185.

Boniface, another in the guise of a Hungarian and the third resembling an Italian woman. In addition he kept a spirit in a ring with an engraved astrological image. These demons the pope was supposed to have used for counsel and for *maleficium*, i.e. inflicting harm on others. Like the Templars, the late pope was accused of idolatry and sodomy, but the allegations of sorcery and conjuring demons were new. Like the sharpening of a knife the political applications of the accusations of sorcery made it into a dangerous and effective weapon.

Many rulers of the fourteenth and fifteenth century would follow Philip the Fair's example⁵¹ and accuse rivals and opponents of heresy, throwing a fair amount of *maleficium* into the bargain. Especially the Burgundians were masters at the game. They accused Louis d'Orléans, his wife Valentina Visconti, and even Valentina's father Giangaleazzo of *maleficium*. The analysis in the following chapter of the famous and notorious *Justification* by master Jean Petit will reveal how the charge of sorcery became an indispensable asset of political aggression.

The most famous fifteenth-century trial in France involving heresy and devil-worship was staged by the English (with some help from the Burgundians): the trial of Jeanne d'Arc, the young girl to whom St. Margaret, St. Catherine and the archangel Michael had appeared to speed her on her heavenly mission, to deliver France from the English, and who served as a mascot to the French armies that recaptured Orléans and drove out the English. Her trial was essentially a heresy trial, but also involved suspicions of 'sortilèges, ydolâtries' and 'invocations d'ennemis'.⁵² It was not her hearing the voices of angels and saints that posed the greatest danger, but her inclination to attach more authority to her voices than to the Church. Particularly pernicious was the folk-belief concerning a fairy-tree, a tree consecrated to rural spirits, that stood in the district where Jeanne grew up and that figured occasionally in her statements.⁵³ When La Pucelle was burned at the stake in May 1431, there was a notice attached to the pyre which read: 'Jehanne qui s'est fait nommer la Pucelle, menteresse, pernicieuse, abuseresse du peuple, divineresse, superstitieuse, blasphemeresse de Dieu, présomptueuse, malcréant de la foi de Jhesucrist, venteresse, ydolatre, cruelle, dissolue, invocateresse de déables, apostate, scismatique et hérési-

⁵¹ For further examples, see, e.g., Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons*, pp. 185 ff. and Cauzons, *La magie et la sorcellerie*, vol. 2, pp. 307 ff. Cauzons stresses that in political trials 'la sorcellerie intervenient comme accessoire' (p. 308), but certainly in the course of the fifteenth century it would become increasingly important.

⁵² Cauzons, *La magie et la sorcellerie*, vol. 2, pp. 488-491.

⁵³ Cauzons, *La magie et la sorcellerie*, vol. 2, p. 505.

que':⁵⁴ heresy, idolatry, divination, superstition and the devil's pact - all yoked together so as to become practically synonymous.

The list of political trials could easily be extended, but we will conclude by saying a few words on the trial of Gilles de Rais (1440), who served as a model for Perrault's fairy-tale *Barbe-bleue*, and who confessed to the sexual abuse and ritual murder of scores of young children.⁵⁵ His case is in a sense an anomaly since the accusations were not fictitious. Though inquisitorial procedures leave much to be desired by modern juridical standards, and though the depositions of baron de Rais have been the object of much debate, on the whole critics accept that the baron was a murderer and was involved in practices of ritual magic, to which end he sent for sorcerers from Lombardy who claimed to be experts in the art of invoking demons. Though unwilling to co-operate at first, the baron, realising the hopelessness of his situation, became very compliant, and perhaps driven by a sense of guilt or apprehension regarding the salvation of his soul, determined to make his confession into an exemplary show of penitence and remorse. The case of Gilles de Rais clearly bears witness to the reality of magic in the fifteenth century and at the same time (not in the least by Gilles's determination to pose as the chief of sinners) it stigmatises magic as a most heinous crime.

Trials such as these are apt to command a lot of attention, quite justifiably, since they prepared the way to the great witch-craze⁵⁶ which necessarily is always present at the background of all historical research dealing with the political uses of sorcery-charges. In the next chapter we shall have ample opportunity to acquaint ourselves with some of the slander tactics involving magic at the French-Burgundian court, but we should not forget that magic or divination, besides being a stick to strike out with, could also be a stick to lean on. For Burgundy, we shall see, it was both.

Magicians and diviners were favoured by the late medieval courts. We encounter a number of them at the court of Charles VI, but his court does not seem to be exceptional, or an anomaly brought about by the king's insanity. The court of Richard II of England,⁵⁷ for instance, was also teeming with scandalous rumours of sorcery. Richard was said to have surrounded himself with pseudo-prophets who nourished his imperial ambitions. Jean

⁵⁴ Cauzons, *La magie et la sorcellerie*, vol. 2, p. 513.

⁵⁵ The literature on Gilles de Rais is extensive, but one study deserves recommendation: Georges Bataille, *Le procès de Gilles de Rais* (s.l. 1985). The book contains the texts of the trial in a translation by Pierre Klossowski.

⁵⁶ Russell, *Witchcraft in the Middle Ages*, pp. 262-264, is inclined to deny this, arguing that practices such as magic, alchemy and the like should be distinguished from witchcraft; but as Norman Cohn has shown, witchcraft has no objective existence and derives from the transformations in the way the Church regarded heresy, magic and paganism.

⁵⁷ On Richard II, see: Carey, *Courting Disaster*, pp. 93-106.

Creton, a court attendant of the French king, reports how the English nobility set great store by old prophecies attributed to Merlin, and on the whole that it was very credulous in matters of sorcery.⁵⁸ Richard II possessed a book of divination which, next to a geomancy and physiognomy, also contained a dream-book attributed to Daniel. Daniel's dream-book and Merlin's prophecies are both denounced by Pignon,⁵⁹ but neither he, nor the other ecclesiastical censors who came later, could stem the tide of prognosticative and prophetic texts that flooded Europe in the fifteenth century. Prophecy and divination became a way of conceptualising history. They prospered in late medieval Christendom because there was a need for authorised history: a history, Thomas Walsingham would agree, that is written in the stars, 'for earthly events are affected by the heavens like a pen writing on paper'.⁶⁰

Even magic and sorcery were (to some extent) used with serious and positive intentions. A greedy monarch who wanted gold, would readily find himself surrounded by alchemists. The insanity of Charles VI attracted numerous sorcerers who claimed to be able to cure the king. Courtiers seeking royal favour or the affections of a lady could use spells and love-charms to attain their ends.⁶¹ Gilles de Rais took a lively interest in demons and employed sorcerers to invoke them, but more often than not these alchemists and magicians were frauds and charlatans. Pignon was right in calling his treatise *Contre les devineurs* for of the two main thematic areas, magic and divination, the latter was by far the most successful.

3. Behind the growing interest in magic and divination was also a powerful intellectual development. This is not the place to rehearse the import of Arabic learning and Aristotelian philosophy into the West, or the development of scientific astrology, alchemy and other occult sciences, though these things should certainly be borne in mind when one considers the intellectual context of *Contre les devineurs*. Of more immediate relevance is the royal patronage of the arts and sciences in the fourteenth century bestowed by king Charles V (1364-1380). Charles V, or Charles the Wise as he is also known, took a particular interest in astrology and commissioned French translations of many great textbooks in the field. His interests, however, also extended to other occult sciences such as geomancy, chiromancy and necromancy.⁶² He assembled a huge library of over a thousand volumes of which a substantial part (some eleven per cent) was dedicated to the above mentioned arts and

⁵⁸ Carey, *Courting Disaster*, p. 97.

⁵⁹ CLD II.2.4 (Daniel's dream-book) and II.2.3 (the prophecies of Merlin).

⁶⁰ Quoted by Carey, *Courting Disaster*, p. 94, from Walsingham's *Historia Anglicana* II.126.

⁶¹ Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge 1992), pp. 96-100.

⁶² Carey, *Courting Disaster*, pp. 106-111.

sciences. This well-furnished library, in which huge candelabra allowed the assiduous reader to pour over the books both day and night, was legendary in its own day.⁶³ He established bursaries to promote mathematics, astronomy and astrology, and, naturally, he employed astrologers of whom Thomas de Pisan, father of Christine de Pisan, was the most prominent.⁶⁴

In her *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles*, Christine de Pisan never tires of eulogising her monarch; in fact, the entire third part of her book is dedicated to the 'sagece et sciences en la personne du roy Charles'.⁶⁵ Among the many chapters of the *Livre des fais* dedicated to the various talents of the king, there is one chapter that explains 'comment le roy Charles estoit astrologien'. Well-trained in the liberal arts and an accomplished speaker, the king did not shrink from the 'haultes choses de philozophie, comme d'astrologie'. In astrology he was apparently 'trés expert et sage (...), c'est chose vraye, si que les poins entendoit clerement, et amoit celle science comme chose esleue et singuliere'. Astrology is truly a science fit for a king, for, as Christine asserts on the authority of Ptolemy, it improves the morals and ennobles the soul. Avicenna asserted that it is indispensable for the study of metaphysics. For the end of metaphysics is to know the First Cause, that is God, and His operations, but this necessarily presupposes knowledge of the natural sciences without which no metaphysics is possible. In the hierarchy of the natural sciences astrology, dealing with the organisation of the celestial spheres, holds prime of place, being 'trés divine et donques difficile'. It is through this science that we may hope to approach God. Not that we are sufficiently equipped to understand the First

⁶³ On the library see: *La librairie de Charles V*, eds. F. Avril and J. Lafaunie (Paris 1968); L. Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V, roi de France* (Paris 1907); Muriel J. Hughes, "The library of Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders, first Valois duke and duchess of Burgundy", in: *Journal of Medieval History* 4 (1978), pp. 145-146. Some books from Charles's library still survive to document his interest in astrology. There is, for instance, Oresme's translation of Ptolemy's *Quadripartitum* (completed 1358-1363; Paris, B. N., ms. fr. 1348), the anonymous *Traité sur la sphère*, treatises on the influence of the planets and the use of the astrolabe by Pèlerin de Prusse (composed 1361-1362) bound together in one volume which furthermore contains the horoscopes of Charles V and his children (Oxford, St. John's College, ms. 164); there is also Robert Godefroy's *Liber novem judicum* (Bruxelles, Bibl. Royale, ms. 10319). See Avril, op. cit., nos. 198, 199, 200, plates 3 and 5.

⁶⁴ Charles Jourdain, "Nicolas Oresme et les astrologues de la cour de Charles V", in: *Revue des Questions Historiques* 18 (1875), pp. 139-141.

⁶⁵ Christine de Pisan, *Le livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles*, chap. XII, in: *Nouvelle Collection des Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France*, eds. Michaud and Poujoulat (Paris 1836), vol. 2, pp. 63 ff., esp. pp. 67-68 and 77-79.

Cause, but, as Ysaac⁶⁶ pointed out, like owls and bats we are blind to the brightness of the Sun, whose luminosity we can only perceive at dusk.

The fact that astrology soared to great heights in the course of the fourteenth century can largely be attributed to the interests and the patronage of Charles V. Yet it was not only astrology that flourished under his inspiring leadership, also the critique of astrology manifested itself. Nicole Oresme, translator of many important scientific and philosophical works into French, and one of the leading scientists of his day, wrote the first critique of astrology in French, the *Livre de divinacions*. His example was followed, among others by Philippe de Mézières, and, of course, by Laurens Pignon. This anti-divinatory literature will be discussed at greater length in the fourth and final chapter of this introductory study. Despite their different angles of approach (Oresme, for instance, focusing on scientific astrology and Pignon following Aquinas's treatment of *superstitio*), all these texts have one thing in common; they warn princes and monarchs against the dangers involved in courting disaster.

Especially Laurens Pignon seems to have had a specific reason for wishing to impart this admonishment to his lord, the duke of Burgundy. Now we have reviewed the main themes of his treatise and briefly touched on their social, political and intellectual ramifications, it is time to turn to the author and his most compelling motive for writing *Contre les devineurs*: the disaster of 1411.

1.4 Life and Works of Laurens Pignon, OP (ca. 1368-1449)

For a long time the author of *Contre les devineurs* remained anonymous. The recent work of A. J. Vanderjagt has identified him as Laurens Pignon, OP, the father confessor of Philip the Good.⁶⁷ Authorship was established on the basis of a reference that Pignon made in a treatise on the three estates,

⁶⁶ Christine (*Livre des fais*, p. 68) means the Jewish philosopher Isaac Israeli (tenth century).

⁶⁷ On Laurens Pignon see: J. Quéatif and J. Echard, *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum* (Paris 1719-1721), vol. 1, pp. 804-806; Th. Kaeppli, *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum medii aevi* (Rome 1970-1980), vol. 3, p. 67; *Laurentii Pignon Catalogi et Chronica*, ed. G. Meersseman O.P. (Roma 1936); A. J. Vanderjagt, "Enige inleidende opmerkingen over Laurentius Pignon en zijn werk", in: *Excursiones mediaevalis. Opstellen aangeboden aan Prof. dr. A. G. Jongkees door zijn leerlingen* (Groningen 1977), pp. 197-222 (this article contains a transcription of the first prologue of CLD); A. J. Vanderjagt, "Burgundian Political Ideas between Laurentius Pignon and Guillaume Hugonet", in: *Fifteenth-Century Studies* 9 (1984), pp. 197-213; A. J. Vanderjagt, *Laurens Pignon OP; Confessor of Philip the Good. Ideas on Jurisdiction and the Estates, including the texts of his treatises and Durand of St. Pourçain's 'De origine iurisdictionum'* (Venlo 1985); Christian de Borchgrave, *Diplomaten en diplomatie onder hertog Jan Zonder Vrees; Bijlagen* (Kortrijk-Heule 1992), pp. 229-230; Doutrepont, *La littérature française*, p. 302.

called *Traictié de la cause de la diversité des estaz*. In a passage dealing with celestial influence and man's freedom of choice, Pignon remarks: 'De ceste matiere j'ay aultrefois escript et fait ung petit traictié que je nommayé Contre les divineurs'.⁶⁸ Apart from this fortunate reference, also the argumentation of the passage in which it occurs closely follows the arguments of *Contre les devineurs*, sufficiently so as to warrant the attribution. Pignon was not a profuse writer, but his extant works show a marked interest in contemporary ecclesiastical and political affairs. His interest in theological and philosophical intricacies is brought to bear on the practical concerns of his career as a diplomat and a confessor in the service of two Burgundian dukes, and occasionally, so he tells us, on his own experiences. He is interested, naturally, in the history and the activities of his own order, the Order of the Friars Preachers, but also his conciliatory activities and his diplomatic work close to the heart of Burgundian power reflect practical concerns that find expression in his writings. In 1394 he compiled a *Catalogus fratrum spectabilium Ordinis Praedicatorum*, a list of saints, popes, cardinals, archbishops, scholars and other notable Friars Preachers, and in the same year or shortly afterwards a *Chronica compendiosa de capitulis generalibus ordinis praedicatorum*, a long list of general chapters and meetings of the Dominican Order from 1203 to 1412. The latter text will be of particular importance for the present study, since in the entries from 1397 onwards the author intersperses his list of meetings with references to contemporary events which, though they are unrelated to the Dominican Order, are nevertheless of some special interest to the author, since they range from observations on extreme weather conditions to political events of great moment. But before we can use his chronicle as an introduction to the turbulent affairs prior to and in the year 1411, we must digress and acquaint ourselves with Pignon's biography.⁶⁹

Pignon's early life can be summarised with a few data. Born at Sens probably in or before the year 1368, he became a lector in theology at Reims in 1393. He studied in Paris where one of his teachers was Martin Porée who was later to be appointed confessor to John of Nevers, the son of Philip the Bold, the future duke John the Fearless. In 1389 Charles VI, king of France, made clever use of a controversy on Marian theology between Franciscans and Dominicans to rid himself of the latter, thus driving the Friars Preachers into the arms of his uncle of Burgundy. Before 1388 Philip the Bold had practically ruled France, and when Charles VI reasserted French royal authority, he was quite ill disposed towards the Order that had served his uncle so well. The Dominicans were banned from the university of Paris and

⁶⁸ Vanderjagt, *Laurens Pignon*, p. 154. For a more comprehensive comparison of the two texts the reader is referred to the introduction of the edition.

⁶⁹ For the following biographical sketch, see: Vanderjagt, *Laurens Pignon*, pp. 5-34.

many were arrested. Pignon refers to this in his chronicle as a grave persecution, but does not identify himself as a victim. This does not mean that he is absent from the chronicle, for he refers to himself at the end of the entry for 1403: *frater Laurentius Pignon, lector Remensis, assumptus est circa festum omnium sanctorum prior sui conventus: hic est huius chronicae scriptor*. This is the only self-referential remark, and the *Chronica* breaks off in 1412, the year in which he was appointed confessor of John the Fearless's son Philip, who was to succeed his father as Philip the Good.⁷⁰ These were also the years in which he worked on his treatise against divination, the greater part of which he had probably completed in 1411, the year before his appointment. If this also holds for the prologue, we may infer that he was already involved with the house of Burgundy before 1412. But this need not be the case if, as with many a book, the bulk of the text antedates the prologue.

Despite (or perhaps because of) the urgent admonishment and the concealed criticism of the dedicatory prologue, the duke of Burgundy took kindly to the father confessor of his son, employing him not only for menial tasks such as paying for the lamprey that the duke sent to the Friars Preachers in Lille annually, but also employing him on secret embassies.⁷¹ An account from January 1413 mentions the delivery of a keg of wine to Pignon on the occasion of his completion of his degree for *magister theologiae*. Another document from 1415 testifies to the duke's generosity in helping Pignon financially during a long illness.⁷² The Burgundian dukes, and John the Fearless is no exception, were noted for the interest they took in the furtherance of the careers of their servants. John the Fearless especially has been described as 'cautious', 'enlightened', and even 'deferent' in his relations with counsellors and servants, prepared to lend them a willing ear, and even on occasion to respect and abide by a majority decision.⁷³ Little information remains as to the services that Pignon paid duke John in the last years of his reign. In September 1419 the duke of Burgundy was killed by the French on the bridge of Montereau and nine months later, on Sunday, June 23, 1420,

⁷⁰ It may be remarked here that there was a Jehan Pignon in the service of the duke of Orléans. A dual account from 1389 makes mention of: 'Jehan Pignon varlet de l'escuierie' and in an account from 1390 we find: 'Jehan Pignon varlet des pallefroiz'. See: *Quelques pièces relatives à la vie de Louis I, duc d'Orléans et de Valentine Visconti, sa femme*, ed. F. M. Graves (Paris 1913), pp. 24, 26. Though this Jehan and Laurens may not have been related, their common surname is apt to arouse one's curiosity in view of the Orléans-Burgundian relationships.

⁷¹ Laborde, le comte de, *Les ducs de Bourgogne: études sur les lettres, les arts et l'industrie pendant le xve siècle. Seconde partie: Preuves* (Paris 1849), vol. 1, nos. 289, 653.

⁷² Vanderjagt, *Laurens Pignon*, pp. 10-11.

⁷³ Richard Vaughan, *John the Fearless: The Growth of Burgundian Power* (London 1966), pp. 231-232.

after the Burgundians and the English had captured Montereau, Pignon was faced with the gruesome task of disinterring and identifying the decomposing body of his late lord. His last service to John the Fearless would be that of an undertaker, preparing the body for a journey of nearly three weeks during which two thousand masses would be read, thirty vigils would be held and two hundred psalters would be recited, before it could be entombed in its final resting place at the Charterhouse of Champmol on July 11.⁷⁴

The fact that the supervision of the elaborate funeral rites was entrusted to Pignon clearly indicates that he had achieved a position of importance at the Burgundian court, and in the following years his career would come to full bloom as father confessor of the Grand Duke of the West. Again he was employed on a variety of diplomatic tasks ranging from financial to ecclesiastical affairs which sometimes kept him *en route* for several weeks. Since it was felt that a ducal confessor ought to be a bishop at least, Pignon succeeded to the title of bishop of Bethlehem in 1423, a titular bishopric invented because the busy and itinerant life of the Burgundian court precluded the combination of confessional and episcopal duties. Before him, John the Fearless's confessors Jean Marchant and Martin Porée had borne the title which in many accounts and other documents would become their official designation.

In the course of the 1420s Pignon resumed his literary activities, which towards the end of that decade culminated in a book which contains two texts: a free translation into French by Pignon of a treatise by Durand of St. Pourçain, OP (ca. 1275-1334), called *Circa originem potestatum et iurisdictionum quibus populus regitur* and an original work by Pignon, the *Traictié de la cause de la diversité des estaz*. An account from August 1428 documents the binding and the illumination of the book. Durand's treatise seeks to outline the boundaries of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. After establishing that all authority, including secular power, derives from God, and that secular and spiritual power are both prerequisites of good government which can and should both be present in the same body, viz. the Church, Durand proceeds to examine the extent of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in worldly and temporal affairs. Departing from the tradition that subsumes all secular power under ecclesiastical jurisdiction, Durand tends to impose some limits to this jurisdiction. Naturally all secular matters involving sin reside under the authority of the Church, but certain matters, such as feudal affairs, do not. This will most certainly have pleased the political tastes of the ambitiously expanding Burgundian state where, inspired perhaps by Italian civic humanism, ideas

⁷⁴ See the lively description in Vanderjagt, *Laurens Pignon*, pp. 5-8.

on the secular ends of the state loomed large.⁷⁵ The ideal of the secular state was not entirely alien to the Christian mind for it was developed by no less an authority than Augustine, who in the nineteenth book of his *City of God* discusses the relative, but nevertheless autonomous sphere of politics.⁷⁶ The final implications of this idea, however, were never fully realised by the medieval Church, and in many ways Pignon is heir to the universal idea of ecclesiastical supremacy. This is borne out by the second work in the book: Pignon's treatise on the three estates.

An original composition, though relying heavily on the *Summa contra gentiles* by Thomas Aquinas, the *Traictié de la cause de la diversité des estatz* provides its readers not with a sociological discourse but with a discussion of the three estates, the *clergié*, the *chevalerie* and the *pueple*, and in Dionysian vein, their hierarchical organisation against a cosmological background. As in the *Contre les devineurs*, Pignon dwells at some length on the influence of the stars and the celestial spheres on the physical constitution of this world, which creates the wide diversity of physical and mental constitutions that can be found among people. In a discussion about the soul he is careful to safeguard man's rationality and volition from stellar determinism, which automatically raises the question of good government. For if man has freedom of choice and can act according to his own free judgment, he is worthy of instruction and correction. Furthermore, the different movements and virtues of the planets produce a variety of effects here on earth, including the various dispositions of human beings. It follows, therefore, that in conformity with the organisation of the universe society too has its hierarchical order, based on a tripartite structure of which Pignon adduces several examples. On the lowest level we find the labourers who see to the material needs of the other two estates; on the second level we find the chivalry whose duty it is to defend the other two; and the hierarchy is crowned by the clergy who see to the spiritual needs of mankind and in whose able hands the government of the world resides or at least should reside.

These theoretical reflections on the corporate ideal can hardly be interpreted as the epitome of Pignon's more practical concerns and involvements in Burgundian politics, especially not since these were moving in opposite directions, away from ecclesiastical concerns into the field of secular diplomacy. Still this does not mean that Pignon did not intend his writings, which are neither very original nor profuse, to have a profound bearing on (court)

⁷⁵ See A. J. Vanderjagt, 'Qui sa vertu anoblist': *The Concepts of NOBLESSE and CHOSE PUBLICQUE in Burgundian Political Thought* (Groningen 1981), p. 67.

⁷⁶ Basic observations on Augustine's political ideas in relation to the *civitas terrena*, as discussed in DCD XIX, can be found in R. A. Markus, *Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of St. Augustine* (Cambridge 1970), pp. 70-71, 98-104.

life and politics. Quite the contrary, their very lack of scholarly brilliance makes them eminently suitable for lay instruction. Pignon lacks the accomplishments of an original mind, but then his intention was not to produce new insights, but simply to record, to compile and to instruct. 'Je ne veul riens dire de mon seul et propre sentement', he says in the prologue of *Contre les devineurs*, 'je proteste ychy que je n'ay entencion de y escrire aucune cose que je n'aye leüe en livres canoniques et approuvés de Sainte Eglise'. His compilation in French of arguments against divination from the Holy Scriptures and the holy doctors of the Church (mainly Aquinas) serves only to instruct and admonish. With a clear sense of purpose, he refers to himself as 'Je, a cuy appartient de mon offisse prechier verité'; the office of a Friar Preacher is to do just that. The truth he finds it is his duty to preach is essentially the truth of his intellectual forebears and it is through their eyes that he perceives the world.

In 1433 Pignon was included in the delegation that Philip the Good sent to the Council of Basle.⁷⁷ This Council had made a hesitant start two years earlier, in open defiance of the newly elected pope Eugenius IV, to deliberate on peace in Europe, the extirpation of the Hussite heresy and Church reform. Philip the Good, by then one of the most powerful rulers of Europe, was reluctant to support the Council; the Dominican Order backed Eugenius and Philip did not want to spoil his good relations with the Holy See. Furthermore an anti-Hussite Crusade could in no way live up to his ideal of a large-scale crusade against the Turks (to which end he had even instituted the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1430). But still, peace in Europe and a reconciliation with France would be politically expedient. As the Council gained momentum and various European rulers sent their embassies to Basle, Philip persuaded Eugenius to revoke his bulls against the Council. The pope's attitude, however, remained hostile and attempts on the part of the Council fathers to depose him were thwarted by Philip the Good who refused all co-operation. But instead of withdrawing his support from the Council he enlarged and strengthened his delegation of which Pignon was a part. On October 2, 1433, Pignon addressed the Council on matters of secular diplomacy, emphasising the need for a peace between England, France and Burgundy. Despite the placating effects of his address, a peace-settlement was not reached until 1435 when general opinion had decided that the Hundred Years' War should be put to an end effectively and a congress was held at Arras. It required the skills of theologians and lawyers to circumvene the conditions of the embarrassing treaty of Troyes (1420) in which England and Burgundy had sworn to oppose Armagnac France, so that breaking the treaty would not be

⁷⁷ See standard study by Heribert Müller, *Die Franzosen, Frankreich und das Basler Konzil (1431-1449)*, 2 vols. (Paderborn 1990). Pignon is mentioned in passing, vol. 1, p. 240.

interpreted as disloyalty or perjury, but finally a peace agreement was drawn up, dictated by Burgundy. On September 21, 1435 Pignon preached a sermon in honour of the newly-established reconciliation: the crowning of his career in secular diplomacy.

Pignon had still one final ecclesiastical role to play in this whole affair. With the lapse of time, the anti-Eugenian sentiments of the Council of Basle radicalised and Amadeus VIII of Savoy, Philip the Good's uncle, was elected to replace Eugenius as pope. Philip loyally supported Eugenius but also entertained cordial relations with the House of Savoy, thus incurring the censure and the excommunication of the Holy See. After repeated diplomatic pleas the pope invested confessor Laurens Pignon with all the necessary powers to lift the ban in 1443.

Pignon had been appointed bishop of Auxerre in May 1432 and the needs of his diocese would increasingly demand the attention of the bishop. He would be engaged in founding and restoring churches; he would deal with matters of finance and taxation (over which he occasionally quarrelled with Philip the Good) and he would be actively involved until his death in 1449 in the government of his own Order. Judging from the store that both secular and ecclesiastical authorities set by him, we may conclude that Pignon was a trusted and able diplomat and bishop.

1.5 *The Chronica compendiosa and the War of 1411*

As far as can be ascertained, Pignon's relations with the Burgundian court date from 1412, but his awareness of the presence, position and importance of Burgundy goes back much further. In his *Chronica* Pignon⁷⁸ mentions in the entry for 1397 the disastrous battle at Nicopolis (*maxima strages christianorum*) from which only a handful of noblemen, including the count of Nevers, John the Fearless, returned. In between general and provincial chapter meetings, elections and appointments and the lamented deaths of prominent members of the Order, international affairs and general disasters did not escape the attention of the chronicler. For 1399 he records the horrible pestilence that plagued Paris and the capture and detention of the English king by the duke of Lancaster, John of Gaunt. In 1401 fire destroyed part of the Dominican convent at Nantes and incinerated all of Poligny. In August of the same year the late king Richard II's thirteen-year old widow, daughter of the king of France, was returned to France by the English. (She was later to be married to Charles d'Orléans, son of Louis d'Orléans, the rival of John the Fearless.) Wars in Britain and scarcity of food mark the year 1402.

⁷⁸ For the following references, see: Pignon, *Chronica*, pp. 45-55.

Next to the vicissitudes of the Hundred Years' War Pignon also records some of the more salient episodes of the Great Schism. The Schism had started when a cousin of the French king, Robert of Geneva was elected at Avignon as pope Clement VII in 1378.⁷⁹ In his entry for 1379 Pignon speaks of this general division of the Church under two popes: *propter quod schisma Ordo est divisus multis annis et habuimus ex tunc duos magistros*. Clement VII, the rival of the Italian and anti-French pope Urban VI, was to safeguard French interests but the French king, Charles V, had to exert himself to the utmost to bring round the French clergy who disliked the idea of a schism that, apart from all its practical ramifications, somehow signalled the downfall of Church authority if not the end of time itself with at the background the Hussite cries for reform as a sound of distant thunder. French policy had changed with the lapse of time and when the cardinals at Avignon elected Benedict XIII after the death of Clement in 1394, this was very much against the wishes of the French crown. The university of Paris favoured the idea of a double cessation, which meant that both popes would abdicate and a new one would be elected. An embassy which included ten delegates from the university of Paris and which was headed by the dukes of Berry, Burgundy and Orléans went to Avignon in May 1395 to debate the matter. The embassy was a failure and its members were treated with disdain. The consequence of this in 1398 was, as Pignon records, the famous *subtractio oboedientiae a papa Benedicto per totam regnum Franciae et Castellae*. This 'subtraction of obedience' meant that Benedict was deprived of all means to govern and, besieged by the famous Boucicaut, he became a virtual prisoner in his own palace. But French attitudes wavered as did the mental condition of its king Charles VI. In 1403 *rex Franciae, tunc sanus mente et corpore, declaravit se velle oboedire Benedicto*. This restitution of obedience by Charles VI did not last long. Already in 1405 the Paris theologian Jean Petit, of whom we shall hear much more in the following chapter, pleaded for a new subtraction of obedience, but in 1407 it was cardinal Pierre d'Ailly's more moderate proposal to recognise Benedict's spiritual authority, whilst denying his temporal, that was effected, thus laying the basis for what has been called the 'Gallican Church'.⁸⁰ Pignon seems unaware of the subtle difference, probably for want of twentieth-century hindsight, and simply notes: *fuit subtracta oboedientia domino papae Benedicto*. For the year 1408 he records the council of Pisa organised by the cardinals from both contending parties, which was so large, that the likes of it had not been seen for three hundred years. The purpose of the council was to elect a new pope, Alexander V, and to declare the other two contestants, Benedict XIII and Gregory XII heretics.

⁷⁹ See: Geoffrey Barraclough, *The Medieval Papacy* (London 1992), pp. 164-185.

⁸⁰ Barraclough, *The Medieval Papacy*, p. 176.

Next to the Great Schism there was one other major affair that occupied popular interest in the first decade of the fifteenth century and that naturally did not escape Pignon's attention. This was the rivalry between the duke of Burgundy and the duke of Orléans that would have such dramatic consequences⁸¹ and also have a direct bearing on astrological and magical matters.

For the year 1405 Pignon makes mention of the dissent between the two dukes *propter quum secuta sunt damna et pericula quam plurima per totum regnum*. The severe losses Pignon refers to concern the ruin of the wine and corn harvests by the opposing armies of some 30,000 soldiers in all. Though the conflict did not at this point result in civil war, the imposition of all these soldiers on the local population did cause a shortage of food for the rest of the year. For 1407 Pignon observes that 'many evils' happened that year. He is referring to the extremely cold winter of December 1407 and January 1408, and, prior to this, the assassination of the duke of Orléans. *Circa festum sancti Clementis, nocte, de mandato domini ducis Burgundiae, Parisius per quemdam dictum Radichilium d'Au[que]tonville fuit interfectus dominus Aurelianensis, qui, ut communiter ab omnibus reputabatur, [fuit] tyrannus pessimus*.⁸² To the details of this assassination and its immediate aftermath we shall return in the next chapter, but for the moment it suffices to say that John the Fearless thus disposed of a powerful rival who had been his main obstacle to a firm grip on French politics. An interesting aspect of Pignon's entry is the fact that he refers to Louis d'Orléans as a 'tyrant', a word that echoes one of the essential points of John the Fearless's defence of his actions. In March 1408 the duke of Burgundy had a Paris theologian, named Jean Petit, read out a formal justification of his act, in which it was claimed that the duke of Orléans was a tyrant contemplating regicide and that John the Fearless had acted laudibly by protecting the king and killing the tyrant. This *Justification* had a tremendous impact, notably on the feeble-minded king who probably believed every word of it, and it earned John a royal pardon for his crime. Though the Orléanist party responded by drawing up an official reply and refutation of the *Justification* they were nevertheless too half-hearted and too afraid to take any effective action.

Strengthened by his success, the duke of Burgundy engaged in the battle of Othée with unparalleled audacity while in the meantime the French court hastily moved from Paris to Tours. But although John the Fearless dared only take up residence in Paris under the protection of several hundred soldiers who watched over his safety, his grip on the French government gradually strengthened. In March 1409 he dictated the terms of the reconciliation of

⁸¹ On the history of this conflict see: Jacques d'Avout, *La querelle des Armagnacs et de Bourguignons* (Paris 1943).

⁸² Pignon, *Chronica*, p. 52.

Chartres, a kind of peace-treaty between John and the French court, which thereupon returned to Paris. John the Fearless saw to the execution of Jehan de Montagu (October 17, 1409), his main opponent and grandmaster of the king's household; he also removed many royal officials and replaced them by his own trustees. By 1410 the dauphin was entirely surrounded by Burgundy's men and John had gained effective control over France. The basis of his power, however, lay not in military or political audacity, but in the popular support he enjoyed in Paris. John opposed the heavy taxes imposed by Louis d'Orléans and was a proponent of governmental reform. No doubt the people of Paris had seen the elimination of Louis d'Orléans and Jehan de Montagu in this light. This popular sympathy⁸³ was carefully nurtured by John. Fine Burgundian wines earned him the support of the Paris butchers and also the university enjoyed the benefits of Burgundy's generosity.⁸⁴ Possibly it was the perspective of the Parisian citizens that was closest to Pignon's own opinion at the time. This may explain why his brief reference to the assassination of 1407 echoes Burgundian apologetics by branding Louis d'Orléans a tyrant.

The next thing that Pignon mentions concerning the Burgundian-Orléans conflict is the threatening massing of troops round Paris in 1410. The opposition against the all-powerful duke of Burgundy had organised itself under the inspired leadership of Charles d'Orléans (Louis's son) and Bernard VIII, count of Armagnac. The latter lent his name to the opposition that would henceforth go down in history as the Armagnac faction. Pignon tells us that in September 1410, the duke of Brittany, the duke of Orléans and his two brothers, Philip, count of Vertus, and Jehan, count of Angoulême, the count of Alençon, the duke of Bourbon and the count of Armagnac intended to invade Paris with 6,000 men-at-arms, but that they were prohibited by the Burgundian faction. No war broke out, and a kind of peace settlement was reached in which the two parties agreed to return to their own domains without engaging in active combat. If it should come to pass that they would wage war on each other, they should do so in their own lands. Thus, Pignon concludes, they returned each to his own land and the war abated for the

⁸³ The perspective of the Parisians *vis-à-vis* John the Fearless becomes clear when one compares an official report of king Charles VI's glorious entry into Paris on March 17, 1409, as it was noted down in Nicolas de Baye's *Journal* (vol. 1, p. 261) to a more popular report from the anonymous *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris* (pp. 4-5). In the version of Nicolas de Baye John the Fearless is one of the many courtiers following the king into Paris, but in the *Journal d'un Bourgeois* the focus is radically different. There it is the duke of Burgundy who returns on March 9 and who *brings* king Charles to Paris on March 17. If the king was considered the (somewhat feeble) symbol and embodiment of the stability of the realm, John the Fearless was considered its guardian and protector.

⁸⁴ Vaughan, *John the Fearless*, pp. 84-85.

duration of the winter.⁸⁵ Yet the massing of troops around Paris for two months had caused great damage: *tota provincia vastata* Pignon observes tersely, and his statement is confirmed by the Bourgeois de Paris who explains that 'les gens de Berry et de ses aidans pilloient, roboient, tuoient en eglise et dehors eglise, especialment ceulx au conte d'Armignac et les Bretons, dont si grant charté s'ensuivy de pain, que plus d'un mois, le sextier de bonne farine valloit LIII frans ou LX, dont les pauvres gens de ville comme au desespoir, fuoient; et leur firent plusieurs escarmouches et en tuerent moult'. The Bourgeois goes on to mention more atrocities, but it is evident where his sympathies lie, for he remarks that 'le duc de Bourgongne et ses freres admenerent leur puissance de devers Flandres et Bourgongne, mais ilz ne prenoient que vivres ceulx au duc de Bourgongne ne à ses aidans, mais trop largement en prenoient'.⁸⁶

In 1411 this tension finally came to a head. Measured by the terms of his otherwise very concise chronicle Pignon is very communicative about the events of that year. In spite of the previous pacts and oaths, he writes, the lords of Berry and Orléans and the others moved again to battle against the duke of Burgundy. With the help of the queen they crossed the Somme and invaded the province of Picardy and Artois perpetrating many enormous evils. The duke of Burgundy raised an army of 60,000 armed men from Flanders not counting the additional 30,000 footmen that accompanied the militia. With this army the duke invaded the towns of Ham, Nesle, and Chauny and succeeded in driving back the Armagnacs from Flanders. The Orléanist-faction had not made up its mind to focus on one military target: instead it wavered between an attack on Burgundian Paris and an attack on Flanders, which in practice meant dividing military strength between both objectives. This may have placed the Armagnacs at a disadvantage, but John the Fearless also had problems. After the recapture of the Flemish towns, many of John's soldiers lost the desire to wage war (*cum tremore expectantibus eventum belli*, Pignon explains) and they deserted at Montdidier. Reinforced by English troops John the Fearless gathered his strength and made for Paris where the Armagnacs had captured Saint-Denis and Saint-Claude. The duke of Burgundy was received in Paris *cum maximo honore* by the king and the nobles, which is a bit of an understatement on the part of Pignon, because the duke practically controlled the city and the French court. Many royal ordinances were issued outlawing Orléans and the other Armagnac princes, proclaiming that they had robbed churches and abbeyes, raped women,

⁸⁵ Pignon, *Chronica*, p. 53. For the terms of the peace settlement, see Vaughan, *John the Fearless*, pp. 83-84: 'a futile rigmarole of unrealistic absurdities'. Pignon's description captures the upshot rather than the contents of the treaty.

⁸⁶ *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, pp. 7-8.

incinerated towns after having killed many inhabitants. No doubt these are the *mala plurima et enormia* that Pignon refers to in his chronicle, and also the Bourgeois de Paris knows of many atrocities: 'Et firent tant de maulx, comme eussent fait Sarazins, car ilz pendoient les gens, les uns par les poulces, autres par les piez, les autres tuoient et rançonnoient, et efforçoient femmes, et boutoient feuz, et quiconcques ce feist, on disoit: «Ce font les Armignaz», et ne demeuroit personne esdiz villaiges que eulx mesmes'.⁸⁷ Though this type of cruelty is certainly compatible with the darker side of human nature and though one should not *a priori* put it beyond the Armagnacs to do these things, one should neither be blind to the force of Burgundian propaganda. The Bourgeois de Paris admits that many atrocities were committed by bands of townsmen under the pretence of hunting down and killing the outlawed Armagnacs, and likewise he admits that the Armagnacs were a convenient scapegoat for many evils. The Parisians took to wearing 'chapperons de drap pers et la croix Saint Andrieu, ou millieu ung escu à la fleur de lis',⁸⁸ which was the symbol of Burgundy. Other displays of affection for the duke of Burgundy appear from the general alarm that disturbed the Parisians when no news came to them from the duke as he was negotiating military assistance from the English. For the Parisians, John the Fearless was a beacon in troubled times. Conversely, John's enemies and opponents were hated passionately. The Bourgeois describes them as 'la maldicte bande', and speaks of 'le faulx conte d'Armignac'.⁸⁹ All of them were solemnly excommunicated and anathematised in the Notre Dame on Martinmas eve, a ritual that was repeated every week until peace was made in August 1412.⁹⁰

Pignon's account is not embellished by such details. He recounts how Burgundy's troops captured Saint-Claude and Saint-Denis at the expense of more than three thousand noble and very brave men (*interfectis ibidem ultra tribus millibus nobilium et fortissiorum virorum*). Fleeing from Saint-Denis, the remaining Armagnac troops were scattered across the district where they gravely upset the populace. Pignon's chronicle immediately moves from this episode on to the siege of Bourges which took place in June 1412. Meanwhile John the Fearless discovered that the Armagnacs had made a treaty with the English offering land, privileges and political and military support in exchange for troops, and infuriated he decided on immediate action. His

⁸⁷ *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, p. 11.

⁸⁸ *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, p. 12. It was a symbol charged with powerful emotions that would remain valid at least until 1436. See: Guy Llewelyn Thompson, *Paris and Its People under English Rule: The Anglo-Burgundian Regime 1420-1436* (Oxford 1991), pp. 172-173.

⁸⁹ *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, pp. 16-17.

⁹⁰ Vaughan, *John the Fearless*, p. 93.

attack was directed against the duchy of Berry and its capital Bourges. Pignon does not emphasise Burgundy's role in this campaign, but simply speaks of the king and his allies (*rex et omne de parte sua*) moving to the town and besieging it for six weeks, *non sine gravi damno et iactura tam nobilium quam popularium, ita ut vix enarrari possent damna, incendia, homicidia, rapidae, ibidem perpetrata*.⁹¹ Finally a reconciliation was effected through the efforts of the dauphin, Amadeus of Savoy and Louis of Anjou, king of Sicily. This reconciliation, the peace of Auxerre, led to the obligatory shows of mutual affection between Burgundy and Orléans and even to the rather grizzly rehabilitation of Jehan de Montagu who had been executed three years earlier, as narrated by Monstrelet:

Et à ung certain jour au soir, le prévost de Paris et son bourrel, acompaignez de douze hommes ou environ tenans torches alumées et portans une eschèle, avec ung prestre revestu d'une aube et paré de fanon et estole, vindrent ès halles. Et tantost, le bourrel par ladicte eschèle monta où ledit chef estoit, lequel il osta de la lance où il estoit fiché, et là fut mis en ung beau suaire que le prestre fut mis sur son espaule et de là porté par la compaignie dessusdicte, lesdiz flambeaux ardans, en l'ostel dudit feu Montagu grant maistre d'ostel dessusdit. Et pareillement fut son corps osté jus du gibet de Montfaucon par ledit prévost et son bourrel, et fut rendu et porté à Paris, lequel fu joinct avecques le chef et enclos en ung sarcus et fut porté en la compaignie des enfans de lui et de ses amis, à grant compaignie et triumphe, à prestres chantans et grant lumineaire, à Marcoussis, et là en l'église des Célestins, laquelle en son vivant avoit fait fonder et fait un couvent de religieus, moult honnorablement fut enterré.⁹²

We will encounter the notorious Montfaucon gallows again later on. Pignon's chronicle contains no information beyond the year 1412 and knows nothing of the Cabochian revolt, the Armagnac 'coup d'état' and John the Fearless's second flight from Paris to the safety of Flanders. It does not ruminate on the religious or political meaning of the events it so soberly recounts, and can therefore only provide the backcloth of the ominous remarks in *Contre les devineurs* that were our point of departure. Were the horrors of the civil war of 1411 the direct consequence of a ruler's unsavoury interest in divinatory and necromantic practices? Was it the French or the Burgundian court that had erred in this way? *Contre les devineurs* does not contain any explicit statements on that account. Much as we may regret it, Pignon may not have felt at liberty to speak his mind.

Treatises against magic and superstition were not always written in response to an urgent practical need, but *Contre les devineurs* is an exception.

⁹¹ Pignon, *Chronica*, p. 55.

⁹² Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 2, chapter 96, p. 301.

Pignon was motivated to compile the material for his treatise by certain events or certain stories he heard involving magic and divination, that finally, he was convinced, resulted in civil war.

1.6 *The King and the Evil Spirit*

Metaphors and *exempla* were political tools in the hands of the duke of Burgundy. In the next chapter we shall explore how well certain *exempla* from Petit's *Justification* were made to fit reality. To round off the present chapter we must return to our point of departure: the example of king Saul who sealed his own ruin by consulting a necromancer. As we saw earlier it was by no means unusual around 1400 to write a treatise or admonishment on the dangers of divination for a monarch. Before Pignon, Nicole Oresme had written his *Livre de divinations*, possibly for Charles V who greatly favoured astrology. Yet, as in the case of Solomon the Wise, Charles the Wise did not heed the warnings and after his death the kingdom was torn apart by two rivalling groups. Neither Oresme nor anyone else uses this comparison (even though it would have been very suitable), but then again no accusations of necromancy taint the reputation of Charles V. The example of Saul, which, following the dedication of *Contre les devineurs*, we have tried to apply to John the Fearless, is far more suitable when applied to Charles VI.

Saul, Scripture says (I Sam. 16:14), was plagued by an evil spirit; likewise Charles VI suffered from temporary fits of insanity, a 'demonic affliction'. Saul would burst out in violence occasionally, throwing his spear at David; likewise Charles VI, when his disease first manifested itself, became aggressive and killed some servants. Saul in final desperation consulted a necromancer, and also the court of the mad king sent for sorcerers and magicians. It seems very likely, therefore, that Pignon in writing *Contre les devineurs* was inspired by the court of Charles VI. From a Parisian perspective the war of 1411 (which centered largely on Paris and its surrounding towns) was a direct consequence of the court's degeneration. Pignon's warnings against magic may originally have been intended for this court, whose king and courtiers favoured magic, as a sequel to Oresme's more scientifically minded treatise, which, very suitably, was written under a very scientifically minded king. Pignon may well have translated and organised his material in the final years of the first decade of the fifteenth century, only adding the dedication to John the Fearless when prospects of a career in the service of Burgundy presented themselves. It is now time to turn to the mad king's court and the evil spirits that infested it.

CHAPTER TWO

THE PACT WITH THE ENEMY

In Pignon's way of reasoning the civil war of 1411 was a consequence of the court's involvement in magic and divination. Any modern historian will feel the need to take issue with this explanation by pointing out that it was essentially the power-vacuum created by the mental illness of Charles VI that caused the rivalry between John of Burgundy and Louis d'Orléans, which in turn would result in the Burgundian-Armagnac conflict of which the 1411-war was an important consequence. These two explanations, however, are not incompatible. A careful examination of court-culture prior to the war of 1411 shows that magic was at least an important accessory in the stages of the historical chain of causes that led to the civil war. The madness of Charles VI attracted many magicians who pretended to be able to cure the king, and in the conflict between Burgundy and Orléans accusations of sorcery were important political tools. In short, magic was either used to cure or to incriminate, and both applications give us an excellent impression of late medieval belief in its reality and its efficacy. The cases recorded in this chapter are part of Pignon's social world and will no doubt have inspired him to write his book. It is very unlikely that Pignon was unaware of them even though *Contre les devineurs* contains only one or two oblique references.

Magic and divination, the main themes of *Contre les devineurs*, revolve around one main issue: the pact with the devil. The importance of whose side one is on, was not merely a matter of theological concern; it was also of prime importance to one of the greatest political scandals of early fifteenth-century Paris. It all began with a political murder.

Most sacrilegious murder hath broke ope
the Lord's anointed temple, and stole thence
The life o' the building! (*Macbeth* II.3)

2.1 Motives for Murder

On the evening of Wednesday, November 23, 1407, the duke Louis d'Orléans, brother of king Charles VI, coming from the royal palace in the company of five men, three on horseback and two on foot, met his end at the hands of eight or nine mercenaries led by Raoul d'Anquetonville, a Norman knight. Jacqueline Griffart, wife of a shoemaker and sole witness to the assassination, had seen the duke from her window by the light of the

torches, bareheaded, playing with his gloves and singing to himself, when he was suddenly overtaken by his murderers; one of his valets was slain and the others put to flight. The duke himself was struck from his horse, his skull cleft in two, one hand cut off and his brains splashed over the pavement.¹ The mortal remains of the duke were collected and entombed in the church of the Celestins the following day in the presence of the dukes of Anjou, Berry, Bourbon and Burgundy. The funerary rites lasted two days, and the duke of Burgundy, dressed in black, is reported to have exceeded all in his remonstrations of mourning.²

The inquest conducted by the provost of Paris soon brought to light that the mercenaries who had lodged in a house called 'l'ymage Nostre Dame' had been supplied by a water-carrier, who was currently staying in the hôtel d'Artois, John the Fearless's Parisian residence. This man could not be questioned without John's permission and the latter, when confronted with this request in the presence of the dukes of Berry, Bourbon and Anjou during a meeting of the royal council, was disturbed at finding himself implicated in the crime. He drew aside the dukes of Anjou and Berry and confessed that the devil had driven him to this crime, an unfortunate excuse that could and would be used against him. Though astonished and shocked, the two dukes apparently took no immediate action. The following day, Saturday, John the Fearless was still in Paris intending to participate in the meeting of the royal council. But his uncle, the duke of Berry, met him on his way to the chambers where the meeting was to take place, and advised him not to enter. Having been turned away, John went back to his lodgings where he had already taken precautions for a speedy departure and on the same day, Saturday, November 26, he fled from Paris.³ The news of his crime spread rapidly, for Nicolas de Baye notes in his *Journal*: 'Ce jour, a esté dit et publié de plusieurs que le duc de Borgoigne, conte de Flandres et de Bourgoigne et d'Artois, disoit et maintenoit qu'il avoit fait occire le duc d'Orléans, son cousin germain, par Rolet d'Auquetonville et autres, et sur ce s'est au

¹ The graphic detail of the crime was scrupulously noted down by Nicolas de Baye, clerk of the Paris Parlement. See: Nicolas de Baye, *Journal*, vol. 1, pp. 206-207; Juvenal des Ursins, *Histoire*, pp. 444b-445a; *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* XXVIII.30, vol. 3, pp. 731-737. See also Otto Cartellieri, "Die Verherrlichung des Tyrannenmordes", in: *Am Hofe der Herzöge von Burgund: kulturhistorische Bilder* (Basel 1926), pp. 37-54; Vaughan, *John the Fearless*, pp. 29-48; and B. Guenée, *Un meurtre, une société. L'assassinat du duc d'Orléans, 23 novembre 1407* (Paris 1992).

² Alfred Coville, *Jean Petit: La question du tyrannicide au commencement du XVe siècle* (Genève 1974), p. 88.

³ See Coville, *Jean Petit*, pp. 90-91. Vaughan gives a more condensed reconstruction of these events, making John the Fearless's confession and his flight from Paris occur on the same day. Apparently there is some confusion on this matter.

jourd'ui parti de Paris'.⁴ The actual perpetrators of the crime, Raoul d'Anquetonville and his men, were exiled to Bruges, where for some time they were financially supported by the duke of Burgundy. As for John the Fearless himself, his crime would have profound consequences in the years and even in the decades to come.

In a very direct sense he had signed his own death-sentence because the dauphin and the queen, who had felt great affection for her brother-in-law, swore revenge and would, in the end, be enabled to obtain it on the bridge near Montereau in 1419. With all the particulars of this crime widely publicised, there was no point for Burgundy to deny it, and this situation more or less forced John the Fearless to be on the defensive. Defend himself he did, employing one of the most effective means at his disposal, namely literary propaganda. A Paris theologian named Jean Petit pronounced a *Justification* on the duke's behalf, the text of which was circulated at the European courts. As the antagonism between Burgundy and Armagnac France increased, Burgundy's self-consciousness, so propitiously coupled with the growth of Burgundian power, was enhanced by literary texts such as the *Geste des ducs Phelippe et Jehan de Bourgogne*, the *Livre des trahisons de France* and the *Pastoralet*. These texts, though lacking in literary refinement, were considered by Doutrepoint as the cornerstones of Burgundian literature.⁵ They bore out what Doutrepoint called the 'esprit bourguignon', a sense of personal grandeur marked by the unmistakable sense of self-justificatory assertiveness that had been initiated by Petit's *Justification*.

Though the assassination of Louis d'Orléans may have given rise to a new esprit in the work of the Burgundian 'rimeurs', the hostilities it caused were not unprecedented. Essentially the motives for the murder were of a political nature, arising from years of open rivalry between the two dukes. Whenever Charles VI, who suffered from insanity, was indisposed, the government of the country was deferred to his closest relatives; the queen, Isabel of Bavaria, the king's brother, Louis d'Orléans, and his uncles. Thus Philip the Bold of Burgundy had a firm grip on French politics, and, for that matter, on the French treasury, for Philip drew half his annual income (which was about 235,000 francs) from French financial resources. When Philip died in 1404,

⁴ Nicolas de Baye, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 208.

⁵ Doutrepoint, *La littérature française*, pp. 72-90, 289. The texts were published by baron Kervyn de Lettenhove in: *Chroniques relatives à l'histoire de la Belgique sous la domination des ducs de Bourgogne* (Bruxelles 1873). Only the *Pastoralet* has received a recent edition: *Le Pastoralet*, ed. Joël Blanchard (Paris 1983). The three texts may have been written some time after the death of John the Fearless. Doutrepoint (*op. cit.*, p. 73) makes note of a version of the *Geste* which, contrary to the text edited by Kervyn, does not run up to 1412, but up to 1420, suggesting that the final version of the text was a later composition. Blanchard (*Pastoralet*, p. 25) points out that the *Pastoralet* postdates 1422.

his son and successor John the Fearless was less successful in procuring money from France, partly because there was a powerful new rival: Louis d'Orléans.

Louis was not simply the queen's ally but also, rumour had it, her lover. During the king's illness the pair neglected the affairs of state, and enriched themselves at the expense of the people. They lived for the delights of the flesh, the Monk of Saint Denis remarks,⁶ and forgetting their rank and the duties of their station, they became an object of scandal for France. Louis had also procured other means of establishing firm ties with the French throne. In 1404 he had arranged a marriage between his son Charles and a daughter of the king, Isabel, who was the child widow of the unfortunate Richard II of England. His proximity to the throne brought him great wealth,⁷ as well as many lands, and apparently gave him the power to impose heavy taxes (for which he was much hated). The Monk of Saint Denis may not have exaggerated when he called Louis d'Orléans the actual ruler of France.

John the Fearless soon responded by protesting against the heavy taxes and by forwarding reform proposals for the French government; but the tension rose when Charles VI decided to call the duke of Burgundy to Paris to become a member of the royal council. John the Fearless left Arras (on August 17, 1405) in the company of some thousand secretly armed knights, and three days later the duke of Orléans left Paris and went to Melun in the company of the queen. Arrangements were made for the ten-year-old dauphin to follow them the next day, but the dauphin's party was overtaken by John the Fearless and his men and the dauphin was persuaded by the duke to return with him to Paris, where they were cheered by the population who favoured the duke for his tax-reform plans and preferred him to the queen's wasteful paramour. Huge concentrations of troops now were formed round Paris and Melun. The threat of civil war was very real and the money-consuming armies were a heavy burden to the local populace since they ruined (as Pignon⁸ noted) the harvest and thereby caused great shortage of supplies. Yet the crisis did not come to a head and in the course of November the armies were dismantled.

The frightening prospect of war may have shaken the nerves of the two rivals for in the time to come they would occupy themselves with ostentatious remonstrations of mutual friendship. But beneath the fragrant rose there are

⁶ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys* XXVI.7, vol. 3, pp. 266-269: *in deliciis corporeis assidue conversari* (p. 266).

⁷ For the years 1404-1405 Vaughan (*John the Fearless*, p. 31) provides the estimate of his annual revenues of 454,158 *livre de Tours*; only 45,000 *l.* was income from his own lands.

⁸ Pignon, *Chronica*, p. 51.

prickly thorns. In politics and in matters of religion the dukes found themselves at opposite ends. Louis d'Orléans supported the Avignon pope Benedict XIII, whereas John (like the English and the university of Paris) favoured the Roman pope Innocent VII. Worst perhaps, was the fact that Louis d'Orléans was a major obstacle to Burgundian territorial and financial interests. As count of Luxembourg, he laid claim to castles in Burgundian territories, and between 1405 and 1407 he managed to procure an annual income from the French treasury of more than 200,000 francs while his rival John the Fearless received close to nothing.⁹ These are the most likely motives for the assassination on that fateful evening in November.

Then winter¹⁰ set in, a winter so cold and severe that the likes of it had never been seen before. The Monk of St. Denis says that the cold spared neither man nor beast. Many destitutes froze to death and there was heavy snowfall throughout January. Nicolas de Baye complained that the cold made it impossible to write even in front of the fire since the ink would congeal so fast that he could scarcely write two or three words: 'Or povez sentir en quel estat estoient povres gens qui n'avoient ne pain, ne vin, n'argent, ne busche, et qui avoient povre mestier et foison d'enfans'. When a thaw set in at the end of January, the sheer weight of the ice caused even some of the strongest bridges in Paris (and the houses that were built on them) to be ruined. Ice floes in the river, looking like enormous blocks of stone destroyed supply-ships and some of the mills along the river, causing great shortage of provisions. The heavens themselves cried out the death of princes in January 1408, but the duke of Burgundy cried back and for some time his voice prevailed.

John the Fearless immediately started to work on his rehabilitation. A meeting was held at Amiens in January 1408 where John the Fearless procured the permission of the dukes of Berry and Anjou to come to Paris in order to present his formal defence. At the end of February 1408, some three months after the murder, John the Fearless re-entered Paris triumphantly in the company of 800 armed knights. Again he was cheered by the population, which obviously took a view of the murder that was decidedly different from that of the princes of the blood royal. John had already presented a justification of his crime with a detailed account of the murder in Flanders. In February 1408 this was followed by a similar manifesto, signed by Jean de La Keythulle, the ducal secretary, addressed to *universis regibus, ducibus*,

⁹ See: Vaughan, *John the Fearless*, pp. 42-43, for a detailed survey of the finances and the debts owed to John the Fearless.

¹⁰ For reports on this winter see: *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* XXVIII.32, vol. 3, pp. 745-749; Nicolas de Baye, *Journal*, pp. 212-213; Juvenal des Ursins, *Histoire*, p. 445a; Pignon, *Chronica*, p. 52; Vaughan, *John the Fearless*, p. 69.

*comitibus ceterisque principibus, prelatibus, baronibus aliisque quibuscumque seu ecclesiasticis sive secularibus presentium tenorem visuris aut quomodolibet audituris.*¹¹ These documents were only the prolegomena to the grand and official justification that was to be pronounced at the royal court on March 8, 1408, in the presence of John the Fearless, by maistre Jehan Petit, master of theology and ducal counsellor.

2.2 *The Devil's Advocate*

Jean Petit (c.1360-1411), a Norman by birth and a secular priest by vocation, completed his studies in the liberal arts at Paris around 1385, after which he went to Orléans to study law for two years. Returning to Paris he continued his studies and was a doctor of theology by 1405. These academic achievements would not have been possible, he would confess later in his *Justification*, without the benefices he had received from the duke of Burgundy.¹² Coville describes him as a man with a violent and intransigent nature, rough and even brutal in his language.¹³ In 1406 Petit addressed the Paris Parlement, defending the university's views on the subtraction of obedience. That the university of Paris deemed him qualified as her spokesman in matters concerning the great Schism, may illustrate how the tone of the public debate on this issue had hardened.

Petit's strident performance in the debate over the Avignon papacy had attracted the attention of John the Fearless and six months later in Amiens he was asked to prepare and deliver the formal justification of the duke of Burgundy. Despite the warnings of fellow-tenants in his Parisian lodgings and of some of his academic friends, Jean Petit accepted, no doubt compelled by ancient loyalties. He started to work on the text of the justification early in January 1408, which left him less than two months for its completion. At least five other people collaborated on the text of the justification, four lawyers and a theologian: Simon de Saulx, André Cotin, Nicolas de Savigny, Pierre de Marigny, and Pierre Aux-Boeufs.¹⁴ Especially the latter was one of Petit's most important ghost-writers.

Pierre Aux-Boeufs had attracted attention in 1406 speaking before one of the many assemblies that had gathered to debate the Schism, on which occasion he had compared all members of the clergy present to wise mariners who, like all men of the sea, govern themselves by the science of naval

¹¹ Coville, *Jean Petit*, p. 103.

¹² Petit explains in the preamble to his *Justification* that he is bound to Burgundy because the duke had financed his studies. See Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 1, chapter 39, p. 182.

¹³ Coville, *Jean Petit*, p. 9.

¹⁴ Coville, *Jean Petit*, p. 131.

astrology. His elaborate metaphor reveals something about the status of astrology in the perceptions of the higher clergy. When mariners observe a halo round the Sun or the Moon, a sure sign of a violent storm, they brace themselves and prepare for the worst. Was not the Schism like this halo, a harbinger of great evils? A halo is caused by fumes obstructing and refracting the rays of light from Sun and Moon, and likewise is not the Schism a pestiferous vapour of ambition and covetousness? In his plea for harmony, the prelates were promoted from star-gazing seamen to the very planets themselves that on their celestial course are to produce the musical harmonies of the spheres.¹⁵ If the power of prelates was as generally accepted a commonplace as the influence of celestial bodies, one may well imagine this flattering metaphor to have been a propitious choice, for contrary to their heavenly counterparts these planets had the power to incline *and* to compel. But flattery did not heal the Schism, and even Pierre Aux-Boeufs's rhetoric did not convince the Church that the assassination of Louis d'Orléans had been a justified tyrannicide.

It took Jean Petit four hours to deliver the entire *Justification* in the great hall of the royal palace, the hôtel de Saint-Pol in Paris. His address was structured by means of a simple syllogism: according to the *major* it is legitimate and meritorious to kill a tyrant; according to the *minor* the duke of Orléans was a tyrant; which resulted in the conclusion that it was both legitimate and meritorious for the duke of Burgundy to have killed the duke of Orléans. Coupled with a text from I Timothy 6 which says that 'covetousness is the root of all evil', it was especially the *minor* that needed the most persuasive argumentation. The late duke of Orléans was accused of having caused the madness of the king through sorcery, of having attempted to murder him through poisoning as well as through black magic, of having plotted with the enemy, of having been excessively greedy in imposing taxes and in his attempts to usurp the throne. A fair number of these accusations, one feels, might with equal justice have been applied to John the Fearless at that moment. Though the *Justification* earned the duke of Burgundy a royal pardon and gave him the opportunity to strengthen his grip on France, it was nevertheless received coldly.

It would cast a dark shadow over the remaining years of Jean Petit's life, for not only would he be charged with the multiplication and distribution of the texts, he would also be obliged to draw up a second *Justification* in answer to a refutation of the first one, forwarded by the Orléanist faction. In his heart of hearts Jean Petit may have felt a grave dissatisfaction with the burdensome and ineluctable task that John the Fearless had imposed on him.

¹⁵ Coville, *Jean Petit*, pp. 127-129.

Though he was a famous master of theology and acknowledged as such by the clergy and all the members of the university, he himself states explicitly and emphatically in both the first and the second justification that he is neither a theologian nor a lawyer.¹⁶ The last years of his career were marked by this modest and possibly even uneasy unobtrusiveness. Though Petit became ducal counsellor and ‘maître des requêtes’, John the Fearless did not bestow any ecclesiastical dignities on him. When his health declined he was offered a quiet provincial retreat, a small village called Arnay-le-Duc, where on July 15, 1411 he died. His *Justification* haunted him even after his death, for at the Council of the Faith (Concile de Foi, 1413) where all his arguments were refuted, his opponents wanted to disinter his bones and burn them in public.¹⁷ Most of the copies of the *Justification* that were spread in France were burned, but naturally the Burgundian ones survived, while some of its more imaginative episodes were versified in the anonymous *Geste des ducs de Bourgogne*.¹⁸

2.3 Epistola ex Tenebris Infernalibus

The *Justification du duc de Bourgogne* has been given many different epithets that all, more or less, express a condemnation. The Monk of St. Denis¹⁹ remarks dryly that many eminent persons regarded the *Justification* as reprehensible and though he confesses himself partial to their opinion, he leaves it to the venerable doctors to pass a final judgment. This at least one of the venerable doctors did. Gerson is reported to have referred to it as a *codicillum damnationis*, a *librum mortis*, a *cartulam opprobrii* and an *epistola ex tenebris infernalibus*.²⁰ Modern historians are perhaps less dramatic, but no less severe in their judgments. Collas spoke of ‘cette monstrueuse haran-

¹⁶ Coville, *Jean Petit*, pp. 210-211; Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 1, pp. 182-183.

¹⁷ Coville, *Jean Petit*, pp. 399-402.

¹⁸ See: *La geste des ducs de Bourgogne*, in: *Chroniques relatives à l'histoire de la Belgique*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove. The following survey gives a brief analysis of the representation of Petit's *Justification* in the *Geste*. Only three anecdotes were versified:

1. introduction (ll. 2007-2030; p. 319)
2. the parable of Lucifer [Luciabel] (ll. 2031-2068; pp. 319-320)
3. the sorcerer monk at Montjay (ll. 2069-2094; pp. 320-321)
4. Valentina Visconti and the poisoned apple (ll. 2095-2166; pp. 321-323)
5. conclusion (ll. 2167-2183; pp. 323-324).

¹⁹ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* XXVIII.34, vol. 3, pp. 764-765.

²⁰ Coville, *Jean Petit*, p. 110. For Gerson's invectives against Petit, see: *Contra errores Joannis Parvi, Ex parte Universitatis coram Rege, Contra assertiones Joannis Parvi* in: Gerson, *Œuvres complètes*, vol. 5, pp. 190-204, 243-255, 420-435 resp.; *Discours au roi contre Jean Petit*, in: *Œuvres complètes*, vol. 7(1), pp. 1005-1030; *Intervention au Concile de la foi* and related documents, in: *Œuvres complètes*, vol. 10, pp. 180-181, 207-208.

gue'.²¹ Vaughan called it 'one of the most insolent pieces of political chicanery and theological casuistry in all history'.²² Naturally there is ample ground for indignation, even for those historians who are not lured into partiality. Still it may be argued that it is not the *Justification* so much as the crime that occasioned it which merits our reprobation. Cartellieri, for instance, recognised the difference when, in an apt metaphor, he spoke of Burgundy's egotistical motives hiding in the many-folded cloak of a lofty idea.²³ Doutrepoint (naturally) wants to emphasise its literary importance and calls it 'la production capitale de la littérature didactique sous le règne du fougueux duc'.²⁴ Petit deals with tyrannicide quite admirably and persuasively as is appropriate for a piece of literary propaganda and the *Justification* has been compared to some of the propagandistic literary productions of the Florentine humanists who strove to oppose the Visconti family. There were numerous contacts between France and Burgundy and Italy; returning from the disaster at Nicopolis, John the Fearless had travelled through Italy and spent an entire winter in Venice, thus having ample opportunity to absorb new ideas on politics.²⁵ This is not to say that the *Justification* in any way betrays humanist features. It should be clear, however, that it is more than an audacious yet feeble and ill-founded attempt to conceal John's guilt and incriminate Louis d'Orléans. It is a forceful literary attempt to rewrite history and to fashion a Burgundian identity. This should not stop us from considering the *Justification* as 'insolent' or 'infernal', but it should make us more sensitive to the strategic importance of this text.

For a proper appreciation of the *Justification*²⁶ we shall briefly concentrate on its structure. The text consists of two main parts, each subdivided into four articles. The first part deals with the *major*, the second part with the *minor* of the earlier mentioned syllogism. In the first article of part one the text from I Timothy 6, 'covetousness is the root of all evil',²⁷ is expounded: covetousness, we learn, has a threefold nature since people may

²¹ Emile Collas, *Valentine de Milan, duchesse d'Orléans* (Paris 1911), pp. 389, 396.

²² Vaughan, *John the Fearless*, p. 70.

²³ Cartellieri, *Am Hofe der Herzöge von Burgund*, p. 40.

²⁴ Doutrepoint, *La littérature française*, p. 283; for a discussion of the *Justification*, see pp. 283-287.

²⁵ See Charity Cannon Willard, "The Manuscripts of Jean Petit's *Justification*: Some Burgundian Propaganda Methods of the Early Fifteenth Century", in: *Studi Francesi* 13 (1969), pp. 271-280.

²⁶ The text of the first *Justification* is contained in: Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 1, chapter 39, pp. 177-244.

²⁷ I Tim. 6:10 (*radix omnium malorum cupiditas*) reads in the KJV: 'the love of money is the root of all evil'. Since Monstrelet (*Chronique*, vol. 1, p. 184) gives Petit's motto as 'Dame convoitise est de tous maux la racine', we will use the word 'covetousness'.

covet (a) vain honours, (b) earthly riches, and (c) carnal delights. After this introductory section, the basic framework of the entire discourse is drawn out in part I, article 2: covetousness may be at the root of all evil, but the greatest evil, the greatest crime, is high treason, lese-majesty, since it offends the highest honour, which is royal majesty. Since there are two kinds of majesty, (1) divine and (2) human, high treason may take a number of shapes: as an offence against divine majesty it may (1a) offer injury to God, which is what heretics and idolators do, or (1b) offer injury to the Church, which is what schismatics do. As an offence against human majesty, high treason may affect (2a) the king or prince himself, (2b) his wife, the queen, (2c) their children, and (2d) the state or commonwealth. The background of this scheme is, of course, the corporate and hierarchical idea of the state that we already encountered in one of Pignon's treatises and that enjoyed some popularity in Burgundian circles. According to this hierarchical model, the earthly order mirrors the heavenly one, from which it originated and to which it is ontologically linked. If the earthly order somehow participates in the larger heavenly order, then one may be lead to suppose that offences against the one will also have repercussions in relation to the other. A man guilty of high treason will not only offend the king but also, by extension, sin against God. This is precisely the implication that Petit wants to suggest.²⁸ In part II of his *Justification* he deals with the *minor* of his syllogism in which he tries to prove that Louis d'Orléans is guilty of tyranny and high treason by acting against king, queen, dauphin and country. On the face of it this would suggest that Orléans was only guilty of the second type of high treason (against human majesty) but this would be to underestimate both Petit and the intricacy of the idea that he was expounding. As we will see Orléans is certainly portrayed as a traitor against God in part II, but also in part I treason against God and king are intimately linked. In addition to this, the *exempla* that Petit adduces in part I to adstruct his theoretical observations are made to be the prophetic adumbrations of the animosity between Orléans and Burgundy.

In articles 2 and 3 of the first part of his *Justification* Petit provides two sets of three examples each. The first set of three must show that covetousness causes apostasy (which is treason against God); it presents us with the fate of Julian the apostate who, for the sake of vain honour, turned to the worship of pagan gods; of the monk Sergius who, for the sake of earthly riches, joined the company of Mohammed; and of Sambry (a story from Numbers 25) who, for the sake of carnal lust, became an idolator. The second set of three examples is made to show that covetousness causes high treason

²⁸ An oath of allegiance was in general both religious and political; breaking the oath was synonymous with heresy. Later, the Armagnacs would even include a threat of damnation in their oaths. See Thompson, *Paris*, p. 174.

against kings and it presents the cases of Sambry and Lucifer (a curiously unearthly story), Absalom, and Athalia, queen of Jerusalem (II Kings 11). In some instances Petit produces interesting and telling elaborations of his source-material (as in the case of Sambry and Lucifer), and in all instances the tyrants who are killed are somehow made to reflect the allegedly vicious nature of Louis d'Orléans. Of equal interest, however, are their executioners, the instruments of divine vengeance, in whose company, we are led to imagine by implication, we find John the Fearless. To illustrate Petit's rhetorical strategies that aim at implicating Louis d'Orléans and the Armagnac faction in a devil's pact, we shall concentrate on the two most poignant examples: the cases of Sambry and Lucifer.

The story of Zimri (or Sambry as Petit calls him), a brief Biblical episode,²⁹ was chosen and elaborated with great care to match the case of Louis d'Orléans. When many Israelites worshipped the idols of Moab, God ordered Moses to hang all trespassers. But why, Petit wonders, hang all the princes? He concludes it is because some of them consented to his crime, and others, though not following their example, neglected to avenge such heavy offence against God.³⁰ The Bible mentions nothing of this, but obviously the *Justification* is made to show, not only that John acted meritoriously but above all that *not* having acted would have constituted a serious crime. The idolatry among the Israelites had been brought about by the amorous liaisons with foreign (Moabite) women and one of these liaisons is the focus of Petit's attention.

Le duc Sambry (...) s'en ala entrer ou logis de la dame sarrasine, qui estoit sa mie par amours et qui estoit la plus belle créature et la plus gente du pays. Lors ung vaillant homme nommé Phinéas print courage en lui et dist en son cuer, je voue à Dieu que présentement le vengeray de ceste injure. Si se parti sans mot dire, sans quelconques commandement de Moyse, ne d'autre à ce aiant povoir, et s'en vint au logis, où il trouva icellui duc avec icelle dame, l'un sur l'autre, faisant l'œuvre de délit, et d'un coustel qu'il avoit par manière de dague, les transperca tous deux d'oultre en oultre, et les occist tous deux ensemble.

In the same way, of course, John the Fearless had no official authorisation to dispose of the tyrant Orléans, but, the text cleverly suggests, he had something better than official authorisation: he acted at the instigation of God.

²⁹ Num. 25:6-8,14-15.

³⁰ Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 1, pp. 193-194.

Et les vingt quatre mille hommes qui estoient adhérens avec icellui duc nommé Sambry, si volrent combattre, pour sa mort. Mais par la grâce de Dieu ilz furent les plus febles, et furent tous mors et occis.³¹

The text from Numbers 25 makes clear that 24,000 men died as a consequence of their idolatry, but it nowhere says that they formed a faction, that Zimri was their leader or that they fought on his behalf. This information is furnished by Petit and results from his clever recontextualisation of the Biblical narrative in the Burgundian-Armagnac controversy.

If we read the story in this light we might wonder whose body Raoul d'Anquetonville's sword should have pierced besides (or rather, under) that of Louis d'Orléans. In view of Louis's generally deplored wantonness there was at least one lady (namely the queen) that Petit would have been careful never to implicate in his subtle but poisonous narrative. It is highly unlikely that his story would have been misunderstood, for it clearly refers to a foreigner, 'la dame sarrasine, qui estoit sa mie par amours et qui estoit la plus belle créature et la plus gente du pays', details which cannot be found in Numbers 25. No doubt, many understood this hint as a description of Louis's wife, Valentina Visconti, a celebrated beauty in her day.³² There were many contemporary rumours that implicated her in practices of sorcery, which, if true, would qualify her, from a theological point of view, as an idolator. And this no doubt was Petit's tacit suggestion.

In the second set of three examples the Burgundian-Armagnac conflict for a moment acquires celestial dimensions as Petit narrates how Lucifer, the most perfect of creatures and first among the angels (we should remember that Louis, as the king's brother, was for a time the most powerful man in France) desired to usurp God's throne. He formed his own band of apostate angels to pursue that goal, but was opposed as well as outnumbered by St. Michael, the archangel, and his angelic host. Lucifer was slain and thrown into hell.³³ It takes some imagination to recognise in the murderous assault of Raoul d'Anquetonville and his men in the Vieille Rue du Temple anything remotely resembling the heavenly battle in St. John's vision, but Petit's choice of this example ties in perfectly with the tendency to stir nationalist feelings

³¹ Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 1, p. 194; cf. also Coville, *Jean Petit*, pp. 214-215, who quotes the manuscript.

³² No less a poet than Eustache Deschamps eulogised her beauty. See: Collas, *Valentine de Milan*, pp. 18-23.

³³ Parallel to the case of Phineas, Petit presents this slaying as an autonomous, non-authorised act on the part of Michael. The abbé de Cérisy, Petit's Orléanist opponent, severely rebuked him for his poor knowledge of theology in this matter. Michael, being a perfect angel, would never act without authorisation.

by promoting the cult of St. Michael in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century France.³⁴

The later Burgundian court also favoured the comparison of John the Fearless to the great warrior angel. The parable of Lucifer can be found among the three episodes from the *Justification* that were versified in the *Geste des ducs de Bourgogne*. The cosmic combat between Michael and Lucifer and the fall of the angels is a powerful and appealing image which lifts the Burgundian-Orléanist conflict to a higher plain. The *Geste* makes a striking comparison, which inevitably brings to mind the severe winter of 1408 that immediately followed the assassination of Louis d'Orléans. Like snow in January, it rained fallen angels for fifteen days, the poet says, using the January snowfall as a metaphor for Michael's cleaning up of heaven by throwing out all rebel angels, which in turn is meant to parallel Burgundy's clean sweep of the Orléanist usurpers.

Tant s'en avancha
Que sains Michieus l'arcangles son malisse avisa
Sans license de Dieu; ains ne li commanda.
Prist le blason de foy, à son col l'enbiercha,
L'espée de justice en se main empungna.
Pour sien Dieu souverain le bataille enchierqua.
O les IX légions d'angles qu'il ajouta,
Contre Luciabel sains Michiel s'en ala;
De mort perpétuelle l'ocist et condampna,
Lui et tout son colière en infier il condampna.
Comme naige en jenvier, bien quinze jours dura,
Ne pluvoit que faus angles; la gloire en nettoia
Sains Mychies qui de ce sans congiet s'avancha.
N'en fu mie punis, mais ançois Dieus li donna
Très-noble gueredon et sa gloire doubla;
Vicaire des angles adont l'institua.
Osi mon dit seigneur de Bourgogne de là,
Pour vengier le malisse et mort c'on pourcacha
Sus son seigneur et roy, tant fist et pourcacha
Que de mort temporelle ycelui afinna.³⁵

Even after the death of John the Fearless, the Burgundians had a strong tendency to mobilise the higher reaches of heaven to further their cause.

Moving on to the fourth and final article of the first part of his address, Petit further elaborates the theoretical foundation of his case. He presents

³⁴ Thompson, *Paris*, p. 174 and n. 134.

³⁵ *Geste*, ll. 2038-2057, p. 320.

eight 'facts' or 'truths' and nine corollaries,³⁶ as he calls them, to explain the nature of tyranny and to show, from authorities, that tyrannicide is justified. We have already seen from the way that Petit interpreted his examples that tyranny encompasses two ontologically linked levels: it is treason against both God and man. In order for this to be true it is of the utmost importance that the more mundane forms of treason, that will be the focus of Petit's attention in the second part of his *Justification*, include some forms of idolatry. This Petit achieves by accusing Louis d'Orléans of sorcery. Far from being meaningless and inconsequential slanders, these accusations form the structural backbone of Petit's argument. Though evidently libelous, they take pride of place in part II where they tend to overshadow the other, not so very convincing accusations, and in the theoretical observations of part I, art. 4 Petit refers to them emphatically, notably in the first and eighth 'truth'.

The first 'truth' that he stresses is that any subject who rebels against his king by means of sorcery, deserves a double death (i.e. physical death and eternal damnation). In accordance with the hierarchical order of the world and society, tyranny comes in degrees of gravity. The greater the rank of the traitor, the greater his crime. (A greater criminal than Louis d'Orléans would therefore hardly be conceivable.) Likewise, the greater the criminal, the greater the obligation to protect the king, which duty should most meritoriously and lawfully be fulfilled by one of the king's closest relatives (which in the case of Charles VI would be one of his uncles, and failing that, his cousin of Burgundy). The type of reasoning that Petit applies here is reminiscent of arguments that are found in Aquinas, who argues that since monarchy is the best form of government, obversely, tyranny is the worst.³⁷ To conclude from this that tyrannicide is a prime duty, may be arguing too much. Petit has been criticised for taking liberties with his authorities, and Coville, his most important modern critic, points out that when it comes to the legitimacy of tyrannicide, Petit has only very few authorities to rely on, and that by stating his case in an absolute and definitive way, he was in fact treading on unexplored ground.³⁸ Be this as it may, one must be aware of the fact that

³⁶ The nine corollaries are generally formulated condemnations of crimes that correspond to the accusations against Orléans in part II of the *Justification*. One of the accusations brought against Louis in the *minor* was, e.g., that he had attempted to poison the king. The corresponding corollary (no. 8) then denounces such attempts in general as an act of high treason.

³⁷ See, e.g., Aquinas, *De regimine principum* I.3.

³⁸ See Coville, *Jean Petit*, pp. 187-206, 216-218. An important authority, naturally quoted by Petit, is John of Salisbury who in his *Policraticus* III.15 unambiguously says: *Porro tyrannum occidere non modo licitum est sed aequum et iustum*. In *Policraticus* VIII.17-20, however, John forwards a number of reservations and modifications. Thus in VIII.17.778a we read: *Imago deitatis, princeps amandus uenerandus est et colendus; tyrannus, prauitatis imago, plerumque*

besides the obvious and predominant political dimension of tyrannicide, the *Justification* was also attempting to make a strong case for sorcery. And sorcerers, so Scripture teaches, should not be suffered to live.

Like Pignon's treatise *Contre les Devineurs*, Petit's *Justification* makes a contribution, be it a modest one, to medieval literature condemning magic and sorcery. The eighth and final truth states that

tous subjectz et vassaulx qui appenséement machinent contre la santé de leur Roy et souverain seigneur pour le faire mourir en langueur, par convoitise d'avoir sa couronne et seigneurie, fait consacrer, ou à plus proprement parler, fait exorer espées, dagues, badelaires ou couteaulx, verges d'or ou anneaulx dédier ou nom des dyables par nigromance, faisans invocacions de caractères, sorceries, suggestions et maléfices, et après les bouter et ficher parmy le corps d'un homme mort et despendu du gibet, et laisser par l'espace de plusieurs jours en grant abhominacion et horreur pour parfaire lesdiz maléfices, et avec ce porter sur soy, lié ou cousu, des ossemens et du poil du loup vil et deshonneste, et de la pouldre d'aucuns d'iceulx mors despendus du gibet. Celui ou ceulx qui le font ne commectent point seulement crime de lèze-majesté ou premier degré, mais commectent crime de lèze-majesté divine ou premier degré, et sont traistres et desloiaux à Dieu leur Créateur et à leur Roy, et, comme ydolastres et corrompeurs faulsaies de la foy catholique, sont dignes de double mort, c'estassavoir première et seconde.³⁹

Since such abominations can only be efficacious through the power of the devil, its practitioners must enter into a pact with the fiend who in return demands the kind of worship that is due to God alone: a sorcerer is, therefore, essentially an idolator, which is the major premiss underlying all critique of magic, sorcery, and superstition in all of Christendom. In discussing sorcery the *Justification* has two things in common with the late medieval literature on this theme: it makes the theological link between sorcery and idolatry and implicitly affirms the efficacy of magic. For Petit the madness of the king proves that Orléans's sorceries worked, and had it not been for John the Fearless, then Louis d'Orléans would have succeeded in destroying the king altogether.

The second part of Petit's *Justification* dealing with the *minor* of his syllogism which is to show that Louis d'Orléans was a tyrant and a traitor, need not concern us at length here, since some of the accusations launched

etiam occidens; 'plerumque', in most cases, i.e. not always. Modifications such as this one are prudently omitted by Petit. The abbé de Cérisy's comments on these statements of Salisbury mainly concern the fact that John refers to tyrants that have been proven tyrants. John the Fearless did not officially establish that Louis was a tyrant (nor could he). For the quotes see: *Policraticus*, ed. Webb, vol. 1, p. 232 and vol. 2, p. 345 resp.

³⁹ Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 1, pp. 217-218.

against the duke are of little importance for the present study, whereas the accusations concerning sorcery will be the focus of the following section on magic and the court. In the second part Petit elaborates his *minor* by four articles that must prove that Louis is guilty of the earlier mentioned four degrees of high treason. The first degree is high treason against the king and we learn that Orléans not only attempted to kill his royal brother through sorcery and poisoning or through arms and violence, but had also conspired against Charles VI through foreign alliances.⁴⁰ The second degree is high treason against the queen and apparently Louis had attempted to lure the queen away from Paris to Luxembourg where she would be in his power. The third degree is high treason against the dauphin which Orléans allegedly attempted to realise through poisoning (by means of a poisoned apple), abduction and false reports. The fourth degree finally is treason against the common weal, which in the case of Orléans mainly concerned his robbing and raping bands of soldiers and the heavy taxes he imposed.

Many of the accusations put forward by Petit were, certainly for those immediately concerned, blatant distortions of reality; the abbé de Cérisy, Thomas de Bourg, speaking on behalf of Valentina d'Orléans painstakingly refuted them one by one. His forceful proposition eloquently demonstrates his moral and rhetorical superiority.⁴¹ Yet, he cannot quite outwit the greater intellectual challenges that Petit's subtle and insipid innuendoes pose. He skilfully bounces back the ball by choosing the verse from I Timothy, 'covetousness is the root of all evil', as one of his key-texts. He emphasises that John the Fearless's motives for killing Louis were not pure, or aimed towards the public good, but entirely selfish. John had acted out of covetousness, he had acted without proper authorisation (a point that Petit had anticipated and had tried to circumvene) and had declined to use any form of law and justice, simultaneously acting as judge and executioner. Had not Burgundy himself admitted to his uncles that the devil had put him up to it? How then can he maintain that his act was just? His wickedness shows already from the fact that he pleads with a drawn sword. When he entered Paris the people had cheered him, the abbé explains with indignation, which means they believed the writings that he had had publicised. This remark of the abbé clearly shows that John the Fearless's propaganda machine was working quite effectively. Publicised history at that moment was history as

⁴⁰ Orléans was said to have made an alliance with Henry Bolingbroke who was indirectly responsible for the assassination of Richard II; naturally the intention was that Louis would have committed a similar regicide.

⁴¹ For the text of the *Proposition* of the abbé de Cérisy, see: Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 1, chapter 44, pp. 268-336. See Coville, *Jean Petit*, p. 236; Collas, *Valentine de Milan*, pp. 404-407.

written by Burgundy. John the Fearless may have had some problems in commanding the applause of listening senates, but he succeeded in reading his history in a nation's eyes.

The refutations of Petit's charges are on the whole terse and self-confident. Yet in the refutation of the charges of sorcery, the abbé seems to be less sure of himself. His treatment of the theme is longer and more circumstantial. This may partly have been caused by the seriousness of the accusation. As we already noted in the previous analysis, it is Petit's most important argument, and as the history of witchcraft shows, a charge that is not easily refuted. The debate on this topic by Petit and Thomas de Bourg is not an isolated instance. It is, in fact, but one of the consequences of sorcery and rumours of sorcery that had been festering in Parisian court life for at least the previous two decades. It is to these magical phenomena that we now turn.

2.4 *The Magic Court*

Johan Huizinga devoted a few pages to late medieval witchcraft and superstition in *The Waning of the Middle Ages*. He remarked that around 1400 the French court was a source of sorcery. Gerson had warned the court nobility to take care lest the expression 'vieilles sorcières' be turned into 'nobles sorciers' and he had rebuked Louis d'Orléans for his unsavoury interest in the occult.⁴² Sources on the belief in magic at the Parisian court of this period do not abound, but there are enough documents to deter overgeneralised statements and to command a detailed analysis. Though Huizinga's description no doubt shows a real interest in magic in Paris around the turn of the century, only a closer scrutiny of the available material will acquaint us with the various cases and the curious mixture of facts and fictions, slanders and superstitions, which they contain. The following survey is fairly exhaustive and it documents all known cases of magic in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century.

2.4.1 *The Case of the Apostate Monk and the Tower of Montjay*

In his original version of the *Justification*, Petit included the following story.⁴³ Louis d'Orléans had employed an apostate monk, a knight, an

⁴² Johan Huizinga, *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen: Studie over levens- en gedachtenvormen der veertiende en vijftiende eeuw in Frankrijk en de Nederlanden* (Haarlem 1935), pp. 351-352.

⁴³ Monstrelet, *Chronique*, chapter 39, vol. 1, pp. 224-228; *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* XXVIII.34, vol. 3, pp. 756-759; DSO 1, col. 343; Joan Ricardo-Gil, *The Practice of Witchcraft and Magic in Fact and Fiction during the French Middle Ages*, dissertation (Ann Arbor 1980), pp. 138-141; Collas, *Valentine de Milan*, pp. 392-393. The story was also

esquire and a varlet, to whom he gave his sword, a dagger and a ring to be used in magic rituals and to be consecrated in the name of demons. These four persons lodged themselves in the tower of Montjay, near Laigny-sur-Marne, where on a nearby hill the monk performed several invocations. One day before sunrise between Easter and Ascension day, after he had traced a circle on the ground, stripped, and knelt down with the sword and dagger stuck into the soil next to the ring, suddenly two demons appeared dressed in green, called Hérémas and Estramain. As the monk hid behind a nearby bush, one of the devils took the ring and vanished while the other took up dagger and sword, put them down again and likewise vanished. Half an hour later the first demon reappeared with the ring (which had turned scarlet red) and the message that in order to complete the spell the ring had to be put into the mouth of a hanged man and the sword and the dagger would have to be thrust into his corpse. Having received this unsavoury assignment, monk, squire and varlet went to the notorious Montfaucon gallows just outside Paris and took down one of the corpses which they deposited in a stable of the knight's Parisian lodgings. There they put the ring into the dead man's mouth and forced the sword from his nether parts up to his chest; and also the dagger was driven into the body. After three days these objects were returned to the duke of Orléans along with a small pouch containing some pulverised bone and pubic hair from the corpse.⁴⁴ This, attached to a string, Orléans carried under his clothes. One day, however, the pouch was forced from him by a knight who thus exposed Orléans's superstition before the king and many nobles.

The same apostate monk also performed other feats of magic for the duke, Petit reports. One was a love-charm and involved a branch of the cornel-tree which was consecrated with the blood of a cock and a hen. Using it, Orléans could impose his will on any woman he fancied. By sorceries such as these, Petit claimed, Orléans had attempted to kill the king, for had not the king himself exclaimed in one of his fits of insanity: 'Pour Dieu! ostez moy ceste espée qui me transperce le cuer. Ce m'a fait beau frère d'Orléans'.⁴⁵

The abbé de Cérisy's reply⁴⁶ to this story consists mainly in denying Orléans's consent and involvement. The apostate monk had been tried before the ministers of the king and from his confession it was made clear that instead of encouraging him, Orléans had expressly forbidden him to use

incorporated in the *Geste*, ll. 385-444, 2069-2094 (pp. 271-272, 320-321). See also Doutrepoint, *La littérature française*, p. 74.

⁴⁴ Perhaps the bones were not difficult to obtain since a corpse might be in an advanced state of decomposition. If the report on Jean de Montagu is correct, corpses might remain on the gibbet for years.

⁴⁵ Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 1, p. 228.

⁴⁶ Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 1, pp. 313-316, 320-321.

magic against the king. The abbé insists that Orléans was a devout opponent of magic and had even occupied himself with the persecution of sorcerers. But his plea was weakened by the fact that he apparently could not deny that Orléans had had some sort of dealings with the apostate monk. Instead of denying these contacts he tries to excuse them. Although at one time the young duke had put faith in the words of the monk, it should not be forgotten that he had been very young, about eighteen years old, at the time.

This weakness is gratefully exploited by Petit in his *Seconde Justification*. The king's men who had tried the monk, had not wished to implicate the duke in any practices of sorcery since they feared his power. But the apostate monk had been tried a second time, this time by the bishop of Paris. To him the monk had confessed that it was Orléans who had ordered him to perform the earlier mentioned rituals and who had paid him and his accomplices very handsomely for their services. The apostate monk had a mistress who confessed that her lover had visited the duke of Orléans frequently and that he had received generous fees. Apparently the duke had also promised the monk to make him bishop. Since the man was very fond of the girl, he took her with him to the tower of Montjay where they stayed for five days and nights. Mostly the monk left her alone in the tower, but on one occasion she accompanied him to the nearby hill, where he undressed and, with his magic books, disappeared behind the bush, only to return an hour later, visibly exhausted. His accomplices explained to her that he had been chasing rabbits.

One time in the tower of Montjay, the girl recalled, the monk had climbed to the top floor where he had recited certain passages from one of his books at the top of his voice, so loud that the girl could hear him downstairs. Suddenly a terrible noise could be heard like the bellowing of a violent storm or the clamour of a fierce battle. The monk came down as quickly as he could and though he was scared out of his wits, he assured his mistress there was nothing of which to be frightened. When the noise had abated, he went up again to do the girl knew not what. Later they returned to Paris and stayed at the hôtel of the knight. When the monk had been away an entire night and returned very tired, she had forced him to tell her what had happened. He confessed to her the entire story of the corpse from the Montfaucon gallows. The girl vowed never to tell a living soul of these things as long as her lover was still alive, but since he was dead now, she felt no longer compelled to remain silent. Since she was still alive, Petit urged, she could testify to all these things including the conjuring of the branch of the cornel-tree. Also the monk's confession from his second trial was accessible for anyone to read, since the duke of Burgundy held a copy of his deposition.⁴⁷ It is clear

⁴⁷ The passage from the *Seconde Justification* is quoted in full by Coville, *Jean Petit*, pp. 314-316, from the Brussels manuscript: ms. 10.419, fol. 47-48.

that the *Seconde Justification* is a successful piece of suspense-fiction. The semblance of truth is skilfully created by references to witnesses that were never questioned, and documents that have not come down to us and above all by focusing through the eyes of a witness, a girl who never sees what actually happens, but who hears and sees enough to be frightened and to stir up the heated imagination of the reader. Concealment is a sure means of creating suspense and of inflating a mystery.

The unease of the abbé de Cérisy does suggest that more than fiction is involved. We may infer that he at least believed that part of the accusation of sorcery was true. The story of the knight who grabbed the pouch from Louis d'Orléans and showed it to king and court, and who is identified by Petit in his *Seconde Justification* as Pierre de Craon, can also be found in the chronicle of the Monk of St. Denis. There we read that this Pierre de Craon had incurred the anger of the duke of Orléans, since he had accused the duke on many occasions of following his passions too easily and of granting favours to sorcerers, who conjured with the bones of the dead.⁴⁸ As a consequence of this, and at the instigation of Olivier de Clisson, constable of France, Pierre de Craon was banished from court. By way of revenge Craon sent mercenaries to kill the constable, who only barely escaped with his life, heavily wounded.⁴⁹ After the decapitation of the mercenaries, the king had the possessions of Craon confiscated and his magnificent château destroyed. Another chronicler, Juvenal des Ursins,⁵⁰ tells a similar story: Pierre de Craon had tried to keep Louis d'Orléans from dealing with sorcerers and had warned him about certain rumours that were being spread about him. Orléans, believing Pierre de Craon accused him of sorcery, banished him. Yet another version survives in the chronicles of Froissart, who does not talk about sorcery in relation to Craon's banishment, but makes the knight a confidant in Orléans's amorous and adulterous escapades. When Craon had confessed one of these extramarital liaisons to Orléans's wife, Valentina Visconti, the infuriated duke had him banished. Not only does the reason for Craon's banishment appear quite variable, but his relationship to Louis d'Orléans is open to various interpretations as well, for he changes from a fierce denouncer to an outspoken confidant.⁵¹ Since Craon is the main if not the only source for these stories and perhaps, so Coville believes,

⁴⁸ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys* XIII.1, vol. 2, p. 2: *supersticiosus viris et qui ex mortuorum ossibus sortilegia componebant.*

⁴⁹ A clear instance of (accusations of) sorcery leading to murderous assaults that, if successful, in their turn, so Pignon believes, may lead to even greater disasters.

⁵⁰ Juvenal des Ursins, *Histoire*, p. 388a.

⁵¹ For a discussion of the variations in the accounts of Juvenal des Ursins and Froissart, see Coville, *Jean Petit*, pp. 317-318.

all too ready to throw suspicion on Orléans,⁵² they tell us nothing about the truth, but a lot about what people believed to be true; *fama crescit eunda* and its very spread is believed to add to its veracity.

A final remark must be made about the story of the apostate monk. Though its historical basis in Petit's *Justification* is very flimsy, the story turns into sheer fiction at the hands of the rhymier who composed the *Geste des ducs de Bourgogne*. In the *Geste* it is Philippe de Mézières who conspired to kill the king by employing the apostate sorcerer monk. Philippe de Mézières was former lord Chancellor of Cyprus and one of the so-called marmousets, i.e. a counsellor of late king Charles V, and tutor of Charles VI and his brother Louis. He was also a major obstacle to Burgundian ambitions to govern France, and he was much hated on that account. In the *Geste* he appears as the diabolical driving force behind Louis.

Phelipes de Masières, qui de Dieu soit maudis
Par ses faus sortilèges fu encantés Loïs

Or avint par un jour, sicomme dist li escriis,
Que cieus félons Phelipes, traîtres Antecris,
S'accompagna d'un moine qui mout estoit soutis
En fais de sortilèges qui est ars d'anemis
Et d'évocations dont il estoit apris.⁵³

The knight, esquire and varlet also appear, and with Louis's sword and a ring they go to the tower of Montjay where they invoke two devils. The results are unmistakable:

Nonpourquant fu enfin tellement contournée
Sus la piersonne au roy et si griefement tournée
Que se santet en fut mout forment bestournée,
Et une maladie li fu incorporée,
Dont ciertaine santé n'ot onques puis recouvrée.⁵⁴

The story was apparently popular among the Burgundians for it reappears in the *Geste* in a later passage which paraphrases Petit's *Justification*.⁵⁵ In this second account there is also the story of the corpse from the Montfaucon

⁵² Coville, *Jean Petit*, p. 319. The abbé de Cérisy holds the same opinion. According to him Pierre de Craon bore Orléans some grudge and when he was banished from court for an entirely different reason, he readily stooped to slandering Orléans (Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 1, p. 106).

⁵³ *Geste*, ll. 392-393, 402-406, p. 271.

⁵⁴ *Geste*, ll. 435-439, p. 272.

⁵⁵ *Geste*, ll. 2069-2094; pp. 320-321.

gallows. In conclusion of the case of the apostate monk we may ponder over whether the monotonous rhymes of the *Geste* make the grotesque tale more convincing than Petit's harangue.

Prirent à Monfaucon ung pendut noviau mis.
 Coiement l'enportèrent par nuit dedens Paris,
 A l'ostel de l'un d'iaus, et par ce fu renplis
 Leur félons sortiliéges; car tout parmy le pis
 Baselare et espée li orent ou cors mis,
 Sicomme il leur estoit enjoint des anemis
 Pour parfaire leur cierne; et par ses faus soutis
 En fu li bons rois prumièrément si malmis
 An pourpos de pluseurs, ainsi en fu li dis.⁵⁶

2.4.2 *The Case of the Two Augustinian Monks*

To a large extent the network of gossip about sorceries surrounding Louis d'Orléans and Valentina Visconti was engineered by Burgundy. All Petit in fact was doing, was to give to these rumours a footing by attributing a goal to these sorceries: namely the destruction of the king and the usurpation of the throne. The fact that none of this was true as far as Orléans was concerned does not mean there were no other cases of sorcery, or that Orléans was not involved in them. In this context the statements of the Monk of St. Denis are of major importance. He himself does not believe in the efficacy of sorcery and magic and he rejects the suggestion that the king's madness had been brought about by sorcery. The king's disease has natural causes and any attempt to explain it in terms of magic or cure it by means of magic is sheer superstition. Obliginglly the Monk presents examples of what he means. In his defence the abbé de Cérisy stressed Louis's zeal against practitioners of magic and he points out that the late duke had been the principal mover for the trial of a sorcerer named Jehan de Bar (whom we will deal with presently) and the two Augustinian friars.⁵⁷ This latter incident had created quite a stir in 1397 and it is recounted by the Monk of St. Denis.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ *Geste*, ll. 2086-2094, p. 321.

⁵⁷ Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 1, p. 323: 'Et scet bien chascun que mondit seigneur fut la cause principale du procès et exécution faiz contre ledit maistre Jehan de Barre, et aussi de deux augustins, qui pour leurs démerites furent exécutez, les gens d'église à ce appelez du conseil du Roy'.

⁵⁸ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* XVIII.2 and XIX.10, vol. 2, pp. 542-547, 662-669; cf. also Collas, *Valentine de Milan*, pp. 261-264; Ricardo-Gil, *The Practice of Witchcraft and Magic*, p. 135. The episode also surfaces in the brief *Chronique rimée Parisienne écrite en 1409*, which records the more salient events of the period:

Puiz advint a Paris choses moult merveillables:

Louis de Sancerre, maréchal de France, much dismayed by the king's illness, sent for two magicians from Guienne, who also claimed to be doctors, to cure his madness. Though armed and dressed in secular clothes, on arrival the two claimed to belong to the order of the Augustinian hermits and they gave their names as Pierre and Lancelot. They were lodged in the royal palace of Saint-Antoine under the supervision of a sergeant who would see to their every need. They frequently deliberated with the duke of Orléans and assured him that the king's madness was not due to natural causes but to *extrinseca maleficia*, i.e. to sorcery. They immediately changed the king's diet and prescribed him distilled water with pulverised pearls. In the chronicle of Juvenal des Ursins their interference with the king's health goes much further than prescribing his diet. The two monks 'comme l'on dit luy firent aucunes incisions au chef, et comme il fut trouvé, mirent le Roy en grand danger de le faire mourir piteusement'.⁵⁹ This magical doctoring met with some resistance from a number of courtiers and the Parisian clergy who mobilised their own 'magic' and organised public prayers and solemn processions in which the consecrated host was carried round the royal palace of Saint-Paul as a *summum medicum*. The Monk of St. Denis is convinced of its efficacy, for in July on a day following such a procession, the king regained his wits, though only for a week. The relapse was quite dramatic⁶⁰ and eager to know what had brought it about, certain lords turned to the two Augustinians for counsel. For reasons unknown to the Monk of St. Denis, the two sorcerers accused the king's barber, who was called Mellin, and a

Mort receurent deuz hommes es haies, n'est pas fables,

Pour cause qu'ilz ouvroient par les ars des dyables

Et pour le roy guerir furent entremettables.

See Claude Gauvard and Gillette Labory, "Une chronique rimée Parisienne écrite en 1409: «Les aventures depuis deux cents ans»", in: Bernard Guenée, ed., *Le métier d'historien au Moyen Âge; études sur l'historiographie médiévale* (Paris 1977), p. 220.

⁵⁹ Juvenal des Ursins, *Histoire*, p. 414b: Juvenal suggests this unprofessional surgery was the cause of their imprisonment and execution. Cauzons (*La magie et la sorcellerie*, vol. 2, p. 383) speaks of 'des scarifications à la tête'. Cf. also Collas, *Valentine de Milan*, pp. 261-262 and p. 169, n. 3 where he seems to refer to a similar medical operation: 'En cel an (1393) le duc de Bourbon (...) amena de Lyon sur le Rhône, ung fisicien ou médecin très excellent, lequel médecine le roy et lui fit purgacion par la teste'. Simon de Phares, *Recueil des plus célèbres astrologues et quelques hommes doctes faict par Symon de Phares du temps de Charles VIII*, ed. E. Wickersheimer (Paris 1929), p. 240, follows Juvenal's account in suggesting they made incisions in the head of the king: 'Jacques d'Angiers fut en ce temps, lequel descouvrit la faulce entencion que avoient les deux Augustins qui fendirent la teste au roy Charles VIe, disant la guerre et iceulx ignares en medicine, ne rien sçavans en cyrurgie, ainçois apostés par le duc de Bourgogne Philippe, comme l'on dit pour fere son chef devoré; touttefois, le cas par eulx congneu, furent icelx Augustins degradez et pugniz par le chef, c'est assavoir les testes coppées, comme raison estoit'.

⁶⁰ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* XVIII.2, vol. 2, p. 544.

housekeeper of the duke of Orléans of bewitching the king. Both were arrested and thrown into prison. Credulous people who had been convinced by idle rumours that the king's insanity was a result of sorcery gloated at their arrest and soon rumours spread that the barber had been observed *hora suspecta* near the Parisian gibbet (the Montfaucon gallows) where he was said to work his sorcery or to procure poison. The Monk of St. Denis denounces these rumours as folly. After a lengthy imprisonment the barber and housekeeper were released and allowed to resume their lives without further ado. The story of the two Augustinian monks would not have been worth the telling, the Monk explains, had it not been for the fact that it provides an edifying example against the abuses of blasphemy and calumny.⁶¹

There is more to be learned here than a moral lesson. Public rumour may have erred concerning the king's barber, but it did not concoct the idea that the Parisian gallows were on occasion haunted by mysterious figures. In an entry for February 10, 1408, Nicolas de Baye notes how the provost of Paris had addressed the court on reports that had come to him, stating that certain criminals or sorcerers had stolen bodies from the gallows around Paris, and had obtained still-born babies from women.⁶² Purloined corpses need not imply sorcery, but given the prevailing superstitions of the period, this is the most likely option. The provost addressed the court only a few weeks prior to the official reading of Jean Petit's *Justification*. In the same entry for February 10, Nicolas de Baye records the arrival in Paris of the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, Brittany and the king of Sicily in the company of many armed men 'sur le fait de la mort du duc d'Orléans'.⁶³ If the story of the sorcerer monk, the squire and the varlet who took a corpse from the Montfaucon gallows is entirely fictional, Nicolas de Baye's entry may well reveal one of Petit's sources of inspiration. The provost was hesitant and disinclined to investigate the matter, since, so he explained, the university was still debating whether these cases fell under the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical or the secular court. Whether this was the only source of his hesitation we cannot tell. The court, at any rate, in the presence of the bishop of Paris, decided that there was no impediment for the provost to conduct a thorough research.

A decade earlier the two apostate monks had succeeded in making themselves quite unpopular. Through some special favour from heaven, they had been infused with science, they claimed, that gave them power over demons and over the four elements. As a consequence they knew ways of curing every disease and also claimed to be able to solve thefts. But the Parisian apothecaries ridiculed their prescriptions, none of the sick profited

⁶¹ *Cronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys* XIX.10, vol. 2, pp. 662-663.

⁶² Nicolas de Baye, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 221.

⁶³ Nicolas de Baye, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 220.

from their cures, and as for the thefts, they did nothing but accuse innocent people and it turned out they could only retrieve objects that they had first stolen and hidden themselves. In the palace of Saint-Antoine they lived a rich and dissolute life. Through magic and invocations of the devil they pretended to be able to find out who had bewitched the king. When finally they accused Louis d'Orléans, they signed their own death warrant, for Louis had them imprisoned, tried and condemned. Possibly inspired by their talks with the duke of Burgundy, they had thought it safest to comply with current gossip and popular prejudice by pointing out Orléans. But they were mistaken. The Monk of St. Denis gives an elaborate and detailed description of their defamation and execution; how, their heads covered with paper mitres with their names and sheets of parchment with their crimes attached to their shoulders, they were publicly humiliated before the bishop of Paris, stripped of their ecclesiastical dignities before being handed over to the secular authority. They were dragged through the town, their heads shorn, their crimes loudly proclaimed at every intersection, before they were beheaded after a final confession. Their heads were placed on lances for public display, their members cut into small morsels to be hung from the principal gates of Paris and their trunks, finally, were carried to the gibbet, feeding the birds and renewed rumours of sorcery; a truly edifying example.

Juvenal des Ursins also records the fate of the two Augustinian monks, but provides his readers with some additional speculations about the reason of their downfall. According to some sources the two Augustinians had accused Orléans of sorcery at the instigation of the duke of Burgundy. Burgundy bore a deep grudge against Orléans who on an earlier occasion had caused one of Burgundy's necromancers, master Jehan de Bar to be burned.⁶⁴ Again we find Burgundy seizing every available opportunity to scandalise Orléans, but we also find some genuine traces of belief in magic at the Parisian court.

2.4.3 *Doctor and Sorcerer; The Cases of Jehan de Bar and Arnaud Guillaume*

In a brilliant reply to Petit's charge of sorcery in the case of the madness of the king, the abbé compares the theologian Petit and the court physicians to an astrologer and a doctor quibbling over twins of which one child is fat and the other lean. The astrologer attributes the difference to the ascendancy of

⁶⁴ Juvenal des Ursins, *Histoire*, p. 415a: 'A cause que le duc d'Orleans avoit fait brusler un nommé maistre Jean de Bar, qui estoit nigromancien et invocateur de diables, et estoit au duc de Bourgogne. Et disoit-on que pour les envies, qui estoient entre lesdits deux ducs, diverses choses se faisoient'.

the stars whereas the doctor argues that the fat child was the first to receive a soul so that he had had an advantage over the other in getting nutrition. Which are we to believe, the abbé asks; superstition or science, the astrologer or the physician?⁶⁵ This is an argument that the Monk of St. Denis applauds, because he does not believe in the efficacy of magic either,⁶⁶ quite contrary to Jean Petit, who, in order to sustain his charge, must believe that the king's madness resulted from real magic, thereby exploiting the credulity of the people and going against the better judgments of the king's physicians. This at least is what the abbé implied. In his *Seconde Justification* Petit would point out that despite their better judgments the physicians had not succeeded in finding a cure. If the judgments of a physician are to be preferred to those of a superstitious theologian, then why banish the physician?

The failure of the court physicians to cure the king may have been one of the reasons why sorcerers and charlatans like the two Augustinian monks were able to practise their skills. There was even a serious crisis in 1395 (at which Petit hinted) when king Charles VI banished master Renauld Fréron and his medical colleagues from court, and forbade them ever to return. The group of physicians that was banished in this way consisted of twenty-two doctors, two surgeons and an apothecary.⁶⁷ Among those who practised less conventional means of healing (and who did so at a greater risk than mere banishment), we find two persons who are of specific interest: one is a doctor, Jehan de Bar, the other (like the two monks) a charlatan sorcerer named Arnaud Guillaume.

Master Jehan de Bar, born in Champagne, was one of Charles VI's physicians. In 1398 he was accused of practising sorcery in a wood in Brie, for which he was condemned and burned in Paris along with his books on magic. His formal confession was taken down in writing and has been preserved.⁶⁸ His many crimes include the invocation of demons, devil-worship, various forms of ritual magic involving mass and eucharist, consecrating steel mirrors, swords and rings to compel demons and a number of superstitious observances. But two items from his confession are of specific interest. In the first place he mentions that he has composed scrolls filled with invocations of demons in order to acquire influence over people, especially 'les mauvaises fortunes du roy'; this suggests that he attempted to cure the king through his magic. In the second place he admits to having made an

⁶⁵ Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 1, p. 322.

⁶⁶ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* XVI.20, vol. 2, p. 406.

⁶⁷ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* XVI.20, vol. 2, pp. 403-405; Coville, *Jean Petit*, pp. 320-322, esp. n. 44 and 46. On Renaud or Regnauld Freron, see also Wickersheimer, *DBM* 2, p. 689.

⁶⁸ For a text-edition of the *Confession* and a more comprehensive study of Jehan de Bar (including secondary literature) the reader is referred to Appendix I below.

image for the duke of Burgundy, which he had consecrated by means of demons to gain power over him. Application of such necromantic images was exceedingly common in the Middle Ages, and the fact that Jehan de Bar made one *for* the duke of Burgundy suggests some kind of relationship.

The figure of Jehan de Bar is shrouded in mystery, mainly because references to him tend to be indirect and oblique. The Monk of St. Denis, oddly, does not mention him; Jean Petit does, but only in his *Seconde Justification* where he belittles his role in relation to Burgundy; the abbé de Cérisy knows about him but does not link him to Burgundy; Juvenal des Ursins does and identifies him as Burgundy's necromancer. But since Juvenal wrote his chronicle long after the event his information may be tainted by rumours and prejudices from the Armagnac faction that were more assertive than the abbé's. That one of the sources identifies him as a royal physician would suggest that some of the members of the medical profession, attending to the health of the king, were not altogether disinclined to practise alternative forms of healing. Jehan de Bar himself confesses that he had practised magic for eighteen years, and especially since two years. Since he was condemned in 1398, his heightened and renewed interest in magic would date from around 1396, which means that his involvement in magic more or less coincided with and may even have been occasioned by the dismissal of the royal physicians in 1395. Still it is important to observe that there is nothing in the confession that explicitly links him to the medical profession; yet there are statements that link him to the clergy. Thus he confesses: 'j'ay fait plusieurs foiz chanter messe ou je faisoie dire et lire mauvaises et horribles paroles' and 'j'ay (...) fait user prestres en invocant dyables'.⁶⁹ Perhaps one of the sources errs or perhaps he had a double vocation.

Another name survives of those who tried to cure the king by magic. In 1393 a sorcerer from Guienne called Arnaud Guillaume, was sent for.⁷⁰ This coarse looking man, who led a solitary life and whose body was lean and emaciated through frequent fasts and vigils, as the Monk of St. Denis explains, was received and treated most courteously, even though he was insolent and pretentious in claiming to be able to cure the king with a single word. Like all the sorcerers who would follow in his footsteps he claimed that the king was bewitched by malefactors who even now laboured to hinder

⁶⁹ Jehan de Bar, *Confession*, item 4 and item 6 resp., see Appendix 1 below.

⁷⁰ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* XIV.6, vol. 2, pp. 88-91; Juvenal des Ursins, *Histoire*, pp. 394b-395a; Wickersheimer, *DBM* 1, p. 44; DSO 1, col. 343; Collas, *Valentine de Milan*, pp. 168-169; Ricardo-Gil, *The Practice of Witchcraft and Magic*, pp. 134-135; Cauzons, *La magie et la sorcellerie*, vol. 2, p. 382; J. R. Veenstra, "Cataloguing Superstition: A Paradigmatic Shift in the Art of Knowing the Future", in: Peter Binkley ed., *Pre-Modern Encyclopaedic Texts: Proceedings of the Second COMERS Congress, Groningen, 1-4 July 1996* (Leiden 1997), forthcoming.

his curative magic. Naturally this was a safe way of attributing any improvement in the poor monarch's condition to his own skills and efforts and of blaming every relapse on fiendish conspirators. More interesting than his appearance and his (wholly unsuccessful) attempts to cure the king, are the claims he makes regarding his knowledge and profession. The Monk of St. Denis provides us with a survey.

Though Guillaume did not appear to be an educated man, he always carried a book with him, which he called *Smagorad*. This book gave him an absolute power over the elements and the stars, as well as a perfect knowledge of all the planets. If some planet with a malign influence was on the brink of causing a disaster, he could make another planet appear, until then unknown to astrologers, that would neutralise the malign influence, if not entirely, then certainly for the greater part. It will be remembered that the two Augustinian monks who would appear at the royal court four years later, also came from Guienne and made similar claims. They claimed to have been mysteriously infused with a science that gave them a perfect knowledge of cures and secrets, and power over demons and the four elements. This type of magic, current among these Guienne sorcerers, is probably the same as the *ars notoria*, the Notory Art denounced by Pignon and earlier by Aquinas.⁷¹ It is a kind of magic whereby the mind is illuminated through some sort of mystical or magical communion with the divine, not infrequently through the agency of angels who are invoked through certain spells and formulae. According to the *Historia scholastica*, Moses acquired the *ars notoria*, which greatly enhanced his memory and knowledge, during a forty-day fast in the wilderness.⁷² Since it is very much geared to the acquisition of knowledge, this *ars* in all likelihood derives from the idea of divine illumination as it was developed in the Neoplatonism of late Antiquity and later assimilated by Augustine. The major difference from Neoplatonic illumination consists in the fact that the *ars notoria* seems to be entirely devoid of the intellectual labour that illumination requires. Contrary to Plotinus and Proclus, who recommended the study of mathematics, the two Augustinian monks preferred their illumination the easy way and led a pleasure-seeking life as long as courtly credulity would permit them. Arnaud Guillaume is much more of an ascetic; and his knowledge has a kind of bookishness that the Monk of St. Denis apparently did not detect in the two

⁷¹ See CLD II.3.1 and notes 239 and 240; ST 2a2ae.96.1; Thorndike, HMES II, p. 281.

⁷² Thorndike, HMES III, p. 419. Cf also DSO 1, cols. 124-125 where the 'art notoire' is identified as an 'espèce d'encyclopédie inspirée. Le livre superstitieux, qui contient les principes de l'art notoire, promet la connaissance de toutes les sciences en quatorze jours'. This is Erasmus's characterisation of the *ars notoria* in his colloquy on the art of learning (see *The Colloquies of Erasmus*, transl. C. Thompson (Chicago 1965), pp. 458-461). The true riches of learning, Erasmus stresses, can only be won by toil.

Augustinian monks. The book *Smagorad* had originally been given by God to Adam, so that he might find consolation in it after mourning the death of his son Abel for a hundred years.⁷³ An angel gave the book to Adam and explained that it would enable him to recover what he had forfeited in sinning. Apparently *Smagorad* is the antidote to original sin.

This remarkable book of magic appears to be very similar to a magical book (or genre of magical books) common in the Middle Ages, that was not attributed to Adam but to Solomon. Thorndike mentions titles such as the *Liber sacer*, the *Liber sacratus*, *The Book of the Angels* or the *Liber juratus* and translates some lines from an excipit that may sound familiar: 'This is the book by which anyone can be saved and led beyond a doubt to life eternal. (...) This is the book by which all science can be learned. This is the book by which the weakest substance can overcome and subjugate the strongest substances'.⁷⁴ Jehan de Bar had stated in his confession that his books contained many errors contrary to the faith such as that 'bons angelz ont revelé teles sciences (meaning magic, J.V.) et que les sains prophetes et autres ont fait les miracles et dit leurs propheties par telz arts. Et ay reputé mesdis livres bons et sains'.⁷⁵ The idea of a *Liber sacer* given to Solomon by an angel has ancient roots in Christian and Jewish magic and no doubt variants of the genre were in the possession of Jehan de Bar and Arnaud Guillaume. Jean Gerson mentions in one of his writings⁷⁶ that Jehan de Bar's books were burned, along with their owner, but, Gerson adds, similar works are still current in Spain where they are known as *Semmaphoras*.

In the absence of these documents of abstruse learning any attempt to identify them and relate them to known texts is necessarily speculative, at worst not unlike an attempt to piece together the books of Jehan de Bar from their cinders. One final remark, however, must be made about *Smagorad*. Its title is reminiscent of the Emerald Table, the *Tabula Smaragdina*, the Alchemist's bible. Going back to Greek and Arabic sources, the brief Hermetic text of little over a dozen highly obscure sayings (allegedly written by Hermes, the Egyptian Thoth, on an emerald tablet) were influential in the Middle Ages through the commentary of a monk named Hortulanus or

⁷³ Juvenal des Ursins, *Histoire*, pp. 394b-395a, mentions neither the name of the sorcerer, nor the title of his book, but says 'qu'il avoit un livre qui s'adressoit à Adam, de la consolation de son fils Abel, qu'il pleura, et en fit le deuil cent ans'. Juvenal does not specify what happened to him: 'Et de luy fut faite punition telle qu'au cas appartenoit', which probably means he was burned.

⁷⁴ Thorndike, *HMES* II, p. 285. See also the entire chapter, c. 49, pp. 279-289.

⁷⁵ Jehan de Bar, *Confession*, item 19, Appendix I.

⁷⁶ For a precise reference, see Appendix I, below.

Ortolanus.⁷⁷ The claims that Arnaud Guillaume makes regarding *Smagorad* do not match the contents of the Emerald Table very well. First of all, the *Tabula Smaragdina* was not written by God, but by Hermes; it does not speak about the planets, or how to make planets appear; and the legend of the book handed to Adam as an antidote to original sin is absent from the legendary stories surrounding the Emerald Table. On the other hand the *Tabula Smaragdina* does propound a doctrine of the correspondance between macro- and microcosm,⁷⁸ and the search for the philosopher's stone (as Ortolanus's commentary makes clear) will result in knowledge of and power over both domains. Ortolanus explicitly stresses the curative powers: *Quia lapis sic factus, omnis aegritudinis est curativus*.⁷⁹ Though perhaps unlikely, it is therefore not impossible that *Smagorad* and the Emerald Table are one and the same, or that the former is a version of the latter.

2.4.4 July 1403: The Case of Poinson and Briquet

Not deterred by the failure and far from enviable fate of their predecessors, two magicians called Poinson and Briquet⁸⁰ presented themselves in July 1403 with the pretence of being able to discover the cause of the king's disease. According to the Monk of St. Denis they practised their sorceries in the vicinity of Dijon in Burgundy. They established themselves in a wood near the gates of Dijon where on a favourable spot they built a curious construction. It was a circle of iron of enormous weight, sustained on iron columns or poles, the height of an average man, to which twelve iron chains

⁷⁷ E. J. Holmyard, *Alchemy* (Harmondsworth 1957), pp. 95-98. (An English translation of the *Tabula* is given on p. 95 of Holmyard's book.) See esp.: Julius Ruska, *Tabula Smaragdina: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der hermetischen Literatur* (Heidelberg 1926). Ruska gives the Latin text of the *Tabula* on p. 2 and of Ortolanus's commentary on pp. 180-186. See also Thorndike, *HMES* III, pp. 176 ff. on the Emerald Table and Ortolanus's commentary.

⁷⁸ *Quod est inferius, est sicut quod est superius, et quod est superius, est sicut quod est inferius, ad perpetranda miracula rei unius.* (That which is above is like to that which is below, and that which is below is like to that which is above, to accomplish the miracles of one thing.) *Ascendit a terra in coelum, iterumque descendit in terram et recipit vim superiorum et inferiorum.* (With great sagacity it doth ascend gently from Earth to Heaven. Again it doth descend to Earth, and uniteth in itself the force from things superior and things inferior.) Latin text: Ruska, *Tabula*, p. 2; English rendering: Holmyard, *Alchemy*, p. 95.

⁷⁹ Ruska, *Tabula Smaragdina*, p. 185.

⁸⁰ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* XXIV.13, vol. 3, pp. 114-117; on Poinson, see: Wickersheimer, *DBM* 2, p. 668 (Ponce Du Solier); on Briquet, see: Wickersheimer, *DBM* 1, p. 92; Ricardo-Gil, *The Practice of Witchcraft and Magic*, pp. 136-137; Collas, *Valentine de Milan*, pp. 264-266.

were attached.⁸¹ After these time-consuming preparations, they selected twelve people from among the citizens of Dijon who were asked to enter the magic circle and be locked in the chains. For the sake of the king's recovery eleven volunteers appeared, but the twelfth, the bailiff of Dijon, protested loudly that it was all trickery and that if he emerged safe and sound from the circle he would burn the impostors. After these twelve citizens had been chained in the iron circle, the sorcerers began their magic invocations, which apparently produced no results whatsoever. When all had left the magic circle safely, the bailiff arrested one of the sorcerers while the other escaped to Avignon, where after a while, he too was caught. Both were burned. On their way to the stake they were asked why their attempts had failed; in reply they explained that the twelve persons had crossed themselves before entering the circle and that their charms had thus been made impotent. The Monk of St. Denis moralises in conclusion of his report. Magical practices are diametrically opposed to the Christian religion and wholly inefficacious; the only power they have is on the imagination. To prove his point, he adds that the whole affair was followed by an extraordinarily violent storm that ravaged the countryside around Dijon for miles and destroyed the corn and the vines. Naturally the people attributed this calamity to the magic spells of the two sorcerers.

Though the Monk is a skilled, critical and careful story-teller, this narrative leaves much to be desired. If the bailiff had threatened to burn the sorcerers even before they had started, why did they carry on with their magic ritual? And why did they include him among the twelve persons in the first place? A greater problem still is the motive for the magic ritual. If it was performed for the benefit of the king, why was it performed in Dijon, rather than in Paris? Or was the pretension of curing the king simply a convenient justification for magic rituals that, in fact, served another purpose?

The same story survives in the chronicle of Juvenal des Ursins.⁸² In this version of the tale the provost is not one of the twelve people to be chained to the iron circle. It is only after the ritual has been performed, with the same disappointing result, and after the sorcerers have tried to explain their failure by the fact that the twelve had made the sign of the cross, that the provost decides to arrest the sorcerers for their inefficacy. The story by Juvenal is more logical, though it is built up out of the same motifs as the version of the Monk. The remarkable differences between the two versions have to do

⁸¹ The magic circle is a common device in ritual magic, but mostly it is drawn on the ground. Cf. DSO 1, cols. 327-328, 'cercles magiques'. Iron was used to protect oneself from demons or even to constrain demons. Cf. Pliny, *Natural History* XXXIV.43.151 (Loeb ed., vol. 9, pp. 236-237); HWDA II, col. 717 ff.

⁸² Juvenal des Ursins, *Histoire*, p. 425a-b.

with date, place and persons involved. In the version of the Monk there are two sorcerers: Poinson and Briquet. In Juvenal's version there are four: a priest called Ives Gilemme,⁸³ a clerk called Guillaume Floret, a locksmith ('serrurier') called Perrin Hemery and a damoiselle Marie de Blansy. The Monk speaks of the bailiff of Dijon, Juvenal of the provost of Paris. According to the Monk the whole affair took place in July 1403, whereas Juvenal reports their execution as taking place on March 24, 1404.

Léon Mirot who examined both accounts did not wish to call 'la parfaite exactitude des faits racontés par le Religieux' into doubt⁸⁴ and therefore decided that Juvenal was mistaken and possibly mixed up two different cases. Mirot based his appreciation on a source that, contrary to a harangue or a chronicle, does not seek to slander, to accuse, to apologise or to moralise. This source is an account from the ducal administration which not only gives us names and circumstances relating to the magic ritual, but also mentions the costs involved, namely a total amount of 2,235 francs paid by Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy. For a period of seven months, from December 1402 to July 1403, two charlatans, Poncet du Solier and Jean Flandrin (the Poinson and Briquet from the Monk's account) lived at Sauvigne at the duke's expense.⁸⁵ They and their men ate and drank well and purchased fine clothes, all for a total amount of 288 francs. The magic ritual itself is referred to as 'certaines choses secretes' and for the accomplishment of it they sent for a 'certainne quantité d'or et d'azur' (67.5 francs) and 'de toyles blanches et fines' (63 fr.). In May Poncet required the assistance of 'pluiseurs chevaliers et escuiers pour estre avec lui quant il ouveroit'. Their two months' stay cost 112 francs. These, of course, were the twelve volunteers from among the knights, squires, counsellors and burghers of Dijon who were selected to be chained in the iron circle, as the Monk of St. Denis recounts. From Lombardy Poncet sent for some associates who would aid him in his magical work: 'maistre Boniface et autres maistres' (costs: 80 fr.). The magical sessions lasted for two months but when they bore no results, the bailiff of Dijon had Poncet imprisoned. The account mentions the sums paid to Jehan Gautier, 'escuier', who guarded Poncet in the prison of Charolais, and to Anthoine Chuffaing, bailiff of Dijon, and several other juridical officers for handling the case. After his trial Poncet was defamed and conducted through

⁸³ On Gilemme, see: Wickersheimer, DBM 1, p. 313.

⁸⁴ L. Mirot, "Un essai de guérison de Charles VI en 1403", in: *Revue des Questions Historiques* 47 (1912), p. 97, n. 5.

⁸⁵ The account, *Arch. dép. de la Côte-d'Or*, B 1538, fol. 258v speaks of 'le feu Poncet du Solier' (the account was apparently drawn up when he was already dead), 'ses gens et chevaux' and 'des gens qui estoient en sa compagnie'. It is evident that, contrary to Arnaud Guillaume and Jehan de Bar, Poncet did not lead an ascetic and solitary life. The account was edited by Mirot and included in his article, "Un essai de guérison", pp. 99-100.

the entire duchy before being executed in Dijon (costs: 57.5 francs). Poncet's associate, Jean Flandrin escaped to Avignon where he ended up in the pontifical prisons. It was not until early 1404 that Jean Mercier, counsellor of the duke of Burgundy, was sent to fetch him to be tried and executed.⁸⁶

The story as it emerges from the account published by Mirot is a remarkable one. Though it largely corroborates the report of the Monk of St. Denis, it also departs from it significantly. Mirot synthesised both accounts, thus creating a plausible reconstruction of the magical events as they took place in the spring of 1403. Mistaking his blend for reality, however, he thereby lost sight of the narrative and discursive properties of the Monk's text, as well as of a few details. Though he is a careful reporter, the Monk is also a moralist who tells his tales of sorcery with an openly avowed edifying purpose. He believes that sorcery is humbug, but all the same makes Poinson and Briquet confess, even as they are conducted to the stake, that they failed because their magic could not hold against the sign of the cross. Even those who do believe in sorcery must confess there is a 'magic', a power greater than theirs. In spite of the details of facts, names and places that he furnishes, the Monk is essentially not interested in the sorcerers' business. Neither is the ducal account B 1538, but contrary to the Monk's tale it does not select and organise material into a narrative. From the Monk's tale one may therefore get the impression that the magic ritual with the twelve chained people was limited to one session, but the account shows that the magical sessions lasted for two months and that the twelve volunteers were either permanently present on the spot or at least attended the sessions regularly.⁸⁷ From the Monk's tale one gets the impression there were only two sorcerers. The account shows that Poncet du Solier and Jehan Flandrin travelled with a company which, on the arrival of their colleagues from Lombardy ('master Boniface and some other masters') may have consisted of seven or eight people at least. There is one thing that is rather prominent in the monk's tale and completely absent from the account: namely the iron required for the magic circle. (One may recall that the Monk of St. Denis elaborated on its enormous weight and size.) If it was not bought during the seven months at

⁸⁶ Mirot, "Un essai de guérison", p. 98, cites an account of the payments made to Mercier in which the culprit is identified as: 'ung nygromancien appellé maistre Jehan Flandrin, lequel avoit fait ou pays de Charrolaiz plusieurs invocations demoniques et commis plusieurs autres crimes et deliz'. Froissart briefly mentions sorcerers ('arioles et devins') who tried to cure the king and who were burned in Paris and Avignon. Jehan Froissart, *Histoire et Cronique*, ed. Denis Sauvage (Lyon 1561), vol. 4, chapter 84, p. 264.

⁸⁷ The account (Mirot, "Un essai de guérison", p. 99) reads: 'Audit Poncet pour la creue de sa despense desdiz mois de may et juing aud. an iiii. c et trois, esquelz icellui Poncet fit venir plusieurs chevaliers et escuiers pour estre avec lui quant il ouveroit, lesquelz feu mondit seigneur manda y estre, *et y demourerent par l'espace d'environ deux mois, cxii fr.*' (italics mine, J.V.).

the duke's expense, we may perhaps conclude they brought it with them.⁸⁸ Thus gradually the picture emerges of a travelling company of magicians, equipped with a number of props (the iron rods and chains) and no doubt trained in giving spectacular performances. Their magic involved a high degree of organisation and the skilful manipulation of public curiosity and credulity. From the case of Arnaud Guillaume, who ran a modest one-man business, we may infer there was a whole, possibly very traditional, repertoire of magical beliefs, abstruse claims and a good deal of mystification. The success of these magical performances was mainly due to their ability to create suspense, to raise expectations and manipulate people's fears and desires. In short, as the Monk of St. Denis shrewdly observes, they were meant to stir the public imagination, for whatever the outcome of their magical ritual, people's gullibility and public rumour would do the trick, as the Monk's report of the storm aptly illustrates.

It may be concluded that the story of this company's ultimate failure also reveals the secret of their (potential) success, for evidently they succeeded in impressing not only the common people, but also the duke of Burgundy. Their failure may be attributed to the overzealous bailiff of Dijon; but their pretentious claims of being able to cure the king or to find the cause of his illness, played an important role as well. They were playing for high stakes, and apart from being their last it may also have been their most ambitious and lucrative enterprise. Blinded by these prospects they did not stop to consider the consequences in case things turned out badly. The wages of sorcery, like treachery, is death, especially if it fails to realise its objective.

The role of the duke of Burgundy in this whole affair is remarkable, to say the least. The whole elaborate ritual took place in his domains and at his expense, apparently for the good of the king. But this motive appears only from the chroniclers, not from the account. Burgundy's interest in magic would seem to be more than a mere concern for the well-being of the monarch. In his treatise Pignon refers to certain apostates who were condemned and executed at Paris for having invoked the devil; '*comme telz leurs livres ars*', he adds, which reminds one of the burning of Jehan de Bar and his books, '*condempnés publiquement, semblablement en plusieurs lieux de ce Royaume, comme Digon, Sens et pluseurs autres lieux*', which is an indication that Pignon knew about the case of Poinson and Briquet.⁸⁹ The fact that these invocations took place '*en lieux desiers en forest*' also fits in well. He does not, however, mention the motive for these invocations. If our only sources for the case had been the account published by Mirot and the

⁸⁸ Since they had the duke pay for practically everything they needed during that period, it is unlikely they paid for it themselves.

⁸⁹ CLD I.3.

remarks by Pignon, we might easily have been led to conclude that the duke of Burgundy was in the habit of using magic to further his private ends. It makes one wonder whether the abbé de Cérisy was familiar with the affair.

2.4.5 *Two Secular Trials: The Cases of Margot de la Barre (1390) and Jeanne de Brigue (1391)*

The impact of magic on the public imagination was not only a concern of the religious authorities. We have already seen that the apostate monk who practised his magic in and near the tower of Montjay was, according to Petit, tried before both an ecclesiastical and a secular court. Towards the end of the fourteenth century the Parlement of Paris decided that sorcery was not only a religious but also a civil offence and the first trials on record date from 1390 and 1391. We shall briefly depart from the courtly environment and the princely patronage of magic to examine the practice and persecution of ritual magic among the common people of Paris.⁹⁰

The first case concerns a young woman named Marion la Droiturière who had been abandoned by her lover Hainsselin Planite (who wished to marry someone else) and who, in despair, turned to a sorceress named Margot de la Barre, also known as Margot du Coignet, for help. The remedy that Margot proposed is essentially a love-charm. The poor girl was instructed to burn a white cock and use its ashes to prepare a powder to be put in Hainsselin's pillow, in his wine and in his food. Consuming the powder and sleeping on it should have made him change his mind, but nothing happened and Hainsselin remained firm in his determination to marry the other woman. Since she was unable to stop the wedding, Marion determined to apply magical means to prevent the consummation of the marriage and to cause Hainsselin to return to her afterwards. To this purpose Margot invoked the devil who, invisible to Marion, appeared to her in the guise of a devil from the Passion plays, but without the horns (this she would later confess during her trial).⁹¹ The demon was instructed regarding Marion's wishes and left through a window. Marion received two consecrated chaplets made of herbs and roses (such as girls wore on their heads on festive occasions) which she must put on the ground close to the couple, so that when they passed over

⁹⁰ The two trials are described in: Collas, *Valentine de Milan*, pp. 194-212; R. H. Robbins, *The Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology* (London 1959), pp. 379-381; Russell, *Witchcraft in the Middle Ages*, pp. 214-215; Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons*, pp. 196-197; The proceedings of the two trials were published in: *Registre criminel du châtelet de Paris du 6. Sept. 1389 au 18. Mai 1392*, ed. H. Duplès-Agier (Paris 1861), vol. 1, pp. 327-362 and vol. 2, pp. 280-343. Joseph Hansen, *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Hexenwahns und der Hexenverfolgung im Mittelalter* (Bonn 1901), pp. 518-523, gives excerpts.

⁹¹ Hansen, *Quellen*, p. 519.

them, the magic could take its effect. Marion performed her task during the wedding dances, where she hoped no one would notice her slipping two chaplets on the ground near the couple. When two days later the newly-weds were taken seriously ill, people immediately called on Margot to cure them (which she did by breaking the spell again by means of consecrated herbs); but no doubt rumour had spread, and both Marion and Margot were arrested on that very day. Contrary to the later witch-trials, the inquest and trial of Marion and Margot were conducted with great care. Witnesses were heard, facts corroborated and many lawyers consulted (not all of whom favoured the ultimate sentence). Nevertheless torture was applied, twice on Marion, five times on Margot, and in August 1390 both women were burned at the stake in Paris.

The second trial which took place in 1391 was likewise carefully documented, enough to afford us a glimpse of late medieval private life and the role of magic. In the vicinity of the towns of Guérart and Crécy-en-Brie⁹² there lived a woman named Jeanne de Brigue, also known as 'la Cordière', who was considered a 'devine', a diviner: she could retrieve missing or stolen objects, she could identify thieves, she could cure diseases, and if needs be make people ill. Her reputation was firmly established, for it frequently happened that, when thieves heard the help of Jeanne was required in a case of larceny, they would come to her, restore the stolen goods and beg her not to denounce them. Even the local clergy appealed to her when some money and a crucifix had been stolen from the church in Guérart. Her revelations soon lead to the restoration of the stolen goods, but her success proved somewhat disquieting, for the ecclesiastical authorities and the bishop of Meaux imprisoned her for a year, and on her release forbade her to continue her divinatory practices.

She, of course, did not concur. Some time later she was called to the sick-bed of an inn-keeper called Hennequin de Ruilly. There were suspicions that Hennequin's sickness had been brought about by sorcery and, at the instigation of Hennequin's wife Macette, Jeanne accused a Parisian woman named Gilette Verrière, of having performed this *maleficium*. Gilette had borne Hennequin two children and since he had jilted her several years earlier and married a girl named Macette,⁹³ it could reasonably be supposed that Gilette

⁹² It may be recalled that also Jehan de Bar was reputed to have practised magic in Brie (though this happened a few years later).

⁹³ Macette confessed later to having used magical means to force Hennequin (who apparently enjoyed the free life and had left for Spain) into marrying her. The procedures are quite interesting. She learned the Gospel of St. John (or more likely: its opening verses) by heart, made a mixture of wax and pitch and invoked Lucifer. Pronouncing the Gospel of St. John, the *Pater Noster* and the *Ave Maria* thrice, she would use the mixture as an ointment, rubbing it between Hennequin's shoulders while he was asleep. Hansen, *Quellen*, p. 521. Pignon also

was out for revenge. Later, during the trial and under the pressure of torture, Jeanne would suggest that Hennequin's marriage was an unhappy one and that he maltreated his wife. Macette, therefore, had ample reason to bear him a grudge. Much later, when she was brought up for trial, Macette would confess to having conjured her husband herself. Whilst invoking Lucifer, she would mix white wax and pitch and mould it in the shape of a human figure; thrice she would recite the Gospel of St. John, the *Pater Noster* and the *Ave Maria*, after which she would draw three crosses with a knife on the wax image. Then she would boil the image in water. She would also keep two toads in a pot in her chamber. On occasion (either to avoid or avenge marital violence) she would prick the animals with a sharp point whilst invoking the devil, thus inflicting injuries on her husband. Apparently Macette had tried to implicate Jeanne in her *maleficium* by telling her what she did. Jeanne had been quite impressed by Macette's magical skills and had persuaded her to set the toads free and destroy the wax image, after which Hennequin had made a full recovery. Jeanne then decided to make use of Macette's recipes because she had been living with a man who did not want to marry her because she was of such a low estate. Jeanne had hoped that Macette's love-charms (which also involved toads, wax and pitch; apparently Macette did not have a very impressive repertoire) might change his mind, but before she even had the chance of testing its results, word had got about that Hennequin had recovered at the hands of the diviner, and secular authorities decided to question her.

During her trial Jeanne confessed to having invoked a demon called Haussibut whom she conjured in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, after having drawn a magic circle. It was this demon who had helped her in her divinations and who had assisted her in retrieving lost or stolen property. Jeanne, after torture, persisted in her confession. Macette, in the end, recanted everything she had stated under pressure. The entire trial lasted a year. After the provost of Paris had reached a verdict, Jeanne appealed to the Parlement of Paris. The Parlement reopened the case and arrested Macette (it was only at this point that Macette was questioned). Evidence was collected from Macette's house: the wax and the pitch, and even one of the toads, run through with a spike, were brought to Paris. The Parlement seriously debated the question whether this was an offence that should be dealt with by a secular court. It was decided it was, but there was no unanimity as to the punishment that should be meted out. One of the lawyers favoured six months imprisonment, arguing that the only crime that had been committed was one of evil intent. But the majority agreed that it

mentions magical applications of the *Pater Noster* and the *Ave Maria* in CLD I.6 and CLD II.3.4.

should be capital punishment. On August 19, 1391, both women were burned at the stake.

Despite the fact that the cases of Margot de la Barre and Jeanne de Brigue are exclusively known through the surviving court proceedings that, as will be clear, are irreparably tainted by the use of torture, it may not be altogether impossible to make inferences concerning the practice and the prestige of magic. Emile Collas, who in his book on Valentina Visconti gives a detailed account of both cases, credits the judges for their diligence and their conscientious efforts to find within the measure of the law means of moderating the punishment. Seven or eight magistrates are applauded for their enlightened views.⁹⁴ But it should be remembered that the diligence exercised in these cases had more to do with the fact that these were test-trials, than with compassion for the suspects. The 'enlightened' magistrates who favoured relatively light sentences, such as short-term imprisonment, over capital punishment, did so because they believed that in the absence of any real demonstrable harm (caused by the rituals), the crimes were crimes of conscience and belief and as such of no concern to secular jurisdiction. Pignon would no doubt have agreed with them. The majority of the magistrates, however, decided these cases were a matter of secular jurisdiction (Parlement ratified this decision on August 8, 1391) and thus infringing on the domain of ecclesiastical authority, they made a decisive step towards increasing their power and towards the systematic persecution of people on the charge of sorcery and witchcraft. Both cases are generally viewed as heresy-trials.⁹⁵ In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the juridical basis had been laid that made heresy punishable by death and if ritual magic could be shown to contain religious error, it likewise could be opposed by the full measure of the law. In practice this meant that magic was best punishable if association with demons or even a pact with the devil could be demonstrated. This was an easy task on which theologian and torturer collaborated. Great Christian authorities such as Augustine and Aquinas had decreed that all acts of magic are essentially based on communications with the demonic. Inefficacious in themselves (for lack of natural causation) all magic rituals are essentially signs devised to communicate with demonic powers. Since this communication implies a form of mutual understanding and agreement, magic is essentially idolatrous and heretical. Developed by the great doctors of holy doctrine, like Augustine and Aquinas, this teaching of the demonic pact was further disseminated by minor minions of truth such as Pignon.⁹⁶ In the cases of Margot and Jeanne it is first and foremost the hornless devil from

⁹⁴ Collas, *Valentine de Milan*, p. 213.

⁹⁵ Russell, *Witchcraft in the Middle Ages*, p. 215; Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons*, p. 197.

⁹⁶ Augustine, DDC II.20; Aquinas, ST 2a2ae.96.1+2; Pignon, CLD II.3.

the Passion plays and the mysterious Haussibut that constitute the ground for capital punishment and not the chaplets, the wax, the pitch and the unfortunate toad. Contrary to these latter devices, the devils are most likely the products of torture and interrogation.

It should be noted that both women were said to belong to the 'femmes de folle vie'⁹⁷ and their lives, in all likelihood, were subject to great social pressures and uncertainties. Their magic entailed love-charms to bind a man and thus to procure some social stability; it also comprised *maleficium* that was used for protection against violence. The magical practices (and divinations) of the two women, therefore, may reveal to us some genuine superstitions of the period, and, as will be noticed, these superstitions were common enough to resemble the interests of gullible courtiers.

As if to stress this point, Collas narrates how Jeanne de Brigue, while she was in prison awaiting her sentence, was called upon by a gaoler whose silver cup had been stolen. He wanted her to use her divinatory powers to clear up this mystery and retrieve the stolen object. And again, such was the general belief in Jeanne's powers that soon a minor prison attendant came to her confessing his crime and imploring her not to give him away.⁹⁸

2.4.6 *Magic and Calumny: The Case of Valentina Visconti*

The general belief in magic made it a suitable weapon in the hands of detractors and calumniators. One of the most evident as well as one of the most shameful cases of libel in the late fourteenth century concerned Valentina Visconti, the wife of Louis d'Orléans. More than ten years before Louis fell victim to Burgundian aggression, Valentina had been the target of slanders and lies that were spread by the Burgundian court and that implicated her in practices of sorcery. The rivalry between Burgundy and Orléans dated from the late fourteenth century and despite all outward signs of affection there was a deep-rooted hatred. Margaret of Male, the proud and haughty wife of Philip the Bold had a considerable influence over the queen, Isabel, and both women turned against this foreign intruder from Milan and collaborated in her defamation. As a direct consequence of the unceasing rumours, Valentina left the court to go into exile and departed from Paris in 1396.

A constant source of inspiration for these rumours was, of course, the insanity of king Charles VI. From the moment the king's disease became manifest, people from all social strata agreed that it had been brought about by sorcery. Doctors and theologians who refused to accept the power of magic, wavered between black bile and the excesses of youth as possible

⁹⁷ Hansen, *Quellen*, p. 520.

⁹⁸ Collas, *Valentine de Milan*, pp. 212-213.

causes. But unlike the sorcerers, the physicians could not produce plausible reasons why their efforts to cure the monarch failed. The magicians on the other hand, ironically resorted to the argument of sorcery and cleverly followed the latest trend in public rumour which decreed that the king had been placed under a spell by Valentina de Milan, the woman from Lombardy.⁹⁹ Other gossiping tongues whispered it was Valentina's father, Giangaleazzo Visconti, the lord of Milan, who had bewitched the king with an eye to making his daughter queen of France,¹⁰⁰ and last but not least, Louis d'Orléans had been accused of bewitching the king already in 1402 by no less a person than king Henry IV of England. Because Henry had usurped the English throne and killed Richard II, Louis had challenged him to a duel *non sorcium vel invocacionum virtute*, without the use of magic (which was apparently an option) and Henry Bolingbroke responded indignantly by means of the rumour that was spread far and wide.¹⁰¹ In his periods of insanity, king Charles did not recognise his wife and children, he forgot his royal dignity, ran howling through the corridors of his palace, and desperately tried to efface his coat of arms whenever he encountered it painted or engraved on walls and windows. But in the presence of Valentina he would calm down; he always recognised her and called her his well-beloved sister. Apart from jealousy, the king's affection and Valentina's soothing influence also gave rise to further rumours of sorcery.¹⁰² In fact, there is reason to believe that the spread of these rumours was deliberately engineered. The Monk of St. Denis remarks that these opinions were spread by fools, necromancers and superstitious people.¹⁰³ Collas points out that people like Arnaud Guillaume

⁹⁹ Cf. *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys* XIV.5, vol. 2, p. 88: *Quod multi in partem interpretabantur pejorem, non tamen dicam probabilem; sed quod eis videbatur verissimile, allegantes quod in Lombardia, unde ducebat originem, intoxicaciones et sortilegia vigeant plusquam aliis partibus*. In the case of Poinson and Briquet we encountered a certain master Boniface from Lombardy.

¹⁰⁰ Among these calumniators, of course, Jean Petit takes pride of place. He quotes the duke of Milan referring to Charles VI as: 'Il est le dyable!' and saying to his daughter on her departure to France: 'Adieu belle fille! je ne vous vueil jamais veoir tant que vous soiez royne de France'. (Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 1, pp. 228-229.) Cf. *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys* XXVIII.34, vol. 3, pp. 758-759. The remark also found its way into the *Geste*:

Adieu, ma bielle fille, menés lie samblance;

Mais ne vous quier veir, telle est bien m'espérance,

Tant que vous serés dame et royne de France (ll. 72-74; p. 261).

¹⁰¹ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys* XXIII.12, vol. 3, pp. 56-59.

¹⁰² Juvenal des Ursins, *Histoire*, p. 394b: 'Car il la voyoit et regardoit tres-volontiers, et l'appelloit belle sœur. Et comme souvent il y a de mauvaises langues, on disoit et publioient aucuns qu'elle l'avoit ensorcelé, par le moyen de son pere le duc de Milan, qui estoit Lombard, et qu'en son pays on usoit de telles choses'.

¹⁰³ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys* XVI.20, vol. 2, esp. p. 406: *afatus, nigromanticis et supersticiosus viris procedentem*.

and the other court-magicians probably brought out the news in the taverns, whence it was spread further by wandering beggars (the so-called 'caymans').¹⁰⁴ It would by no means be inconsistent with Burgundian politics and that particular Burgundian talent to stir and manipulate public sentiments to suppose that the whole scandal was created to engineer the downfall of Orléans.

The chronicler Froissart was obviously taken in by the Burgundian view of the matter, for he vents many of the opinions, prejudices and libels in his depiction of Valentina that Jean Petit would eventually use to incriminate Louis. He mentions the alleged covetousness and envy of the duchess, her use of sorcery to ruin the king and he even reproduces the story of a poisoned apple with which she allegedly tried to kill her brother in law. This attempted murder was supposed to be the immediate cause of her banishment, which, rumour had it, so infuriated her father that he had revealed the secret project of the Nicopolis-crusade to sultan Bajazet.¹⁰⁵ All these rumours concerning Valentina are unfounded, but apart from truth they also lack imagination. Rumours that the king's madness was caused by sorcery were already spreading even before they were pinned on Valentina and the story of the poisoned apple, the abbé de Cérisy suggested, is as old as the world itself. Apparently Petit tried to make amends in his *Seconde Justification*, by including two samples of Valentina's magical practices, but they are far from impressive. As we have seen, Petit only hinted at the duchess's idolatrous nature indirectly in his first *Justification* as if he were afraid to accuse her openly; now the duchess was dead (Valentina died on December 4, 1408) he could be more bold. He tells of a steel mirror¹⁰⁶ that Valentina had received from a fellow countryman from Lombardy which she used for divination. In it she had seen the body of a drowned boy stuck in the locks of a watermill. When people inspected the appointed location they found the boy's body. The second anecdote concerns another Italian staying in Paris and performing there certain unspecified magical rituals that affected the king in a strange way. It was discovered that this man performed his charms and sorceries by means of letters sealed with the seal of the Visconti's.¹⁰⁷ In the case of Petit, imagination was a poor substitute for the 'realities' of the widespread belief in sorcery.

¹⁰⁴ Collas, *Valentine de Milan*, pp. 219-227.

¹⁰⁵ Coville, *Jean Petit*, p. 306; Froissart, *Cronique*, vol. 4, chapter 84, pp. 264-265.

¹⁰⁶ Coville, *Jean Petit*, p. 310: 'le dit miroir qui estoit d'achier'. Cf. Jehan de Bar's *Confession*, Appendix I, item 12 on 'miroirs d'acier'. Such mirrors were standard props in the magical business.

¹⁰⁷ Coville, *Jean Petit*, p. 310, quotes the relevant sections from Brussels, ms. 10419 fols. 58, 61.

Lombardy, Valentina's native country, had a considerable reputation among the French nobility for being a land of sorcerers. When Géraud d'Armagnac, count of Pardiac, wished to dispose of his cousin, Bernard d'Armagnac (around 1400) he had had three wax images made in Milan by some very able magicians. He hired the lawyer Guillaume de Carlat to take the images to the castle of Montlezun to have them consecrated by a certain Jean d'Astarac, who possessed a copy of the *Liber sacratus*.¹⁰⁸ Events, however, took a turn that could hardly be called consistent with the intended results of the magical consecration. Géraud was imprisoned by his cousin Bernard and died very soon in one of Bernard's fortresses.¹⁰⁹

Rumours of sorcery would hound Valentina till her death. When in 1408 public sentiments towards the duchess softened and the Parisians were moved by her courage and gracious mourning over the death of her husband, the partisans of John the Fearless immediately spread the rumour that the king had suffered a catastrophic relapse due to Valentina's sorceries.¹¹⁰ Even after Valentina's death rumours were spread. Pierre Salmon, royal secretary and ambassador, and in all likelihood one of Burgundy's agents,¹¹¹ wrote in his memoirs that he had been notified by master Hélye,¹¹² a monk from Lombardy who practised magic and divination, that the king was under the spell of a 'certain silver image made at the request of the duke of Milan'.¹¹³ Since master Hélye could not travel to France without the pope's permission, the duke of Burgundy wrote to the pope in October 1409 to send master Hélye to Paris so that he might attempt to heal the king; another clear instance of Burgundy's concern for the French monarchy and his willingness to subsidise magicians.

The cases of magic we have reviewed so far take on a twofold appearance: in the absence of proof they assume the appearance of slander, and in the absence of results, they are presented as foolish superstitions, which, judging by modern standards, may lead one to believe these cases belong to the margins of history, being nothing but the debris of by-gone inconsequential follies. Appearances, however, can be as deceptive as slanders and as shallow

¹⁰⁸ Collas, *Valentine de Milan*, p. 192: 'Jean d'Astarac, qui demeure à Montgiscardet qui a le livre consacré ...' Collas does not identify this designation as a title, but it seems very likely that it refers to the pseudo-Solomonic *Liber sacer* or *sacratus* we encountered earlier.

¹⁰⁹ Collas, *Valentine de Milan*, pp. 192-193.

¹¹⁰ Collas, *Valentine de Milan*, p. 376; the relapse is recorded by Juvenal des Ursins for the year 1407 (=1408).

¹¹¹ Coville, *Jean Petit*, p. 318.

¹¹² See: Wickersheimer, DBM 1, p. 127: 'Élie' native of Pisa; P. Salmon, *Les demandes faites par le roi Charles VI touchant son état et le gouvernement de sa personne*, ed. G. Crapelet (Paris 1833), pp. 84-85, 165-166; Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue*, pp. 209-210, n. 26.

¹¹³ Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue*, p. 209.

as superstitions. These case-histories should not blind us to the intricate world of beliefs through which they are informed and nourished. The belief in the efficacy of magic must have been fairly common, for without it Valentina would not have been driven into exile, thieves would not have come supplicating to Jeanne de Brigue, secular courts would not have infringed on the authority of ecclesiastical courts, magicians would not have been able to rival with physicians, and Petit would not even have dared to claim credibility for the accusations of his *Justification*. The disbelief and the scepticism that can be detected in the Monk of St. Denis and the abbé de Cérisy, even the very concept of superstition as it is frequently used by Pignon (mostly in conjunction with the word 'foolish'), do not resemble modern rationalist scepticism in proclaiming the impossibility of supernatural events. They still retain the half-acknowledged awareness that if God allows it, demons may perform miraculous feats. Medieval philosophy did a great deal to limit the perceived power of demons by fixing natural confines and by attributing many supernatural phenomena to demon-wrought delusions of the human senses and the imagination. It may be doubted, however, whether these philosophical restrictions were commonly known outside scholarly and clerical circles. What scholars and clerics considered as demonic magic may not have manifested itself as demonic at all. It could therefore draw life from the same religious charisma that nurtured the belief in the miracles of saints, relics, and the Holy Virgin. It is therefore fitting to round off this discussion of courtly magic with a case of ecclesiastical magic.

2.4.7 *The Case of the Shroud of Christ*

Occasionally the Monk of St. Denis breaks off his main narrative of the life of Charles VI to tell an edifying story, mostly dealing with the follies of superstition and magic or with the wonders of the true faith. These digressions are most revealing since they give the reader a clear insight into the beliefs or disbeliefs of the Monk and his contemporaries. One of the stories he tells is about a miracle that happened in Paris in 1393.¹¹⁴ A mother had smothered her newborn illegitimate daughter, and had put the corpse of the baby on the city dump, where it was found the following day by pious people, who took it to church and placed it on the altar. There it miraculously came back to life, through the intercession of the Holy Virgin, so that it could be baptised. Three hours later it died again, but its soul had been saved. This type of Christian or ecclesiastical magic was also used in yet another attempt to cure Charles VI.

¹¹⁴ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys* XIV.4, vol. 2, pp. 82-87.

Messire Louis de Sancerre, the constable of France, requested in 1399 that a number of Cistercian monks should come from Burgundy to Paris carrying with them a *sudarium*, a shroud, that they claimed had belonged to Christ. Many people suffering from madness or insanity had been cured by simply touching the shroud. For a period of nine days in the middle of August the king attended mass and said his prayers before the shroud, but only regained his sanity for three days. Next, the Cistercians carried their shroud to the church of the Bernardins where it was open for inspection to the public for a month. Many people went on a pilgrimage to see the shroud and were quite generous with their alms so that the monks finally returned home with a great deal of money. Some people claimed that miracles had taken place before the *sudarium*, but the Monk is sceptical, since he knows of no eye-witnesses.¹¹⁵

The Monk is not impressed by the kind of rumours or hearsay that may have motivated Louis de Sancerre to invite the Cistercian monks, or even the two Augustinian sorcerers a year before (in 1398). But whether or not it was gullibility or the desperate predicament of the sick monarch that drove Louis de Sancerre, we should be mistaken in characterising the different perspectives of the Monk and messire Louis as an opposition between reason and superstition. The difference is rather one between an observer and an agent. The Monk is only willing to accept an omen or a miracle when it is God-given and when it can be verified by reliable witnesses.¹¹⁶ The Monk evaluates after the event, whereas Louis de Sancerre is on at least two occasions the motivating force behind the event. As initiator he operates on the dictum: nothing ventured nothing gained. But this does not mean his religious perception is essentially different from that of the Monk. Belief in the efficacy of magic is deeply rooted in the Judaeo-Christian tradition and as long as its rituals are performed with the proper respect and reverence that a believer owes to God, magic might be considered legitimate. Thus we find Arnaud Guillaume using a book of divine authorship and Jeanne de Brigue conjuring a demon in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. Jehan de Bar also conjured demons, but they only turned out to be demons *after* his cross-examination, for as he himself confesses, he initially believed

¹¹⁵ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* XX.1, vol. 2, pp. 684-687: *Et quamvis in ostensione ejus nonnulli miracula ibi facta astruerent, nullum tamen vidi vel audivi qui fide oculata ea diceret se vidisse vel experta sensisse in se ipso* (p. 686). Cf. also Juvenal des Ursins, *Histoire*, p. 416b: 'En ce temps, aucuns de l'ordre de Saint Bernard apportèrent, comme ils disoient, le saint Suaire, où nostre benoist Sauveur Jesus-Christ fut ensepuluré, et le mirent à Saint Bernard à Paris. Et y eut grande affluence de peuple, et en leverent une bien grande finance d'argent. Et disoit-on qu'il y eut de beaux miracles faits, combien qu'on n'en declarast aucuns particulièrement'.

¹¹⁶ The various practices of sorcery he records apparently did not yield any eye-witnesses.

them to be 'good angels'.¹¹⁷ He also believed that the kind of magic he was practising was divinely instituted with the express purpose of combating demons.¹¹⁸ His magical use of mass and Eucharist likewise points in the direction of a genuine Christian magic that was ultimately rejected by orthodoxy as heretical and idolatrous but whose mentality was by no means restricted to its practitioners. Thus we find Pignon explaining that the recitation of the *Pater Noster* or the *Credo*, carrying a crucifix or applying the Gospel of St. John to the sick to aid their recovery, is perfectly acceptable as long as it is done with the right intentions and with the proper reverence and devotion.¹¹⁹ Though they were demonised and branded as heretics, there is no reason to believe that these Christian magicians regarded themselves as deviants from Christian orthodoxy. Demonisation was all too frequently rather the result of a conflict of authority. The Waldensians and Albigensians, for instance, were essentially persecuted as heretics and sorcerers because they failed to recognise the authority of Rome. In their case all accusations of sorcery were unfounded fabrications. Apart from this political application, demonisation was first and foremost a theological device to condemn a whole body of religious beliefs and practices of variegated provenance that had no foundation in the Bible or the (canonised) Fathers of the Church. This seems to suggest that it was not so much the magic as its source that roused most suspicions. A 'magical' device or ritual that could be shown to have Biblical roots was legitimate even though its distinction from other (condemned) forms of magic was open to debate. The *sudarium* is a case in point.

The medieval belief in the efficacy of relics essentially went back to Biblical narratives such as the resurrection of the dead man who was let down into the sepulchre of the prophet Elisha and who revived the moment his body touched the bones of the prophet.¹²⁰ The power of God that filled the prophet still lingers on in his bones; it could, however, also penetrate the clothes and garments of a holy man. By far the most famous example of this is the woman who suffered from haemorrhages and was cured by touching the hem of Christ's garment.¹²¹ But also concerning St. Paul we read that 'God wrought special miracles by the hands of Paul, so that from his body were brought unto the sick handkerchiefs or aprons, and the diseases departed from them, and the evil spirits went out of them'.¹²² Paul was in Ephesus

¹¹⁷ Jehan de Bar, *Confession*, Appendix I, item 5.

¹¹⁸ Jehan de Bar, *Confession*, Appendix I, item 16.

¹¹⁹ Pignon, CLD II.3.4.

¹²⁰ II Kings 13:21.

¹²¹ Matth. 9:20-22; Luke 8:43-48 and Mark 5:25-34 add that Christ perceived that power went out of him.

¹²² Acts 19:11-12 speaks of σουδάρια ἢ σιμικινθία, *sudaria et semicinctia*.

at that moment, where, according to tradition St. John would later write his Gospel. In the resurrection passage of that Gospel it can be read how Simon Peter enters the empty grave of Christ, where he notices that the 'napkin, that was about his head, was not lying with the linen clothes, but wrapped together in a place by itself'.¹²³ This remark does not appear in any of the other Gospels, nor does it seem to have a clear purpose in the context of John's narrative. It could be that the remark was meant for the immediate audience of the Gospel, namely the early Christians of Ephesus who took a specific interest in these *sudaria* and their medicinal applications. Stories of the miraculous cures affected by the *sudarium* (on, e.g., emperor Tiberius or king Abgar of Edessa), the legend of St. Veronica (who was sometimes identified with the woman who was cured from her bleeding), the impression left by the face of Christ on the sweatcloth (the *vera icon*) extolled in medieval Latin hymns are but a few of the intermediary stages in the complex history of the transmission of the *sudarium*-legend from its Biblical source to this small incident from the chronicle of the Monk of St. Denis.¹²⁴

Unlike the king, the court and the pilgrims, the Monk of St. Denis is sceptical, but not for want of belief in God's supernatural intervention in the course of human affairs. His scepticism betrays his longing for an educated and sophisticated appreciation of the things that are in and beyond this world. Too easily the court is fooled by charlatans and liars. The Monk brings to mind the so-called patriarch of Constantinople, a confidence trickster of Greek origin, who, dressed in exotic garments and communicating through an interpreter, fooled both the court and the clergy and finally left with many expensive gifts.¹²⁵ For the Monk of St. Denis there is a great similarity between the false patriarch and magicians like Arnaud Guillaume - or rather, he wills the similarity to be there, for then he can blame the success of these cheats on people's gullibility, a vice that must be criticised in matters both secular and ecclesiastical. But was the general belief in the miracles of the *sudarium* mere gullibility? Were the witnesses who testified to the resuscitation of the dead infant trustworthier than those who believed in the shroud? The Monk of St. Denis may have been suppressing a deep nagging fear that ecclesiastical magic is, after all, magic; and that, no matter how sophisticated

¹²³ John 20:7: *sudarium* (σουδάριον) *quod fuerat super caput eius*.

¹²⁴ The legend, of course, continues to the present day in the mystifying Turin shroud. See Eusebius, *Historiae Ecclesiasticae* I.13; Moses Chorenensis, *Histor. Arm.* II.30-33; DTC I, 'Abgar', cols. 67-73. For the medieval tradition, see, e.g., Karl Pearson, *Die Fronica. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Christusbildes im Mittelalter* (Strassburg 1887).

¹²⁵ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* X.13, vol. 1, pp. 636-643; Juvenal des Ursins, *Histoire*, pp. 382b-383a (according to Juvenal the patriarch's name is Paulus Tigrin; he records the incident as taking place in 1389); Collas, *Valentine de Milan*, pp. 83-84.

one's belief in it is, it nevertheless resembles the magic of paganism in a disturbing way.

Yet clerical censorship aimed at more than simple courtly superstitions; it also felt it had to do more than occasionally sound a note of self-criticism. Superstition harboured terrible demonic forces that could destroy and disrupt the fabric of society. Pignon was convinced divination was the cause of civil war. Petit's whole oration revolved around the central tenet that a prince who is involved in sorcery is a tyrant. The lightness of the Monk's laudible scepticism, his witty ridicule, and his entertaining and moralistic narratives would become less and less bearable to an age that, according to Huizinga, lived by fierce and burning passions. The age that prepared the witch-craze was also the age that struggled to come to terms with its own contradictory passions, its 'ancient Pagan instincts' and its deep devotion; what Huizinga called the profound dualism of the Kingdom of God and the sinful world.¹²⁶ The friction of these two worlds will be the theme of our next section.

2.5 The '*Bal des Ardents*' and the Dangers of Pagan Ritual

Late medieval censorship of superstition, divination and magic was essentially directed against a whole body of heterogeneous elements, that was thought to be fundamentally at odds with the Christian faith. Though Pignon focuses on divination and soothsaying, he makes it clear that his critique is also aimed at a host of other beliefs and practices; he mentions folkloristic phenomena such as torch-processions and bonfires, witches and Waldensians,¹²⁷ the magical arts, dream-interpretation, judicial astrology, superstitious observances, and belief in propitious days. All these various elements are yoked together and subsumed under a common denominator: idolatry. All these beliefs and practices are a result of man's tendency to deflect his worship from the one true God and direct it at God's creation. Naturally, this misdirection happens at the instigation of the devil, so that all these superstitions imply a tacit or an express pact with the enemy of God. Demonisation is not the only weapon in the struggle against superstition. Idolatry, Pignon explains, is not only demonic, it is also anachronistic.¹²⁸ By means of the doctrine of the six ages of the world, he explains that the heyday of idolatry, which lasted from the second up to and including the fifth age, is over. The advent of Christ and the age of Grace put an end to it: the demons were literally exorcised *en masse*. What remained of their old kingdom survives in the shadow of the Christian Empire, emerging occasionally in the form of heresy

¹²⁶ Huizinga, *Herfsttij*, pp. 253-254.

¹²⁷ CLD I.6.

¹²⁸ CLD I.1 and II.1.3.

or some other perverse deviation from the true faith. Thus ancient indigenous beliefs struggled to survive either as demonic wiles or as meaningless vestiges from the past and in either case they were a source of apprehension for the Christian soul. In a sense this fear was well founded, for the dangers were twofold. On the one hand there was the danger of opposition. The survival of non-Christian beliefs in opposition to the Church was believed to pose a threat to the authority and the truth of Christianity and hence it mobilised polemicists and inquisitors. On the other hand there was the danger of assimilation, a danger from within and therefore more difficult to perceive. Many non-Christian and pagan beliefs survived not in spite of but by virtue of Christianity. Like energy they are never lost but simply transformed into new forms and manifestations. Perhaps the Monk of St. Denis feared to detect assimilated paganism in the adulation of the shroud. Yet the difficulty and the danger with pagan beliefs is, that one can never tell what shape they will take, especially when it concerns non-Christian beliefs that are somehow fundamentally at odds with the spirit of the Christian faith; the wisdom of one religious context, may easily become the madness of another. This problem was brought home to the French court one night in 1393 when a 'bal masqué' ended in a great tragedy that laid bare a great cultural struggle with the past, but that also became an ominous foreshadowing of the future.

The 'Bal des Sauvages', which, due to its tragic ending is also known as the 'Bal des Ardents' took place on January 28, 1393,¹²⁹ on the occasion of the wedding of one of the queen's 'chambellanes'. This lady, Catherine de Fastaverin, German by birth, had been widowed twice (thrice according to the Monk of St. Denis) and now was to be married for the third time. The wedding was celebrated in the royal palace of Saint-Pol and the exuberant festivities lasted until well after midnight. The king and a few nobles had devised a spectacular performance to entertain the guests. They dressed up as wild men and put on a linen costume entirely covered with pitch and hair. They joined together to form a band of six (there was even talk of their being chained¹³⁰ together) and released themselves upon the guests, entertaining

¹²⁹ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* XIII.16, vol. 2, pp. 64-71; Juvenal des Ursins, *Histoire*, p. 390b; Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 1, pp. 233-234; Froissart, *Cronique*, vol. 4, chapter 52, pp. 170-172; Coville, *Jean Petit*, pp. 332-337; Cauzons, *La magie et la sorcellerie*, vol. 2, pp. 381-382; Collas, *Valentine de Milan*, pp. 170-178; Barbara Tuchman, *A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous Fourteenth Century* (New York 1978), pp. 503-505; see also the account in the *Geste*, ll. 445-621, pp. 273-278.

¹³⁰ Juvenal des Ursins, *Histoire*, p. 390b, mentions the 'Bal des Ardents' with the 'hommes sauvages enchaînez' as one of the entertainments organised on behalf of the sick king. Petit, however, in his *Justification* (Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 1, p. 233) explains that one of the king's servants advised against the chaining (which, of course, was Orléans's plan) because of the fire-risk.

them by scaring them and making them guess who were hidden behind these ghostly disguises. Howling like wolves, they gesticulated wildly and obscenely and danced a Saracen dance in diabolical frenzy.¹³¹ Then a catastrophe occurred. To take a closer look, Louis d'Orléans approached the wild men with his torch too closely so that one of them immediately caught fire. Three others soon followed but the king was spared because the duchess of Berry had recognised him and covered him with a cloak, and also a sixth nobleman (sire de Nantouillet) escaped since he managed to dive into a barrel of water in time. The other four were burned alive, their flaming genitals dropping to the floor, the Monk remarks with a sharp but on this occasion rather unsavoury eye for detail, releasing a stream of blood. Three of them, the count of Joigny, the bastard of Foix and Aymeri de Poitiers were deeply mourned; a fourth victim, Huguet de Guisay, was left wailing in agony for three days before he too expired, but he was not mourned, the Monk of St. Denis explains, since he was a vicious man and people were glad to see him perish.¹³²

The whole affair was a source of guilt and remorse to Louis d'Orléans. He did not shirk his responsibilities but was prepared to take all blame. To make amends for his deeds he founded a chapel in the convent of the Célestins. His reputation, however, suffered from the incident. In Froissart's description of the masquerade, Louis's clumsy behaviour is attributed to his youth and ignorance (a similar excuse, we remember, was used by the abbé de Cérisy to mitigate Orléans's juvenile interests in sorcery). The Monk of St. Denis, however, states that Louis 'threw' a torch at one of the masked men.¹³³ Many years later when Jean Petit would accuse the late Louis d'Orléans of having attempted to kill the king, the drama from 1393 proved more than expedient. Orléans was supposed to have joined the masquerade, Petit explains, but with the rather flimsy excuse that the suit prepared for him did not fit, he did not participate in the wild dance, but promised to lead the way with a torch. The events that followed were not accidental but intentional. This was nothing less than attempted regicide.¹³⁴ Coming from the mouth of Petit the story is hardly surprising and might easily be dismissed as slander. The astonishing reply of the abbé de Cérisy, however, puts the

¹³¹ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* XIII.16, vol. 2, p. 66.

¹³² Huguet de Guisay was in all likelihood the one who came up with the plan for the masquerade. Being a man of dissolute life, he was hated by servants and commoners. If someone displeased him he would kick him to the ground and cry: 'Bark dog!' which is also what people cried when his coffin was carried through the streets. See *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* XIII.16, vol. 2, pp. 70-71; Tuchman, *Distant Mirror*, pp. 504-505.

¹³³ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* XIII.16, vol. 2, p. 66.

¹³⁴ Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 1, p. 233.

entire affair in a completely different perspective.¹³⁵ In the first place he does not deny Orléans's intention to participate in the masquerade; the real reason why he did not join the wild dance, was that by the time he arrived all suits had gone. In the second place (more astonishing still) the abbé does not deny that the burning was intentional! Of course, it had not been done with the intention of killing the king, but instead Orléans had (in his youthful ignorance) spoken with two nobles on how it would frighten the ladies, if the costumes were set on fire. It was folly, not malice, and he probably would have set fire to himself had there been a costume left.¹³⁶ In a debate such as the one between Petit and the abbé this is an exceedingly weak position, even if it is true. In his *Seconde Justification* Petit is not impressed by the argument: youthful ignorance is not very likely in a young man of twenty-two. This does not mean, however, that we must agree with Petit: regicide is not the only conceivable motive.

What was the nature of this masquerade? The Monk of St. Denis succinctly points out that according to certain time-honoured customs it is regarded a disgrace when a widow remarries;¹³⁷ according to these traditions, that ran counter to the official opinions of the Church, matrimonial bonds persisted beyond the grave. Marriages of widows were therefore deemed undesirable and met with the censure of the community. In a study on wild men in the Middle Ages, Richard Bernheimer points out that this censure took the form of a wild charivari with a great deal of violence and obscenity in which a group of masked people dressed up as wild men would act as a kind of community police and humiliate the newlyweds and disturb their wedding-night.¹³⁸ The 'Bal des Sauvages' was naturally devised as court-entertainment rather than a communal act of disapproval, but Bernheimer believes it belongs to this type of charivari. The basis of this interpretation is not in the first place Bernheimer's but the Monk's knowledge of ancient (pagan) marriage-customs. Froissart, for instance, makes no mention of such traditions. Though his estimation is no doubt correct, we cannot be sure whether it is complete. The Monk does not hide his dislike for these pagan rituals and is therefore disinclined to say more than is strictly necessary. We should be more inquisitive.

In his study on demons and fertility magic, Arne Runeberg explores the origins of the wild men in whom he recognises mountain or wood spirits. The Pyrenees are inhabited by Black Men or Wild Men whose bodies are

¹³⁵ Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 1, pp. 327-328.

¹³⁶ Coville, *Jean Petit*, p. 335.

¹³⁷ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* XIII.16, vol. 2, pp. 64-66.

¹³⁸ Richard Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages: A Study in Art, Sentiment, and Demonology* (Cambridge, Mass. 1952), pp. 166-167.

covered by long silken hair. In other mountainous regions of France they are known as 'lutins' and may take the shape of fire or of small men dancing round a fire in the woods.¹³⁹ Regarding the charivaries and noisy festivities in which people would dress up as wild men, blackening themselves and covering themselves with leaves and moss, Runeberg forwards an important hypothesis. He sees such festivals as attempts to conjure demons by imitating them. These demons or spirits from nature embody both benevolent and malevolent powers of which the former should be exploited (to promote fertility) and the latter destroyed (to protect harvests and crops). This was done by catching and feeding a representation of such a demon (namely someone dressed up as a wild man) and afterwards by symbolically killing or burning the wild man, in the hope that these rituals would somehow affect the demon (using his positive powers as long as possible and killing him before his negative ones can emerge).¹⁴⁰ The burning did not happen literally but *in effigie*, contrary to the 'Bal des Ardents' where the seasonal fertility rite had watered down to courtly entertainment, but where burning had been promoted to a dreadful reality. It should be remarked that a later fifteenth-century manuscript (which will be discussed in the following chapter) in chronicling the 'Bal des Ardents' refers to it as *una corea procurante demone*, a 'dance to ward off the devil'.¹⁴¹ Apparently the 'Bal' was remembered as a ritual for conjuring demons, which supports the application of Runeberg's hypothesis to the tragic charivari.

Wild men-lore was exceedingly common in the Middle Ages,¹⁴² not only in folklore but also in art. Early medieval penitentials survive that explicitly prohibit dressing up as wild men or seasonal spirits;¹⁴³ even the very belief in them is rejected.¹⁴⁴ Despite ecclesiastical censure the ritual customs persisted, deprived of their original meaning, as wild festivals and entertain-

¹³⁹ Arne Runeberg, *Witches, Demons and Fertility Magic: Analysis of Their Significance and Mutual Relations in West-European Folk-Religion* (Helsingfors 1947), pp. 117-118, 126.

¹⁴⁰ Runeberg, *Witches*, pp. 218-221.

¹⁴¹ For further details see chapter 3.4, note 100 below, where the passage in which this phrase occurs is quoted in full.

¹⁴² See: W. Mulertt, "Der 'wilde Mann' in Frankreich", and W. Giese, "Zum 'wilden Mann' in Frankreich", in: *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 56 (1932), pp. 71-88 resp. pp. 491-497; and Paul Vandenbroeck, *Over wilden en narren, boeren en bedelaars. Beeld van de andere, vertoog over het zelf* (Antwerpen 1987), pp. 5-21. See also the bibliography on wild men in Vandenbroeck, pp. 183-185.

¹⁴³ See: Mulertt, "Der 'wilde Mann' in Frankreich", p. 70, who quotes the eighth-century *Poenitentiale vigilanum*.

¹⁴⁴ See, e.g.: J. T. McNeill and H. M. Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance: A Translation of the Principal 'Libri Poenitentiales' and Selections from Related Documents* (New York 1990), p. 338, where the *Corrector* of Burchard of Worms is quoted on werewolves and wild women.

ments. Yet the 'Bal des Ardents' is more than a pagan ritual that has lost its original religious meaning: it is filled with internal tensions, that, had it not been for the catastrophe, would never have been detected. The tension is largely due to the fact that the opposition between this pagan ritual and Christian beliefs is not as clear cut as the Monk's disapproval might suggest. A festive, ritual banning of demons on the wedding-night of a woman who has been widowed a number of times is not merely pagan folklore; it is also a Biblical motif.

In the *Book of Tobit*¹⁴⁵ a woman named Sarah is scorned by the community because she has been widowed seven times. Every time she was married the demon Asmodeus would come to her in the wedding-night and kill her husband. In the Biblical story Asmodeus was exorcised not by mimic rituals but by burning the heart and the liver of a fish. The story thus stresses there is a demonic side to life's misfortunes and it underlines the need for exorcism. In a way charivaries like the 'Bal des Ardents' have a similar message, but since the forms of the rituals did not have Biblical sanction, they were frowned upon by the Church. In Christian eyes, miming the spirits of mountains and woods is essentially the same as conjuring demons. Hence the Monk of St. Denis was convinced pagan rituals pose a threat to Christian morality, even when they are performed in jest.

This process of demonising not only pagan deities, but also by extension the individuals and groups who professed belief in them, would become increasingly important in the course of the fifteenth century. Fighting the devil by burning his representatives would become such a standard policy for both church and secular authorities that one is tempted to believe that there is more than an outward similarity between Orléans's 'youthful ignorance' and his (later) persecution of Jehan de Bar and the two Augustinian monks.

The 'Bal des Ardents' is a good example of the follies of late medieval court life, but in a sense it was not an accident. The tragedy that took place was the consequence of a premeditated plan that was charged with the energies and the tensions of the period. Louis d'Orléans seems to have embodied some of these tensions.

There is something fundamentally ambiguous about Louis d'Orléans as he emerges from the testimonies of his contemporaries. If the accusations of Pierre de Craon and Jean Petit have any ground, we see a youthful Louis interested in magic and magicians, a young man whose conduct and interests are on occasion in need of an apology. At the same time he shrinks back from these interests and is (so we are told) partly responsible for the trial and execution of sorcerers. Can we detect a similar ambiguity in Louis's enthusiasm for reviving a pagan charivari only to find it is incompatible with

¹⁴⁵ Tobit 3:7-8; 8:1-3.

contemporary Christian beliefs, which so incapacitated his imagination that the only grand finale he could conceive of did not essentially differ from the ecclesiastical panacea for heresy, superstition and paganism? Perhaps it was not merely the marriage of one of the queen's ladies that needed ritual assuaging. The 'Bal des Sauvages' was one of the many remedial festivities organised to entertain the king and no doubt the madness of poor king Charles was felt to be in desperate need of some exorcist ritual. The interesting thing is that the court next to its demonstrations of piety, its faith in processions, prayers, and relics such as the *sudarium*, also resorted to extremely unorthodox remedies, employing sorcerers and magicians. It therefore embodies as a whole an ambiguity that we should not be surprised to detect in one of its members. The hand that threw the torch was guided by a force which resulted from the friction between pagan and Christian affinities that were not merely part of Louis's soul but of that of the entire court.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has dealt with the main theme of Pignon's treatise: the pact with the devil, applied to one of the two main subjects of *Contre les devineurs*, namely magic as it found its expression in the immediate historical context of the book, namely the period 1390-1411, a period of eminent importance for a proper understanding of Pignon's claim that the catastrophe of 1411 was caused by sorcery and divination. The civil war, of course, was caused by Burgundy's ambitions and the assassination of Louis d'Orléans which, in turn, was a result of the rivalry between John the Fearless and Louis d'Orléans. The ultimate cause of this rivalry was the mental disease of Charles VI. According to the Burgundian version the conflict resulted from Orléans's tyrannical behaviour and his attempts to destroy the king by means of sorcery. Pignon's assertions that the civil war resulted from dealings with sorcerers, charmers, diviners and dream-interpreters, and from bad government, covetousness, ambition, and tyranny¹⁴⁶ places him firmly in the Burgundian camp and in line with Petit's *Justification* that provided the encompassing frame for the present chapter.

The *Justification* has shown us the political uses of rhetoric and scholastic learning, demonstrating how high treason against earthly monarchs automatically involves high treason against God, which are both eminently expressed in the crime of sorcery; the point is crucial to Pignon's way of thinking. Petit's text has shown us the political use of sorcery as a means of calumny and incrimination. The materials out of which these slanders were forged,

¹⁴⁶ CLD III.2. The key-phrases are: 'sorceliers, enchanteurs, devineurs et songeurs' and 'grande convoitise, ambition de regner et dominer qui engendre tyrannie'.

however, were not entirely fictitious. We have encountered a court with a real and profound interest in magic which attracted many practitioners of these arts in search of princely patronage. And most significant of all, we have found the duke of Burgundy as one of their most compliant and gullible supporters. The social context of *Contre les devineurs* is dominated by the cases and the stories we have reviewed. Some of these have left their traces in the treatise in brief but highly significant references, such as to the civil war and the sorceries near Dijon. On the whole, however, Pignon does not elaborate on them, but prefers to follow the classifications, arguments and examples of his source-texts. Finally, we have analysed by means of an exemplary case the inner tension of court life, which consisted in the court's affinities with pagan superstitions in a Christian world. In general this was a source of alarm¹⁴⁷ to preachers and it was certainly part of Pignon's motivation to take up his pen.

In the following chapter we shall deal with the other main theme of *Contre les devineurs*, namely divination, the art of predicting the future. We have encountered so far one or two sorcerers, like Arnaud Guillaume or Jeanne de Brigue, who made prognosticative claims; but always these claims were tied up with some sort of magical power, such as Guillaume's bizarre claim that he was able to manipulate the planets. The class of specialists who more or less monopolised the art of prognostication in the fourteenth and fifteenth century were the astrologers. Mostly they were physicians whose medical expertise required knowledge of the stars and celestial influence. But the clergy was no less interested, as we saw in the case of cardinal d'Ailly. It is against these prognosticative activities that Pignon levies the second part of his attack, in spite of his scant knowledge of the subject. His treatment is traditional, as he rehearses the ancient problem of determinism and free will, and expounds the nature of celestial causation as he had read it from Aquinas. He is even somewhat out of touch with the ideas of late medieval astrologers who tried to discover the secret parameters of history in the stars. This astrological historicism will be the subject of our next chapter.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Gerson's remarks against 'la fête des fous' in *Œuvres complètes*, vol. 7, pp. 409-411.

CHAPTER THREE

HISTORY AND DIVINATION

To see the strange impatience of the heavens
(*Julius Caesar* I.3)

Pignon refers to the authority of Christ to prove that it does not behove man to know the future.¹ Still, man has had a perennial craving to perpetrate the unseemly and to a certain extent Christ recognised and even condoned this need by admitting there are signs from heaven, and by admonishing people to heed the signs of the times.² Possibly these signs were a concession to human frailty and designed to adumbrate the eschatological goal of history in only the most general of terms; but they were in fact an excellent excuse for medieval astrologers to justify their art. When Pignon criticises astrologers, he points out that prognostications can be made only in general terms and that astrologers err in believing they can predict particular things. His anti-astrological arguments, that mainly focus on contingency and free will, are designed to disprove this latter point of the predictability of singular contingent events. He thereby consciously disregards the former point, namely the general predictions that were deemed possible because the idea of celestial influence and causation and the belief in heavenly signs were generally accepted. This chapter will make up for Pignon's silence and supplement his partial and somewhat biased presentation of medieval astrology.

This chapter is devoted to court astrology (esp. in relation to Burgundy) and to what was no doubt its main ideological motivation, namely to study the face of the sky in order to read the signs of the times. There is a link between astrology and history as Dante realised when he placed the astrologer Guido Bonatti in hell with his head screwed backwards in order to keep him from ever gazing into the future again.³ It is only fitting that we should begin our examination with a man who was both an astrologer and a historian and whose work is a major source for our knowledge of fifteenth-century astrology.

¹ CLD III.3; Acts 1:7.

² Luc. 21:11; Mat. 16:3.

³ *Inferno* XX.

3.1 *Simon de Phares: The First Historian of Astrology*

Around All Saint's Day 1490, king Charles VIII of France visited Lyon, where, for a while, he abandoned the affairs of state to visit an astrologer who must have earned himself a considerable reputation for his skills and learning to merit such royal favour. The astrologer was Simon de Phares (born on August 9, 1444),⁴ a man who had led an itinerant life, who had travelled widely throughout Europe and the Levant, who had studied in Paris and Oxford among other places, and who had finally settled down in Lyon where he married and became the father of five children, and where he cherished a private library of some 200 volumes⁵ (an incredible number of books for a private collection, certainly compared with the twenty books that the Clerk from Oxford in the General Prologue to Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* would have liked to possess). His fame was apparently widespread, for the king of France visited him with the express purpose of admiring his library and getting his advice on certain presumably delicate matters that were not meant for the ears of the court.⁶ But in the case of Simon de Phares royal favour was outweighed by episcopal envy.

The archbishop of Lyon became very jealous and denounced the astrologer for having 'ung esperit familier', a familiar spirit or private demon who answered all questions people asked of Simon. Soon other envious detractors raised their voices and before long, in 1491, Simon de Phares found himself imprisoned and eleven books from his library were confiscated for close examination. Naturally Simon repented his sins, and to escape life-imprisonment he denounced all sorcery and all divinatory and magical arts. His books were kept in custody for examination by members of the Faculty of Theology of the university of Paris and when he was found guilty and fined, Simon (stubborn and eager enough to prove himself innocent) saw no other way but to take up his pen and rehabilitate himself in a book addressed to king Charles, reminding the monarch that he had rendered him astrological

⁴ On Simon de Phares, see: *Recueil des plus célèbres astrologues et quelques hommes doctes fait par Symon de Phares*, ed. Wickersheimer; for Simon's autobiography, see: *Recueil*, pp. 256-257; Jean-Patrice Boudet, *Lire dans le ciel: La bibliothèque de Simon de Phares, astrologue du XVe siècle* (Bruxelles 1994); Maxime Préaud, *Les astrologues à la fin du Moyen Age* (Paris 1984); Thorndike, *HMS IV*, pp. 544-561; Jean-Patrice Boudet, "La papauté d'Avignon et l'astrologie", in: *Fin du monde et signes des temps; visionnaires et prophètes en France méridionale* (Toulouse 1992), pp. 258-260; Jean-Patrice Boudet, "L'astrologie, la recherche de la maîtrise du temps et les spéculations sur la fin du monde au Moyen Age et dans la première moitié du XVIe siècle", in: *Le temps, sa mesure et sa perception au Moyen Age*, ed. B. Ribémont (Caen 1992), pp. 19-35.

⁵ A partial reconstruction of this library was attempted by Boudet in *Lire dans le ciel*.

⁶ Boudet (*Lire dans le ciel*, p. ix) mentions a royal account which states that the king consulted a 'Sebille' who, Boudet concludes, is none other than Simon de Phares.

services on many occasions. The book is known as the *Recueil des plus célèbres astrologues* and it gives a vast catalogue of all prominent men who have practised the 'royal science' throughout history, from Adam to Simon de Phares's own day. By this catalogue Simon hoped to show that, since it includes prominent patriarchs, prophets, and bishops, astrology has nothing to do with demonic magic. But whether his attempt was successful we do not know. No records of his case or of his person survive after the year 1498, the year in which Charles VIII died, and the *Recueil* was never published at the time; it was probably never even read by the king. The book survives in only one manuscript copy and was published for the first time in 1929. It is one of the major sources for all research into fifteenth-century court-astrology, and will render us some important services in the course of this chapter.

Simon de Phares refers to his book as an *Elucidaire*. From his prologue we learn that he originally planned it as a tripartite work. The first part was to deal with famous and important astrologers from world history, part two would expound the foundations and techniques of astrology and part three, finally, would be concerned with the magic arts. However, the death of king Charles VIII on April 7, 1498 put a premature stop to Simon's endeavour and part one, the *Recueil*, seems to be the only part written. Though originally intended for publication, the book went through a number of stages so that in the end it resembled a notebook rather than a systematic historical survey.⁷ Occasionally Simon gives vent to his anger and indignation by inserting remarks on the envious detractors who so falsely accused him.

This sad story of an astrologer who bravely defended his art by emphasising that all the vicissitudes of his life, his travels, his kidney-stones, and even the accusations launched against him could be read from his horoscope, raises two important questions that will be our main concern in the present chapter. The first question concerns the relationship between astrologers and rulers (both secular and ecclesiastical) that consult them: why did these rulers consult them and what was their influence? The second question concerns the relationship between astrology and the larger cosmological-political frame: what role did astrology play in people's understanding of the world and of history? Both questions are of prime importance to Simon de Phares and his answers are unambiguous.

He portrays astrologers as the most important counsellors of kings and rulers whose advice and prognostications are ignored only at great peril. Denis Anjorrand, 'docteur à Paris, excellent médecin', predicted the capture of king John at Poitiers 'et en advertit plusieurs mais on n'en tient compte'.⁸

⁷ Boudet, *Lire dans le ciel*, pp. x-xi.

⁸ Simon de Phares, *Recueil*, p. 208; Wickersheimer, DBM 1, p. 114.

Another 'très notable clerc et grant astrologien' called Henry de Malinis, also predicted to king John 'l'entrée des Anglois en France et la prinse de lui et de son filz, Philippe le Hardy, et la mort de plusieurs nobles à Poitiers et, s'il eust été creu, ce ne fust ainsi advenu'.⁹ The capture of the French king was also foreseen by maistre Guillaume de Toury from Bourges who was voluntarily sent to the English to attend the captive king. Maistre Guillaume, an expert astrologer, also warned messire Charles d'Espagne, constable of France, of impending danger, but the constable refused to believe him and was consequently killed in a hostelry in Normandy.¹⁰ Those lords and rulers who were wise enough to listen to their astrologers benefited from them in many ways. They proved able counsellors as well as diplomats, and were even invincible sleuths. Brother Nicolas de Paganico, an Italian astrologer and doctor, employed by Philip the Bold to draw up the nativity horoscope of John the Fearless, was an expert at 'jugemens particuliers, car de son temps il n'estoit murtrier, ne larron, ne malfaicteur, qui se puist abscondre, ne larrecin celler, ne traicte qui se peust devant ses jugemens couvrir ne deffendre'.¹¹ Possibly Simon de Phares himself was employed in this type of detection work, for his library contained a treatise on astrological interrogations relating to thieves.¹²

Simon de Phares does not articulate a theory or philosophy of history, but simply demonstrates his astrological historicism in the way he tells the history of the world from an astrologer's point of view. Important historical events in the *Recueil* are not the objects of recollection, but of prediction: history is not remembered, but foreseen. Though the *Recueil* is essentially an apologetic work, Simon is far from modest in his claims. By starting his survey of famous astrologers with Adam and by turning virtually every subsequent patriarch, prophet and king into an adept of the science of the stars, he suggests astrology is one of the main purposes of man's temporal existence.

In the opening sections of his fascinating survey we find Adam giving names, not only to the animals but to the stars,¹³ we find angels instructing the legendary Enoch in astrology,¹⁴ and we learn the reason why God allowed man in the first age of the world to live for many, many centuries, like 'Mathusallé, pour mieulx ataindre la proufondité des sciences, par especial de celle des estoilles'.¹⁵ As one of the liberal arts astrology helps

⁹ Simon de Phares, *Recueil*, p. 221.

¹⁰ Simon de Phares, *Recueil*, p. 226.

¹¹ Simon de Phares, *Recueil*, pp. 229-230.

¹² Boudet, *Lire dans le ciel*, pp. ix, 11.

¹³ Simon de Phares, *Recueil*, p. 14.

¹⁴ Simon de Phares, *Recueil*, p. 17.

¹⁵ Simon de Phares, *Recueil*, p. 17.

to perfect the human mind and it enables rulers to foresee dangers and misfortunes. Astrology not only serves monarchs, it also builds empires. Simon draws his reader's attention to the lesson of Aristotle who admonished his pupil Alexander the Great to undertake nothing without the counsel of his astrologers, and to the assurances of Policrates and Cato that the Romans founded their empire not through arms but through *disciplina celesti*.¹⁶ Simon takes certain liberties in writing his book, the first real history of astrology in Europe. Boudet estimates that of the 1226 names of astrologers mentioned in the *Recueil*, about one quarter are entirely fictional. Of the remaining number about half are not known for any interest or skill in astrology.¹⁷ Though this still leaves us with several hundreds of possibly genuine and valuable names, this historiographical strategy clearly demonstrates the urgency with which Simon set about his task. Naturally the story of the star of Bethlehem and the three Magi who traced it suits Simon's purposes extremely well: 'Et doncques si le Createur du ciel s'est voulu fere aourer par trois si souverains astrologiens, il s'ensuit bien qu'il ayt voulu en eulx manifester la Trinite'.¹⁸

Though all this clearly shows that God and man, in spite of their different ideas about historical truth, agree on the importance and necessity of astrology, it does not clarify the relation between astrology and history. An obvious step would be to develop some form of astrological historicism that would not only validate all immediate and practical applications of astrology, but this could also, in conjunction with prophecy, be brought to bear on the greater scheme of things. Prophecy and astrology should, at least theoretically, be distinguished since their knowledge derives from different sources, viz. revelation and science. Yet, in view of the main paradigm of scholastic philosophy which aims at harmonising pagan science and Christian beliefs, it should come as no surprise that prophecy and astrology became closely associated. The fact that the *Recueil* was never finished and was mainly intended as a justification may have kept its author from drawing up a systematic concordance of astrological observations and predictions and historical events, but the belief that this concordance is there, looms large in the majority of Simon de Phares's entries.

In what follows we shall address both issues: astrological historicism and the actual role and influence of astrologers in relation to the seats of power. Again our material will derive mainly from the latter part of the fourteenth and the early decades of the fifteenth century, and the focus of our attention will again be Burgundy.

¹⁶ Simon de Phares, *Recueil*, pp. 10-11.

¹⁷ Boudet, *Lire dans le ciel*, p. xi.

¹⁸ Simon de Phares, *Recueil*, p. 119.

3.2 History Between Sacred and Secular

Like miracles omens do not have a rationale. For the eyes of the religious beholder, signs from heaven and other portents are a minor revelation, a divine intercession in the course of nature. To any mind not equipped with the idea of nature as a structured and well organised whole, and hence unfamiliar with the idea of the regularity of certain celestial phenomena, heavenly 'signs' such as eclipses and conjunctions might appear in the same light: he could without further thought interpret them as, if not random, then certainly God-given tokens. For an educated believer, and certainly for an astrologer likewise inclined to read history from the stars, things were less simple. If God directs the heavens and if the heavens not only proclaim the glory of God, but also the general course of history, then history must be the embodiment of the divine will.

This consequence raises an important issue in the context of Christian beliefs, especially when one takes into account that one of the most important achievements in the field of historical and political theory by Augustine, whose *City of God* had such a profound influence on medieval thought, was not the sanctification of history and politics by creating an explicit link between heaven and earth, but the definition of the minimal state and the secularisation of history.¹⁹ The social order for Augustine was a necessary evil, like a disease that people had to learn to live with. For Augustine the state, the political order, was no longer part of the universal and cosmological order (in the way it had been for the Romans). The *saeculum*, the world of historical experience, this odd mixture of good and evil, and of the two *civitates* that can only be resolved eschatologically, will, at the end of time, give way to a millennium that is not the fruit of secular politics, and the organisation of which is wholly different from the order we know and perceive.

This is not the way thirteenth-century Aristotelian theologians read Augustine.²⁰ Though they believed to be standing on the shoulders of one of the giant Fathers of the Church, they looked in a decidedly different direction, for they believed that the political order was part of the natural order that God had instituted in the universe. This opened up the way for a politics of perfection. The final implications of this idea (namely the establishment of the kingdom of God which according to the Apocalypse of St. John was to last for a thousand years) were never fully realised by the official medieval theology, even though heaven and earth were now part of one and the same hierarchy. Man was caught somewhere in the middle, like Dante

¹⁹ See Markus, *Saeculum*, pp. 72-104, esp. 94-102.

²⁰ Cf. Markus, *Saeculum*, pp. 211-230.

on Mount Purgatory²¹ perfectly capable of climbing to the top in broad daylight, but unable to progress even an inch at night. Man cannot improve himself through nature alone; he also needs the light of Grace. Later the theologians of the Reformation were more careful to follow the giant's gaze and they would criticise the ambiguity of the nature-Grace motif in scholastic philosophy, but in the mean time the re-established contact between heaven and earth in one hierarchy made the world of God, and hence of God's kingdom in the millennium less alien than in the Augustinian model.

That history was thus caught between sacred and secular in the orthodox and generally accepted world view, also meant that any attempt to settle this ambiguity would be interpreted as a radical if not revolutionary departure from main stream thought. The main proponents of the sacred view of history were beyond doubt the prophetic and sometimes ecstatic millennial movements that swept across Europe in times of crisis. Charismatic leaders and prophets not only claimed to establish a society of saints, but also prophesied the end of time. It is here that astrology could fit in since it could provide chiliastic ideologies with some structural backbone. The general medieval belief in astrology fostered the idea that the advent of Christ's kingdom, perhaps even the *Parousia* itself, could be read from the stars. In that sense it could be argued that the study of celestial motion helped to shape the horizon of late medieval historico-political thought.

This is not to say that the ambiguity of a secular and a sacred view of history is relatively scarce or even absent before the thirteenth century. Many of the early Fathers, and Augustine is no exception, were deeply committed to the periodisation of history on the basis of numerological²² or astrological speculations. The basis of this commitment was naturally the extensive use of number symbolism in the Bible and the Scriptural affirmation that the heavens express the glory of God. Though faith thus legitimised and even stimulated the appetite and taste for astrological historicism among the early Fathers, it was relentless in its condemnation of the actual menus. Judicial astrology met with almost universal reproof and many other forms of divination were likewise discarded. This does not mean early Christianity altogether abandoned these religious practices; rather it replaced them by Christianised substitutes more in keeping with Biblical tastes and precedents. Pagan divination and astrology were replaced by the Christian ability to read the signs of the times, as pagan magic was replaced by Christian miracles. There are important differences between the pagan forms of divination and their Christian counterparts, firstly in relation to the signifiers (to borrow semiotic terms) and secondly in relation to the signified. In the first place

²¹ *Purgatorio* VII.

²² For further remarks on Augustine and numerology, see Appendix III, below.

Christianity reorganised the economy of signs, discarding certain omens and symbols as superstitious or pernicious and establishing others as legitimate expressions of the will of God. In the second place (on the level of the signified) all signs were made to point in one direction, ultimately the *Parousia* at the end of time and history. We deal with both points consecutively.

3.2.1 *Re-reading the Signs*

One of the clearest expressions of the Christian evacuation of the symbolism of ancient astrology can be found in the writings of Ignatius of Antioch.

Up in the heavens a star gleamed out, more brilliant than all the rest; no words could describe its lustre, and the strangeness of it left men bewildered. The other stars and the sun and moon gathered round it in chorus, but this star outshone them all. Great was the ensuing perplexity; where could this newcomer have come from, so unlike its fellows? Everywhere magic crumbled away before it; the spells of sorcery were all broken, and superstition received its death blow. The age-old empire of evil was overthrown, for God was now appearing in human form to bring a new order, even life without end.²³

In words that are reminiscent of one of Joseph's dreams Ignatius evokes the image of the star of Christendom outshining all other religions, and in this light he also interprets the story of the three Magi from the Gospel of St. Matthew. The Magi from the East who were guided by the mysterious star that led them to Bethlehem, may have been meant to depict Zoroastrian priests from Persia. The imagery of light and darkness of Zoroastrian dualism profoundly influenced Judaism during the Babylonian captivity (as it would later influence Christianity). Isaiah is an important witness of the ambivalent feelings of Judaism when in one and the same passage he heralds Cyrus, king of the Persians, as the Lord's anointed (a Messianic title) and simultaneously rejects the king's dualist creed.²⁴ Zoroastrianism was no doubt a religion

²³ Ignatius of Antioch, *Epistle to the Ephesians*, 19. See: *Early Christian Writings: The Apostolic Fathers*, transl. M. Staniforth (Harmondsworth 1968), p. 81. Cf. Gal. 4:1-11 where Paul explains that man, formerly 'in bondage under the elements of the world', has now been liberated by Christ. The *elementa mundi* may be interpreted as referring to the stars and the Zodiac; see DDD, 'stoicheia', cols. 1544-1545.

²⁴ Isaiah 45:1-7. As an aside it may be of interest to note that Cyrus was very popular at the later Burgundian court of Charles the Bold. To Charles Cyrus was a typical example of how a king could be considered just by God though he did not belong to the chosen people of Israel. Vasque de Lucène's translation of Xenophon's *Cyropédie* underlined the ideology that justice could be derived directly from God without ecclesiastical mediation. Quite contrary to the ideas that Pignon developed in his later *Traictié de la cause de la diversité des estaz*, Burgundian

with which the Hebrews felt some affinity (Ahuramazda, the supreme God of light, e.g., was not represented in graven images) and judging from Isaiah there was even a sense of national gratitude since Cyrus had ended Hebrew captivity. The three Magi may have been meant to represent this religion the Israelites felt somewhat akin to, a religion that, like Nebuchadnezzar, had finally seen the light and now humbled itself before the one true God. The deference with which these foreign priests were treated in Matthew's narrative possibly echoes the respectful notes from Isaiah, but their adoration of the infant Jesus and the offering of gifts mark an abdication, the end of a spiritual kingdom at least. The star of Bethlehem signifies, but not in a way commonly found in astrology.²⁵ The old sign-systems are made redundant; magic (the art of the Magi) has come to an end. In the words of John of Salisbury: astrology 'flourished and doubtless was lawfully practised to a certain extent until after the star in the heavens announced the birth of Christ, and with its strange, marvelous guidance led the Magi. (...) Thereafter, however, astrology was absolutely banned'.²⁶

A similar process of redundancy can be found in Augustine. In the second book of his *De doctrina Christiana* Augustine provides a brief introduction to semiotics.²⁷ He discusses signs as *interpretanda*, as things that must be interpreted. Interpretation obviously requires knowledge either of languages or of the world and human institutions. But in addition to this it also requires consensus and agreement on the meaning of signs among their users. It is in this context that Augustine deals with superstitious signs and observances. He mentions the use of amulets, charms and certain signs called 'characters', earrings, rings of ostrich bone, and a remedy for hiccoughs whereby the left thumb must be held in the right hand. A falling stone, a dog, or a child coming between two friends walking arm-in-arm, treading on the threshold of one's front door, sneezing whilst putting on one's shoes and finding one's clothes eaten by mice, which all of them were believed to be omens of bad fortune, are vehemently denounced.²⁸ This little list of common superstitions

politics displayed a very strong secularising tendency. See Danielle Gallet-Guerne, *Vasque de Lucène et la Cyropédie à la cour de Bourgogne (1470). Le traité de Xénophon mis en français d'après la version latine du Pogge* (Genève 1974), esp. p. 185; Vanderjagt, 'Qui sa vertu anoblit', pp. 58-60; Doutrepoint, *La littérature française*, pp. 184-185.

²⁵ This is the common view of Augustine, Jerome, and Gregory. See, e.g., Tertullian, *De idolatria*, c. 9 (PL 1, 672). Cf. Valerie Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton 1991), pp. 367-375. Flint describes how, in the course of the early Middle Ages, with the rise of astrology also the Magi were rehabilitated.

²⁶ John of Salisbury, *Policraticus* I.12; Pike transl., p. 43.

²⁷ Augustine, DDC II.1-5; John of Salisbury also discusses the nature of signs. Cf. e.g., *Policraticus* II.14; Pignon deals with signs in CLD II.3.2.

²⁸ DDC II.20.

from late Antiquity enjoyed a long tradition, for it was taken over by Aquinas and was diligently copied by Pignon in his treatise.²⁹ To these superstitious practices Augustine also adds the art of the *genethliaci*, the astrologers who can tell people's fortunes from their horoscopes, in opposition to whom he adduces the time-honoured example of the twins.³⁰ All these various superstitious beliefs and practices he qualifies as 'contracts and agreements with demons' based on 'imaginary signs' or a 'common language' by means of which men and demons communicate. Augustine explains that signs in themselves are wholly arbitrary and only gain their meaning through mutual agreement. When augurs observe the flight and listen to the cries of birds (meaningless in themselves) they can interpret these as omens only because they have agreed that they should be significant.³¹ It is evident that a culture's conversion to Christianity will make an entire sign-system redundant; but the exchange of one contractual partner for another does not remove the need for communication and a concomitant sign-system.

Following the lines of Augustine's sign-theory, Christian thinkers might go so far as to argue that entering into a new partnership does not necessarily have to imply the redundancy of the old means of communication. The Bible certainly sanctioned means of learning the will of God that were not unknown among pagan peoples, such as visions, ecstasies, dreams, the casting of lots and (less emphatically) signs in the heavens even though other forms of divination such as consulting the dead (necromancy) were vehemently denounced. Apostles and prophets occasionally entered into contests with pagan priests and miracle workers, beating them at their own game,³² contesting the spiritual authority but sanctioning its means of identification. As we saw in a previous chapter the full weight of ecclesiastical condemnation of magic and divination rests on the measure of demonic involvement, a criterion that is very difficult to apply or verify, not merely for the modern historian but also for the Christian in late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Objective manifestations of magic and divination, in other words the signs, cannot be adequately distinguished from religion:³³ Christian and ecclesiasti-

²⁹ See CLD I.6 and II.3.3.

³⁰ DDC II.21-22; CLD III.6.

³¹ DDC II.24.

³² Cf. Moses and Pharaoh's magicians (Ex. 7:10-13); Elijah and the priests of Ba'al (I Kings 18:20-40); the apostles and Simon Magus (Acts 8); Pignon gives the example of Simon and Judas and the Persian diviners, CLD III.5.

³³ Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England* (London 1971), deals extensively with the magic of the medieval church (chapter 2, pp. 25-50), which includes the miraculous powers of saints's relics or images, holy water, the sign of the cross, amulets with Christian images or verses from Scripture, and, of course, mass and the Eucharist. Pignon also condones certain forms of

cal magic or divination can therefore be seen to continue the tradition of their pagan predecessors. In her study on the rise of magic, Valerie Flint draws special attention to the transmission of astrology which she calls 'one of the most spectacular rescues in the history of magic'³⁴ and which was mainly due to the general acceptance of medical and agricultural astrology. Especially the influence of the Moon on the tides, the seasons, growth and decay was felt as convincing proof of astrology's validity, and apparently Moon-books or *lunaria*³⁵ were among the earliest and most popular texts to be copied in monasteries.³⁶ Even as fierce an opponent of astrology as Augustine made allowances for lunar influence.³⁷ Next to the Moon, comets were immensely popular, mainly as harbingers of great historical events. Soon popular sympathy for these celestial travellers was legitimised by authorities like Isidore, Bede or a Christian chronicler such as Gregory of Tours.³⁸ Pignon agrees that comets signify 'guerre ou mort de prince ou occoison de pueple ou mortalité de gent par pestilence de epydimie ou chier temps'.³⁹ Among early Christian authors many instances can be found of the adaptation of non-Christian ideas on celestial 'signifiers'. A particularly illuminating instance (though not an orthodox one) is Origen who firmly believed in a sympathetic relationship (to use Stoic terminology) between earthly and heavenly events. This relationship is not a causal one, but events below and above correspond because they are parts of a single whole. Consequently Origen saw the stars as 'heavenly writings' even though he rejected astrology.⁴⁰

3.2.2 *The Eschaton*

Similar ideas can be found in Augustine, though far less emphatically. His Christological interpretations of Old Testament histories, and his conviction that the course of history somehow reveals God's redemptive plan made him into something of an historicist. He was willing to accept the occasional celestial portent, but refused to accept any form of astrological causality,

'Christian magic', CLD II.3.4. For other identifications of religion and magic, see Thorndike, *HMES* I, pp. 5 ff.; Harmening, *Superstitio*, pp. 222-225.

³⁴ Flint, *The Rise of Magic*, pp. 128-146.

³⁵ For the edition of a Burgundian *lunarium* and further references see Appendix III.

³⁶ Flint, *The Rise of Magic*, pp. 134-135.

³⁷ DCD V.6.

³⁸ Flint, *The Rise of Magic*, pp. 136-137; Pignon also provides a specimen of Christian divination as it can be found in Gregory of Tours: CLD III.5. John of Salisbury regarded comets as signs from God: *Policraticus* II.13, though there is some mockery in his tone: *cometa siquidem apparenre creduntur imminere comitia*.

³⁹ CLD II.2.1.

⁴⁰ Alan Scott, *Origen and the Life of the Stars: A History of an Idea* (Oxford 1994), pp. 145-146.

arguing that all events are expressions of one design and the will of God.⁴¹ Following a tradition that extended far back into Mesopotamian culture,⁴² Augustine bequeathed to later Christian historiography a periodisation of history based on the week of creation. Earlier Christian authors had already projected the seven days of creation onto history, thus, in conjunction with the Scriptural observation that a thousand years are but a day to God (Ps. 89:4), dividing world history into seven periods of a millennium each. The last period (the Sabbath) would then correspond to the thousand-year rule of Christ as predicted in the Apocalypse. It is characteristic of Augustine that this scheme was too literal and simple-minded for his taste. He rejected the idea that each period lasts exactly a thousand years and went even further in deciding that Christ's thousand-year-rule, as mentioned in the Book of Revelation, is a symbol of Christ's eternal rule. Instead, Augustine correlated his Great Week to Biblical chronology which yields the following division: (1) the period from Adam to the Flood: ten generations; (2) the period from the Flood to Abraham: ten generations; (3) the period from Abraham to David: fourteen generations; (4) the period from David to the Exile: fourteen generations; (5) the period from the Exile to Christ: fourteen generations; (6) the period from the first to the second coming: duration unknown; and (7) the period of the eternal Sabbath.⁴³ This periodisation was common in the Middle Ages and also Pignon refers to it.⁴⁴

This scheme is revealing in that it shows the ambiguity of the sacred and the secular status of history. On the one hand it suggests that history is an expression of something and that it moves and develops in a certain direction. On the other hand the ultimate purpose of history, its eschatological goal, namely Christ's rule, is beyond history and even antithetically opposed to it, as eternity is to temporality. By removing the signified to a different level of reality, the signs and signifiers become the somewhat detached and sober symbols of the world to come, and in no way can they contribute to its realisation. Augustine's secular view of history met the practical needs of institutionalised Christianity that had to establish its place in the world now that the *Parousia* was indefinitely postponed. It could not satisfy holy impatience that time and again inspired large groups of Christians to ignite

⁴¹ See Nicholas Campion, *The Great Year: Astrology, Millenarianism and History in the Western Tradition* (London 1994), pp. 313-315, on Augustine and historical divination. Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (London 1957) is a standard work on the medieval period.

⁴² On the roots of the periodisation of history and apocalyptic faith, see Norman Cohn, *Cosmos, Chaos and the World to Come; The Ancient Roots of Apocalyptic Faith* (New Haven/London 1993) and the first chapters in Campion's *Great Year*.

⁴³ Campion, *The Great Year*, pp. 323-325.

⁴⁴ CLD II.1.3. Contrary to Augustine, however, Pignon seems to favour literal 1000-year periods.

social and political upheavals, to strive for a kingdom of God in the here and now as a means of preparing and even enforcing Christ's return. Not only did these groups believe in a literal millennium, they were also far more eager to read the 'heavenly writings'. Despite his concern for the eschaton, Augustine was not a millenarian.⁴⁵

The millennial movements of the Middle Ages found natural allies in magic and divination, and above all in astrology. A powerful yearning to draw the divine within the compass of experience marks medieval eschatological Christendom. The awareness that the end of time was at hand shaped the horizon of all social, political and religious endeavour. In his study on millenarianism Nicholas Campion⁴⁶ provides many examples of the power of millennialist ideas: it fuelled Charlemagne's Holy Roman Empire,⁴⁷ it motivated Alcuin to found the Aachen cathedral school (as an intellectual preparation for the end), it triggered the crusades, and a sense that time was running out even sped Columbus on his journeys. Millenarianism incited the poor and dispossessed to rise against their oppression and it also mobilised the well-to-do to fight ecclesiastical corruption (St. Francis, e.g., did not come from a poor background). There was a strong sense of urgency in this: contrary to the general eschatological attitude of Christianity, millenarians did not patiently wait and pray for Christ's return, but they were demanding the *Parousia* and were even fighting for it in the crusades, actively creating the bloody cataclysms that they knew from Biblical prophecies would immediately precede the second coming.⁴⁸

Naturally millenarianism had prophets of its own, such as Hildegard of Bingen, Joachim of Fiore, or Jean de Roquetaillade, to mention but a few. Drawing on ancient prophetic texts such as the Sybilline oracles or the pseudo-Methodian prophecies, the swelling medieval tide of prophetic texts, that grew exponentially after the invention of the printing-press, prepared Europe for the end. Prophecies of a Last World Emperor, a messianic king whose just rule would inaugurate the coming kingdom of God, were exceedingly popular and clearly exemplified millenarianism's attempt to bring about the divine rule in the here and now. This prophetic attempt not merely to supplicate, but even to compel the will of God, made an ironic contrast with the doctrines of millenarianism's chief ally astrology, which decreed that it was not man but the heavens that held sway.

⁴⁵ Campion, *The Great Year*, pp. 317-318.

⁴⁶ Campion, *The Great Year*, pp. 331-342.

⁴⁷ As an aside it may be noted that Charlemagne's favourite book was *De civitate Dei* which inspired him to establish this city of God on earth. The secular implications of Augustine's view were apparently lost on the emperor.

⁴⁸ Campion, *The Great Year*, pp. 333-334.

The urgent desire to find the plot of history and its final conflagration written in the stars, was seriously addressed by astrologers. The theory of the great conjunctions (as developed by Albumasar and al-Kindi and in the Latin West chiefly known through the works of the former) was of prime importance: the conjunctions of Jupiter with Saturn (which take place every twenty years) and the other planets were used by various authors such as Peter of Abano, Roger Bacon, Pierre d'Ailly and Franciscus Florentinus as a means of explaining the course of history, of establishing a periodisation.⁴⁹ Especially cardinal d'Ailly, Pignon's contemporary and the most important astrological theorist and historicist in France at that time, made elaborate efforts to correlate history and the Jupiter-Saturn conjunctions,⁵⁰ which in traditional vein he distinguished in four types: the *coniunctio minor*, *magna*, *maior*, and *maxima*. The *coniunctio minor* occurs every twenty years. If the first conjunction is in the beginning of Aries, the next will occur twenty years later, in the beginning of Sagittarius⁵¹ and the third will be in Leo. This set of three signs, Aries-Leo-Sagittarius, is called a triplicity. The fourth will be in Aries again, thus completing a cycle of approximately sixty years, which is called the *coniunctio magna*. The fourth conjunction, however, will not occur at exactly the same place in Aries, but will have progressed a few degrees, which means that eventually there will be a conjunction which will not occur in Aries but in the following sign: Taurus. This is the *coniunctio maior* which occurs every 240 years (there being four *coniunctiones magnae* in each triplicity) when a conjunction moves from one triplicity to the next. The cycle repeats itself in the following set of three signs (Taurus-Virgo-Capricorn) until it has completed a full run of the Zodiac. The return of the conjunction to Aries takes 960 years (240×4 triplicities) and is called the *coniunctio maxima*. Conjunctions were believed to be endowed with qualities similar to the signs and triplicities in which they occur (fiery, watery, etc.), and their effects on terrestrial events and the human frame were believed to be in accordance with this.⁵² On the whole, the rarer the conjunction, the

⁴⁹ Campion, *The Great Year*, pp. 354-359; Boudet, "L'astrologie", pp. 22 ff.

⁵⁰ Smoller, *History, Prophecy and the Stars*, pp. 20-22. Cf. also J. D. North, "Astrology and the Fortunes of Churches", in: *Centaurus* 24 (1980), pp. 185-186.

⁵¹ It takes Saturn approximately 30 years to move through the Zodiac and Jupiter approximately 12 years (the more exact figures are: Saturn 29.5 years and Jupiter 11.9 years; North, "Fortunes of Churches", p. 185); i.e. Saturn covers about 0.4 sign per year and Jupiter 1 sign per year. After 20 years Saturn will be in the eighth sign starting from Aries, i.e. Sagittarius; and Jupiter will be in the twentieth sign (= $12 + 8$), which is also Sagittarius, where the conjunction will take place.

⁵² See Appendix III, note 9 on p. 384, of the *12 Signes* where the correspondance between the four triplicities and the elements, primary qualities and humours is drawn out in a table.

more potent its force.⁵³ D'Ailly tried to use the conjunctions and their regular intervals (of 20, 60, 240 and 960 years) to explain social and political events, and the rise of new kingdoms and religions. Also Franciscus Florentinus used the most potent conjunctions, the *coniunctiones maximae*, with their 960-year intervals (almost a millennium) as a means of distinguishing seven phases in history.⁵⁴

Eugenio Garin has drawn attention to the great importance of this astrological historicism which he does not hesitate to describe as a 'precise philosophy of history based on a conception of the universe, and characterised by a consistent naturalism and a rigid determinism'.⁵⁵ Though the impact of astrology on political theory and millenarianism still remains largely unexplored,⁵⁶ Garin's observations are a reminder that the major themes of death and rebirth in Renaissance literature and rhetoric are, in fact, astrological commonplaces closely linked to the theories of the great conjunctions or to the theory of the cosmic cycles.⁵⁷ Astrology was considered a firm basis for interpreting history and as such it was used in an attempt to determine the end of time. A major example is again cardinal d'Ailly, who, despite his earlier reservations, was persuaded by the Great Schism that the end was near and who not only turned to astrology but who was also inspired by millennial prophecies, notably those by Joachim of Fiore.⁵⁸ For d'Ailly his astrological-apocalyptic speculations were the outcome of a process of change that had started with an initial rejection of astrology's claim to predict the end, which is a supernatural event and hence beyond natural cognition.⁵⁹ It may be argued that a similar development characterised the Christianity of late Antiquity and the Middle Ages.

Signs both in heaven and on earth that were regarded as expressions of the will of God, were increasingly subsumed under a natural order. St. Matthew, in his account of the Nativity, did not write about a conjunction, but about a strange wandering satellite quite outside the natural run of the heavens, that induced foreign astrologers to leave their native lands and acknowledge the kingship of Christ. The star of Bethlehem was not a sign for the Jews but for the gentiles. It spoke a language they knew, the language of astrology, but it also spoke the last word of that language, at least according to one of the apostolic Fathers. With the lapse of time, when Christians

⁵³ North, "Fortunes of Churches", p. 185.

⁵⁴ Campion, *The Great Year*, p. 357.

⁵⁵ Eugenio Garin, *Astrology in the Renaissance: The Zodiac of Life*, transl. C. Jackson and J. Allen (London 1984), p. 16.

⁵⁶ Campion, *The Great Year*, p. 597, n.19.

⁵⁷ Garin, *Astrology*, p. 18.

⁵⁸ Smoller, *History, Prophecy and the Stars*, pp. 85-101.

⁵⁹ Smoller, *History, Prophecy and the Stars*, pp. 50-52.

had acquired and learned to appreciate this language of the gentiles, their attitude changed. Not only was the star of Bethlehem proof that God spoke through celestial signs, also Christianity itself had risen by virtue of the constellations (Roger Bacon placed Christianity under the rule of a Jupiter-Mercury conjunction); and some astrologers went even further and drew up Christ's nativity horoscope⁶⁰ in the conviction that Christ's human nature was subject to the stars like any other person's. In large measure this change of heart was backed up by the intellectual developments of the twelfth and thirteenth century, but even before people regarded the course of history as embodying a divine plan.

A desire to read the signs of the times also marks the period in which Pignon wrote his treatise. In what follows we will explore the belief in omens and the astrological historicism of the early fifteenth century, especially in relation to Burgundy.

3.3 *Signs from Heaven*

For most people in the fourteenth and fifteenth century heaven and earth were teeming with signs and omens, and also in the chronicles of that period one finds frequent references to signs and prophecies. Sometimes these are observations that the chronicler makes in passing. Sometimes these portents are more important and tend to become what look like organising principles of historical narration. The chronicle of Jean de Venette is a famous instance of the latter.⁶¹

The chronicle starts with a number of prophecies and the appearance of a comet in 1340; it ends in 1368 also with the report of a comet. In a rather circumspect way Venette deals in an entry for 1356 with a lengthy prophecy by Jean de Roquetaillade (John of Rupescissa)⁶² the famous spiritual Franciscan and alchemist, who in that year was held captive in the papal prison at Avignon. Venette is careful to emphasise that one should not put too much trust in this prophet (since the Church had officially opposed the Joachimite prophet) but the sympathy that the chronicler feels for Jean de Roquetaillade's prophecies is clearly borne out by the remark which follows: 'yet I have seen many of the events which they prognosticate come to pass'.⁶³ The very presence of the lengthy prophecy is an important structuring device for the events which follow, and though Jean de Venette prudently refrains from

⁶⁰ On nativities of Christ, see J. D. North, *Horoscopes and History* (London 1986), pp. 163-173.

⁶¹ *The Chronicle of Jean de Venette*, transl. J. Birdsall (New York 1953).

⁶² *Chronicle of Jean de Venette*, pp. 61-62, notes, pp. 211-212.

⁶³ *Chronicle of Jean de Venette*, p. 61.

further comment, the reader is almost forced to consider the links between prophecy and the course of history.

Also the reign of Charles VI, documented by the Monk of St. Denis, is marked by many signs and omens. Though the Monk is convinced that heaven is on speaking terms with the earth and its inhabitants, he is on occasion appropriately sceptical and betrays no inclination to regard omens and prophecies as the organising principles of historiography, let alone of history itself. His observations of heavenly signs and their interpreters are, however, of great importance, and we follow him for a moment.

The popular uprising in Rouen in 1382, one of the many social upheavals of the time, attracted the attention of the Monk of St. Denis for the rather exceptional reason that it did not happen unannounced. In a house that was appropriately called *Merevilla*, close to the town of Saint-Denis a cow gave birth to a monstrous calf with two heads, three eyes and two tongues. Terror-struck, the abbot of the nearby monastery had the animal killed affirming he had never seen the likes of it before and believing this prodigy was the harbinger of imminent misfortunes. The scholars of cardinal Le Moine in Paris also discovered a monstrous animal in the grounds of the college garden. Having dug out and killed the animal, they marvelled at its gleaming eyes and bizarre physique. During a period of eight days and nights a ball of fire was seen moving over Paris, hopping from door to door, though there was no storm, no thunder or lightning, not even a breeze. All these signs that inspired fear and wonder occurred immediately prior to the revolt at Rouen and they were carefully recorded by the Monk who, like his father abbot, was convinced of their prophetic value.⁶⁴

References to omens and prodigies are not a rarity in the Monk's chronicle. Frequently he finds occasion to insert a chapter on comets or other spectacular apparitions that in one way or another foretell of plagues and wars, which is, of course, exactly what one would expect comets and apparitions to do in the age of the Hundred Years' War and the age of the great plague. Immediately prior to his report of the battle of Nicopolis in 1396, the Monk narrates how, in the night of July 10, in the bishopric of Maguelonne a comet of considerable size had been spotted, surrounded by five smaller stars that time and again, with agitated movements, bumped into the larger comet. A fiery apparition mounted on a bronze horse had appeared

⁶⁴ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* III.2, vol. 1, pp. 142-145; cf. Collas, *Valentine de Milan*, p. 82; Juvenal des Ursins, *Histoire*, p. 349. Eustache Deschamps wrote a ballad 'sur prodiges et corps monstrueux' (*Œuvres complètes*, eds. marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire and Gaston Raynaud, 11 vols. (Paris 1966), vol. 5, pp. 168-169) featuring a 'beste a .ii. chiefs' with a 'langue double' that heralds the coming of Antichrist. The image refers to the Schism and the two popes.

suddenly, armed with a flaming lance with which he had struck the comet, which immediately disappeared. Soldiers garrisoned in Guienne reported having seen phantoms at night in the guise of cavaliers delivering battle in the sky. When these reports reached Paris, esteemed and learned members of the royal court and the university of Paris explained that the first prodigy foretold the deposition of the pope by king and clergy and that the second announced wars and massacres.⁶⁵ The Monk, who says that he was present when these prodigies were reported to the king, prudently refrains from passing judgment on these matters, though history shows, he urges, that such prodigies are nearly always the precursors of great events.⁶⁶ The very next chapter in the Monk's chronicle deals with some of the fortunes of war of the French and Burgundian crusaders who marched against Nicopolis. Apparently the Monk leaves it up to his readers to make the inference.

Though the Monk seriously believes in signs from heaven, he is highly critical of judicial astrology. In presenting to his readers a brief episode from court-life that would have been too trivial to mention had it not provided the opportunity for learning a moral lesson, the Monk summarises in a few lines what Pignon laboured to explain in a full-length treatise, namely the follies of divination and judicial astrology.⁶⁷ An English knight called Peter of Courtenay had come to the French court to challenge one of the intimate friends of the duke of Burgundy, Guy de Trémoille, to a duel to prove the superiority of English chivalry. Though the challenge was considered an outrage, it was in the end accepted and a suitable date was fixed with the help of the astrologers who frequented the princely and royal courts. In an aside the Monk explains that astrology is a commendable science as long as it is kept within its proper bounds. When the causes are diverse or unknown, one cannot judge the effects. The things that proceed from free choice, for instance, are known to God alone, who in his eternity sees all things as present. Hence it is that astrologers will turn to lies and deceit in order to validate their profession and thus lead credulous people astray. The court astrologers, the Monk continues, took care of the preparations for the duel, fabricating Guy's arms under the benevolent influence of the stars, and they predicted that Guy would win the day. On the appointed day, however, the

⁶⁵ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys* XVII.22, vol. 2, pp. 480-483; Collas, *Valentine de Milan*, pp. 81-82, discusses these omens and dismisses them as superstitious on the part of both the court and the university.

⁶⁶ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys* XVII.22, vol. 2, p. 482: *Quid tamen hec portendebant scienti cuncta relinquo, qui celo, terre marique imperat, quamvis antiquitas veritatis hystorice in multis locis non neget quin hec et similia quandoque sint eventuum presagia futurorum.*

⁶⁷ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys* VI.11, vol. 1, pp. 394-396; cf. Pignon's reference to duels in CLD III.6.

sky was covered with clouds, and a heavy and incessant rain drenched the earth. Quite unrestrained by stellar compulsion the king called off the duel. Peter of Courtenay did get to duel with a French nobleman in the end, not with Guy de Trémoille but with sire De Cléry, a Picard knight; a combat, by the way, which he lost.

The Monk is a careful and critical observer. He does not strike one as a credulous person, nor is he easily swayed by slanders and rumours. His belief in omens is not a sign of superstition and credulity, but part of a strong conviction that history has meaning and that Providence speaks to us, sometimes by means of heavenly phenomena, but also through smaller signs. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that when the Monk relates one of the most significant events in French history of that moment, namely the first madness of king Charles VI, he will look for an omen that preceeded it. Marching against Brittany in August 1392, the king arrived at Le Mans, where the following sign was observed: a statue of the Holy Virgin, one of the treasures of the church of Saint-Julien in Le Mans, had turned round without anyone touching it. Those who had noticed this omen realised some great calamity was about to befall the kingdom. When on August 5 the army departed from Le Mans, a leper pursued the king for half an hour, like Lear's fool, shouting at him warnings not to go far. Suddenly the already troubled mind of the king was overtaken by fury; he drew his sword and killed one of his servants. For the coming hour he would storm round charging at his own men in a state of frenzy, killing another four in the process and overcome by a paranoid fear that his enemies would capture him. Stupor finally overtook him and over the following days his condition worsened. He stiffened and became cold. Nobles dressed in habits of mourning and especially the duke of Burgundy made spectacular protestations of grief embracing the body of his nephew which he believed to be dead. The king's unexpected recovery after three days did not merely thwart Burgundy's beliefs (and, who knows, his expectations), but also gave rise to speculations of sorcery. Realising, like Pignon, what evils would follow from these speculations, the Holy Virgin had no doubt turned away in horror.⁶⁸

Beside such miracles and ghostly apparitions, more regular natural phenomena could also be regarded as omens. The Monk points out that the year 1396 was a year plagued by violent and portentous storms, but one storm was so terrible that even the most enlightened people shared the superstitions of the multitude and feared that, now the French and English were negotiating a truce, it must foreshadow some sort of treason. Negotiations, however, were wholly successful and when no catastrophe happened, people agreed

⁶⁸ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* XIII.5, vol. 2, pp. 18-21.

that these storms were caused by the devil who, unable to prevent the truce, gave vent to his fury in this way.⁶⁹

The most auspicious natural signs were comets. In November 1399 a bright comet was visible for eight consecutive nights, its tail turned towards the west. According to the Monk, the astrologers decided that it foreshadowed the death of kings or imminent revolutions.⁷⁰ Another bright comet that first appeared on February 25, 1402, coming from the north and moving towards the west, also exercised the minds of able astrologers, who agreed that it foreshadowed an increase in the number of heretics and schismatics.⁷¹ The Monk does not ridicule or criticise these prognostications and may have set some store by them, but unfortunately, when speaking of the astrologers, he declines to give names and numbers. Some data may be gathered from Simon de Phares's *Recueil*. Simon mentions Gilles de Louviers, 'chanoine' of Paris, as having commented on both comets, but gives no details.⁷² Petrus de Monte Alcino predicted the death of the duke of Milan from the 1402-comet⁷³ and Blaise de Parma⁷⁴ made predictions concerning emperor Sigismund's military losses in Syria which he estimated at 100,000 casualties, and the death of Charles d'Orléans. But these men were not the only ones labouring to read history from the stars. Astrologers in Flanders, Germany, Burgundy, France and Italy were very much preoccupied with the 1402 comet (named Verru, according to Simon de Phares) that continued to be visible for twenty-six days (fifteen according to the Monk). Simon de Phares makes mention of the following prognostication by Mathieu de Richemond: 'dist qu'elle signiffioit la mort de grant prince ès parties occidentales, et assez tost après fut tué le duc Loys d'Orleans, frere du roy, à Paris traicteusement, qui fut cause de plusieurs et infiniz mauz'.⁷⁵ One astrologer, Jacobus Engelhart or Angelus⁷⁶ even wrote a treatise on the occasion of this comet, called *Tractatus de cometis*, in which he elaborates on the nature of comets (which he believes to be earthly exhalations) and in which he describes his observations of the comet in February/March 1402 and its concomitant meteorological phenomena. He gives many examples from Antiquity to the fifteenth century of the significations of comets, which on the whole are terrifying and

⁶⁹ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys* XVII.15, vol. 2, pp. 464-465; cf. also XVII.21, vol. 2, pp. 478-481.

⁷⁰ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys* XX.5, vol. 2, pp. 696-697; cf. also *Une chronique rimée Parisienne écrite en 1409* (ll. 333-336), eds. Gauvard and Labory, p. 221.

⁷¹ *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys* XXII.4, vol. 3, pp. 18-19.

⁷² Simon de Phares, *Recueil*, p. 236.

⁷³ Simon de Phares, *Recueil*, p. 241.

⁷⁴ Simon de Phares, *Recueil*, p. 239; Thorndike, HMES IV, pp. 65-79.

⁷⁵ Simon de Phares, *Recueil*, p. 227.

⁷⁶ Thorndike, HMES IV, pp. 80-87.

disastrous. The final chapter, in which faithful believers are urged not to rely on the significations of the stars but on God, was no doubt devised in anticipation of potential criticism.

As we will see in the following section, there were other conspicuous heavenly phenomena in the first decade of the fifteenth century which attracted popular attention such as solar or lunar eclipses. One such eclipse occurred on Wednesday, June 16, 1406 and impressed Nicolas de Baye to such an extent that he made note of it in his *Journal*:⁷⁷ the eclipse took place shortly after six o'clock in the morning and created complete darkness for five minutes, but the entry in the *Journal* makes no mention of portents.

The chronicle of the Monk clearly illustrates the degree to which many people were sensitive to omens, and even moralists and theologians were willing to acknowledge that there are genuine portents. We have already noted Pignon's belief in comets as signs of catastrophe, but he mentions this only in passing. The remark is almost an anomaly in an otherwise condemnatory treatise. Essentially Pignon's attitude is, like that of most medieval Christians, wholly ambiguous, but he largely succeeds in concealing this behind his elaborate invective. The astrologer Engelhart just mentioned, wrote from a different point of view and was obviously looking for a compromise. Even scholars sharing Pignon's perspective were consciously trying to find a golden mean. A revealing earlier instance is John of Salisbury who elaborately dealt with signs and omens in the first two books of his *Policraticus*.

Discussing a collection of omens that he gathered from classical literature, John indulges in witticisms that betray a scepticism which is absent from his later discussion of omens which he derives from the histories of Josephus. Thus we find him mocking the alleged lucky or unlucky encounters with animals on a journey: 'You are to avoid the hare; that is if it escape, for undoubtedly its fitting place is the table, not the road. You are to be grateful if you meet a wolf. He is indeed the herald of good news, though he is harmful if he sees you first'.⁷⁸ But John, as Pignon later, makes allowances for natural signs, such as birds, who sense changes in the air and behave accordingly,⁷⁹ and, of course, miraculous, God-given signs.⁸⁰

This automatically triggers the question why hares and wolves cannot be the harbingers of something, since after all they are also animals that may be receptive of certain celestial influences that affect their behaviour in some portentous way. Further still, why should encounters with such animals not be considered providential signs from God? John elaborates the point along

⁷⁷ Nicolas de Baye, *Journal*, vol. 1, pp. 159-160.

⁷⁸ John of Salisbury, *Policraticus* I.13, Pike transl. p. 49.

⁷⁹ Cf. CLD II.2.5.

⁸⁰ John of Salisbury, *Policraticus* II.13.

the same lines as Pignon.⁸¹ Their receptivity of celestial influences makes animal behaviour indicative only of natural phenomena such as weather conditions and not of human fortunes. Animals may be directed by God, as in the case of the raven that fed the prophet Elijah in the desert; but, Pignon adds, almost as an aside, the devil may do the same.⁸²

It is in virtue of the concept of natural causality that John can mock the omens he knows from his reading: 'Meeting with a toad announces success to come, though for myself I can scarcely bear the sight of one'. Occasionally he adds a self-conscious note: 'They tell us that it is ominous to meet a priest or monk. I too believe it is dangerous to meet not merely priests but philosophers as well'.⁸³ Much more than Pignon, John is willing to accept the hand of God in miraculous events. In a chapter on signs preceding the destruction of Jerusalem we find him listing a lunar eclipse, a comet, a calf giving birth to a lamb and a vision of war chariots in the sky,⁸⁴ signs that are not so very different from the signs that the Monk of St. Denis records. John also provides a rationale for such miraculous omens stating, with a reference to Plato, that nature is the will of God.⁸⁵ Nature is replete with hidden causes and germs that in due time manifest their effects (a reference to Augustine's *rationes seminales*) and had we but knowledge and wisdom enough, we would be able to fully understand the working of such miracles and wondrous signs. Clearly there is little room and even little need for demons in John's world view. Pignon, on the other hand, still owes his readers a clear demonstrable criterion for distinguishing a God-given from a demonic sign. The truth is that signs dealing with people's fortunes, that John considers nonsensical and superstitious and that Pignon more brazenly labels demonic, could with equal justice be considered divine or natural (in John's view of nature) which is an immediate consequence of Christianity's adaptation of a pre-Christian, pagan belief in omens.

Fourteenth-century people needed the proximity of God in miracles, signs and rituals, possibly, as in the chronicle of the Monk of St. Denis, to assuage the pressures and tensions of life during the Hundred Years' War and the disastrous reign of Charles VI. Next to this attempt to soothe the emotions, there was also the intellectual need to understand the vicissitudes of life in the larger framework of history. It is to astrological historicism that we turn next.

⁸¹ CLD II.2.5; *Policraticus* II.2.

⁸² In CLD I.3 Pignon elaborates on this and explains how the devil may take the form of an animal or occupy its body.

⁸³ *Policraticus* I.13, Pike transl., p. 50.

⁸⁴ *Policraticus* II.4.

⁸⁵ *Policraticus* II.12; cf. also Isidore, *Etymologiae* XI.3 (PL 82, 419).

3.4 Astrology, Burgundy and History

The period of the Anglo-Burgundian rule over Paris (1420-1436) was marked by great tensions. Direct contact with the English, a hitherto fairly unknown and alien people, impressed on the French stronger than ever before a new sense of national identity.⁸⁶ Times of crisis demand profound re-orientations and are apt to move and disturb large groups of people. Searching for hope and guidance they will allow themselves to be led by any powerful and charismatic movement that can bestow on them a sense of social coherence: processions are a case in point. It has been noted that religious processions in the fifteenth century occurred most frequently in periods of grave perturbation (i.e. 1411-1412 during the civil war, and 1420-1436 during the Anglo-Burgundian regime⁸⁷). Sometimes involving thousands of people, such large processions could be used as political tools to mould public opinion to favour the ruling élite,⁸⁸ but they could also function as the expression of collective anxiety. In both cases they were motivated by a profound need for spiritual and religious guidance. This dual aspect of consolidation and querying is also characteristic of a far less multitudinous cultural activity during the Anglo-Burgundian regime, but one that, perhaps even more than processions was involved with orientations and unravelling the will of heaven: namely the drawing up of horoscopes.

A fifteenth-century manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 7443)⁸⁹ survives which once belonged to Simon de Phares. It contains a number of dossiers relative to the two major events of fifteenth-century Paris. These dossiers consist of astrological figures with horoscopes that can be divided into three groups:

1. a group of horoscopes relating to the years 1406-1408, the years of the assassination of Louis d'Orléans and John the Fearless's justification (fol. 57r-69v);

⁸⁶ Thompson, *Paris*, p. 224: 'The occupation of Northern France, and especially Paris, helped to define what it meant to be English, and what it meant to be French'.

⁸⁷ Thompson, *Paris*, p. 180.

⁸⁸ Thompson, *Paris*, pp. 196-197.

⁸⁹ For details and discussions of the manuscript, see: Thorndike, HME IV, p. 99; Thorndike, "Notes on Manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale", in: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 20 (1957), pp. 143-144; Emmanuel Pouille, "Horoscopes princiers des XIVe et XVe siècles", in: *Bulletin de la société nationale des antiquaires de France* (1969), pp. 63-69; Jean-Patrice Boudet and Thérèse Charmasson, "Une consultation astrologique princière en 1427", in: *Comprendre et maîtriser la nature au Moyen Age: Mélanges d'histoire des sciences offerts à Guy Beaujouan* (Genève 1994), pp. 255-278; and above all the exhaustive study of Jean-Patrice Boudet, *Lire dans le ciel*, pp. 113-151.

2. a group relating to c. 1437, the period of the defeat of the English and the crowning of Charles VII (fol. 73v-86v); and
3. a group of horoscopes relating to the years 1426-1427, the period of the Anglo-Burgundian rule over Paris (fol. 117r-123v).

Regarding their significance, Emmanuel Poulle remarked: 'La collection d'horoscopes (...) a été constituée en vue de trouver une explication astrologique des événements politiques contemporains'.⁹⁰

The first two dossiers were written by a scribe who identifies himself as 'cellérier' of the abbey of Corneville. Emmanuel Poulle pointed out that, in all likelihood, this was Simon de Boesmare,⁹¹ an astrologer with a considerable reputation who was asked by the rector of the university of Paris to arbitrate in a dispute between two astrologers, Roland l'Ecrivain and Laurent Muste in 1437. The manuscript contains a nativity horoscope (fol. 237v-238) of Simon de Boesmare (born December 8, 1380) in the same hand as the two dossiers; it was therefore probably drawn up by Boesmare himself. A different hand added the date of his death: July 30, 1438. The text of the arbitration between Roland l'Ecrivain and Laurent Muste is also preserved in the manuscript (fol. 184-211v) and copied out not by Simon de Boesmare but by a different scribe who was responsible for one third of the entire volume. Possibly this was the astrologer Halbout de Troyes, Simon's fellow arbitrator in the 1437 controversy, who also collaborated with him in copying out an anonymous treatise on meteorology (fol. 148-158v).⁹² We return presently to Simon de Boesmare's dossiers.

The remaining dossier on the years 1426-1427 was written in a hand markedly different from that of Simon de Boesmare or Halbout de Troyes. It contains nativity horoscopes of what were apparently considered the major figures of the contemporary political scene: Charles VII and Henry VI; the duke of Bedford, regent of France; Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy; Arthur de Bretagne or Arthur de Richemont, constable of France; Jean de la Trémoille, first chamberlain of Philip the Good; and Sir John Fastolf (whose name rather than person was immortalised in Shakespeare's *Falstaff*).⁹³ Next to the horoscopes the dossier also contains an astrological consultation for the year 1427⁹⁴ which deals with questions such as: 'Savoir se le roy Henri de France aura aucun inconvenient par mort, maladie ou autrement'; 'La seconde question: s'aucun inconvenient avendra point a

⁹⁰ Poulle, "Horoscopes princiers", p. 71.

⁹¹ Poulle, "Horoscopes princiers", pp. 70-71.

⁹² Boudet and Charmasson, "Consultation", pp. 257-258.

⁹³ Boudet and Charmasson, "Consultation", pp. 259-260.

⁹⁴ Edited by Boudet and Charmasson, "Consultation", appendix 2, pp. 273-276.

monseigneur le regent, duc de Bedford, en la dite anée, par mort, maladie ou autrement'; similar questions are asked and answered for the duke of Burgundy, Charles VII and Arthur de Bretagne. From descriptive terms such as 'le roy Henri de France' and 'la personne de Charles, qui se dit roy de France' and from the hierarchy implicit in the sequence of the questions (1. Henry; 2. duke of Bedford; 3. duke of Burgundy; 4. Charles VII; 5. Arthur de Bretagne) it becomes clear that the astrologer was on the side of the Anglo-Burgundian regime. From a detailed analysis, Boudet and Charmasson, who edited the text, concluded that the consultation was drawn up in 1427 at the behest of the duke of Bedford, regent of France, possibly by Bedford's personal physician at that moment, Roland l'Ecrivain.⁹⁵ The astrological consultation for the duke of Bedford makes mention of a period of 'male fortune' that will end on June 20, 1427, during which, the astrologer explains, he should not engage in battle. The extremely lengthy consultation regarding Arthur de Richemont, who had deserted the Burgundian faction in 1425 and re-joined Charles VII, thereby making himself the prime adversary of both the English and the Burgundians, specifies that Richemont intended an armed conflict with his adversaries; and, under the given constellation, 'il seroit plus eurus et plus fort que ses adversaires'.⁹⁶ It is very likely therefore, that Bedford during his stay in Paris (April 5, 1427 to May 26, 1427) recognised the need to consult an astrologer on the fortunes of his chief adversary as well as his own. The dossier as a whole clearly testifies to the renewed political activity of astrologers in France in the 1420s, but, as Boudet and Charmasson⁹⁷ point out, the precise significance of a collection of astrological data, such as the dossier for 1426-1427, that resembles a note-book and may not be complete (what, for example, was the role of oral communications in astrological consultations?) is hard to reconstruct.

The dossier on 1406-1408 should be approached with similar caution. Though most of the horoscopes date from the first decade of the fifteenth century, they need not be original draughts, nor does Simon de Boesmare have to be their original author. There are other sections in the manuscript that show a marked interest in past French history such as a text with excerpts from French history, *Extractum ex libello eventuum Francie in gallico composito* (fol. 49r-50v, one hand) which starts with the year 1244 and ends with the year 1409. A different hand continues in French on fol. 51r-52 with the years 1415-1478 and, due to the disorganised state of the manuscript, on

⁹⁵ Boudet and Charmasson, "Consultation", pp. 264-266.

⁹⁶ Boudet and Charmasson, "Consultation", p. 275.

⁹⁷ Boudet and Charmasson, "Consultation", pp. 268-269.

fol. 56r-56v with the years 1467-1474.⁹⁸ Boudet did not identify the two hands and labelled them scribes no. 9 and no. 10, both writing in the second half of the fifteenth century.⁹⁹ Since the historical survey can be found next to meteorological and astrological texts and a large number of horoscopes of great historical significance, one may tentatively conclude that the little survey represents an astrologer's inquisitive view of history.¹⁰⁰ This selection includes the madness of Charles VI, the 'Bal des Ardents', and the assassination of Louis d'Orléans. For obvious reasons the astrologer elaborates on the severe winter of 1407-1408. These events were no doubt seen as the highlights of the two decades that cover the end of the fourteenth and

⁹⁸ What is now fol. 56 properly belongs between fol. 51 and fol. 52. The sequence is then perfectly chronological.

⁹⁹ See Boudet, *Lire dans le ciel*, pp. 119-122. The text by the first scribe (no. 9) contains a few interpolations in a hand that Boudet identified as Simon de Phares's. On the six pages that separate the historical survey from the 1406-1408 dossier, Simon de Phares wrote five prognosticative texts: *Pronostics sur l'an à venir d'après le jour des calendes de janvier* (a translation of ps.-Bede's *Pronostica temporum* (PL 90, 951-952) variously attributed to Bede and Esdras); *Pronostics sur l'année à venir selon le jour de Noël* (attributed to Ezechiel); *Pronostics d'après le tonnerre* (cf. ps.-Bede, *De tonitruis*, PL 90, 609-614, and Appendix III in the present study); *Pronostics météorologiques*; *De abbrevatione et prolongatione dierum*.

¹⁰⁰ The *Extractum* is important in that it records the historical events that a fifteenth-century astrologer considered significant, and that he possibly wanted to relate to the stars. As a sample we quote from the manuscript the complete entries for the period most relevant to the present study 1392-1446. Fol. 50v: *Anno Domini 1392 post vulnerationem connestabularii Parisiis prope ecclesiam sancti Pauli. Rex fuit Cenomani cum ubi accepit infirmitatem seu lesionem in intellectu, ut dicitur. Deinde post modicum tempus apud domum sancti Pauli Parisius fuit facta una corea procurante demone, in qua fuerunt combusti comes de Joygny, bastardus de Foy et Hugo de Jeusse [= Guisay]. Anno Domini 1407 in festo sancti Clementis fuit occisus de nocte Parisius prope portam Barbete dux Aurelianensis. Eodem anno fuit maximum frigus cum magna habundancia nivium et duravit gelu XII septimanis continuis. Et in liquefactione earum fuit tanta habundancia aquarum cum glacia magna fluente supra aquam quod fregerunt pontes Parisius. Anno Christi 1408 dux Burgundie cum suo exercitu occidit XXX m(ille) Liegoys in sua patria. Anno Domini 1409 fuit pax et unio in ecclesia, Alexandro quinto existente papa. A different hand then adds: *Anno Domini mille* [insertion: 1431] *fuit bellum in Lotharingua [...].* Fol. 51r continues in French: 'L'an 1415 furent occis les nobles de France par les Anglois par trayson Agiencourt. L'an 1418 entrèrent les Bourguignons dedans Paris et le Roy fut emporté hors de Paris par Taneguin du Chasteau, prevost de Paris. L'an 1419 fut occis le duc de Bourgogne a Monterel-faul-Hyone [i.e. Montereau-faut-Yonne] pour laquelle mort fut grant guerre en France et en Bourgogne. L'an 1422 furent destruyés les gros que les 12 vailloient ung franc et il ne vaillirent que 12 blans. L'an 1429 vint la Pucelle devant Paris. L'an 1446 estoit bonne paix entre le Roy et le duc de Bourgogne'. In 1418 it was not Charles VI who was abducted by Tanneguy du Châtel, but the dauphin, the future Charles VII, which suggests this text was written at least after 1437. See: *A Parisian Journal*, transl. Shirley, p. 112. In May 1422 there was an economic crisis because there were many counterfeit *gros* in circulation, which caused the coin to become virtually worthless. See: *A Parisian Journal*, pp. 175-176. Because the *gros* was the common currency in Paris, the people suffered grave financial losses. On fifteenth-century currency (esp. *gros* and *blans*) see: Shirley, "Introduction" in *A Parisian Journal*, pp. 31-34.*

the beginning of the fifteenth century. The importance of these events is further enhanced by the astrological dossier on 1406-1408, even though in all likelihood there is no direct connection between the dossier and the historical excerpts other than what impresses itself on any observer as the main event of the period: the assassination of the king's brother.

The following survey gives a table of contents of the 1406-1408 dossier.¹⁰¹ Fol. 59r-69v contain astrological figures with the designation *Figura celi*. The list contains five horoscopes of John the Fearless, one nativity-horoscope (*Figura celi pro tempore nativitatis*) and four birthday horoscopes (*Figura celi pro tempore revolucionis*¹⁰²).

Folia Contents and dates

57r-58v	elaborate calculations of the planetary positions on the day of John the Fearless's birth: May 27, 1371;
59r	nativity horoscope of John the Fearless: May 27, 1371;
59v	birthday horoscope of John the Fearless: May 26, 1405;
60r	nativity horoscope of Anthony of Burgundy, John's brother: August 17, 1384;
60v	birthday horoscope of John the Fearless: May 27, 1406;
61r	nativity horoscope of Philip, first-born son of John, count of Alençon: March 5, 1406;
61v	horoscope of a solar eclipse: June 15, 1406; ¹⁰³
62r	horoscope of a lunar eclipse: November 25, 1406;
62v	birthday horoscope of king Charles VI: December 2, 1406;
63r	horoscope of the vernal equinox: March 11, 1407;
63v	horoscope of the new Moon: March 9, 1407;
64r	birthday horoscope of Louis d'Orléans: March 12, 1407;
64v	birthday horoscope of John the Fearless: May 27, 1407;
65r	birthday horoscope of John the Fearless: May 26, 1408;
65v	horoscope of the summer solstice: June 12, 1408;

¹⁰¹ For more details see Boudet, *Lire dans le ciel*, pp. 122-129.

¹⁰² The birthday horoscopes are drawn up in relation to the moment the Sun has completed its annual revolution. Because the Sun does not return to precisely the same point of the ecliptic in a whole number of days, the horoscopes of John the Fearless waver between May 26 and 27.

¹⁰³ Noted in Nicolas de Baye, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 159; *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* XXVII.4, vol. 3, pp. 390-393; and Gauvard and Labory, eds., *Une chronique rimée Parisienne écrite en 1409* (ll. 337-344), p. 221, see also p. 190. According to the Monk the eclipse took place on June 17, between six and seven o'clock in the morning. The Monk explains that the astrologers had predicted the eclipse and had drawn up judgments regarding its effects. These effects, however, consist mainly in extreme weather conditions and the consequent damage.

- 66r horoscope of the full Moon: June 8, 1408;
- 66v conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn: January 31, 988;
- 67r conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn: June 1, 1325;
- 67v conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn: March 1345;
- 68r conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn: January 11, 1405;
- 68v conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn: October 29, 1365;
- 69r horoscope of the solar eclipse: October 29, 1399 at 0h. 12m.
 (beginning of the eclipse);
- 69v idem, at 1h. 9m. (middle of the eclipse).

Up to and including fol. 66r the dossier is coherent.¹⁰⁴ The astrologer who drew up the horoscopes was clearly looking for something in relation to John the Fearless, who is beyond doubt the main hero of his quest. An important remark appears among the very precise planetary calculations. At the moment of John's birth, Mars was in the ninth house, which, Boesmare remarks, 'signifies a long journey' or 'following lengthy paths' or 'leading an army into battle', which, Boudet adds, is difficult not to see as a reference to the battle of Nicopolis.¹⁰⁵ Also some of the horoscopes bear interesting comments, such as the horoscope of Louis d'Orléans's last birthday: *Dominus iste, anno isto, post meridiem 23e diei novembris ignominose interfectus est, absciso brachio, capite diviso et expanso cerebro circa horam octavam juxta portam Barbete redeundo de domo regine* (fol. 64r). The word *ignominose* seems to suggest the inquirer should not be looked for in Burgundian quarters, or he would have taken a different view of the matter (like Pignon, who referred to Louis d'Orléans as a *tyrannus pessimus*, following the Burgundian bias). His interest in the duke of Burgundy, however, is not thwarted by his partiality.

The object of his astrological inquiry becomes clear from the last horoscopes in the dossier (fol. 66v-69v) which concern conjunctions of Jupiter and Saturn. As the most exalted planets, their conjunctions were regarded as having some kind of universal significance. We have seen that cardinal Pierre d'Ailly followed the tradition of using them as a principle for explaining the course of history, generally relating the conjunctions to the rise of new kingdoms or religions.¹⁰⁶ The author of our dossier was clearly interested in the same thing. To the conjunction of 988 he appends the following

¹⁰⁴ This coherence is borne out by a set of signatures. Next to foliation (in a modern hand) fol. 57r-66r also bear numbers in the lower right hand corner in a contemporary hand. Fol. 57-62 have nos. 1-6; fol. 63 has 1.2; fol. 64 has 2.2; fol. 65 has 3.2; and fol. 66 has 4.2. The folia with the conjunctions would appear to be unnumbered.

¹⁰⁵ Paris, B.N., ms. lat. 7443, fol. 58v; Boudet, *Lire dans le ciel*, p. 123.

¹⁰⁶ Smoller, *History, Prophecy and the Stars*, p. 22.

comment: *quo anno fuit translatum regnum Francorum ad Hugonem comitem Parisius* (fol. 66v) and the horoscope of 1325 contains the remark that after the conjunction *secuta est mors Karoli tertii filii regis Philippi Pulcri* (i.e. Philip le Bel) *et hinc adeptus in regnum Francie Philippus de Valesiis nepos dicti regis Philippi Pulcri* (fol. 67r). One can almost see the astrologer wondering whether the accession of the house of Capet in 988 and the house of Valois in 1325 can be discovered to have a sequel in 1405 with the ascendancy of the house of Burgundy.¹⁰⁷ The conjunction of 1405 has the following comment: *huius coniunctionis significatio deberet circa annum Domini 1413 cum dimidium*; which means that the effects of the conjunction will become manifest after 8½ years.¹⁰⁸ The summer of 1413, however, was not a favourable time for John the Fearless. If the 1405-conjunction signified dynastic change, it would not be one to the benefit of Burgundy. Boudet points out that there is no retrospective reference to the Cabochian revolt, nor to John's flight from Paris. The last astrological figure of the solar eclipse of 1399 has a long and interesting colophon¹⁰⁹ in which the astrologer explains that the effects of the eclipse will become apparent after 7½ years and will last for one year and 11 months (i.e. the period of approximately April 1407 to March 1409) *Hanc eclipsen esse in medio celi significat intronizacionis unius regis in regnum, queritur quid Parisius* (fol. 69v). Had the incubation period been estimated at a little over 20 years, this prophecy would have been quite spectacular.

The 1406/1408-dossier is extremely important since it not only shows the serious and honest attempts of an astrologer to correlate major astronomical phenomena to historico-political events, but it also proves that towards the end of the first decade of the fifteenth century the ambitions of John the Fearless were the object of careful astrological scrutiny. And naturally the duke himself would have been among the first to take an interest in what the stars had to say. Unfortunately there is nothing to link this dossier by Simon de Boesmare to Burgundian patronage. But the dynastic speculations that it contains were certainly of a kind known and feared by Pignon.

John the Fearless had disappointed the expectations that Jupiter, Saturn, the Sun and the Moon had raised regarding him, but Simon de Boesmare did

¹⁰⁷ Fol. 70r-v contains a list of thirteen conjunctions of Saturn and Jupiter from 1166 to 1444. The list contains only astronomical details and provides no historical interpretations.

¹⁰⁸ Paris, B.N., ms. lat. 7443, fol 68r. For extensive comments, see: Boudet, *Lire dans le ciel*, p. 128. Boudet makes the point that 8½ years is not an unusual incubation period and one may credit the astrologer for keeping his attempt to correlate astrological and historical phenomena within the bounds of reason. Cardinal d'Ailly is known to have interpreted a conjunction from 748 as signifying the rise of a new religion in 1600 (Smoller, *History, Prophecy and the Stars*, p. 74) thus giving the prognostication ample scope to come true.

¹⁰⁹ For the complete text see: Boudet, *Lire dans le ciel*, pp. 128-129.

not despair indefinitely for in 1437 he compiled another dossier, this time focusing on Charles VII.¹¹⁰ The dossier contains horoscopes of Henry VI and Philip the Good, but its main hero is the French king. There is a lengthy judgment on his nativity that makes clear that he loves hunting, that he will never go mad, and that he will father many children. There is a coronation-horoscope from 1437 (i.e. the coronation in Paris after the defeat of the English) that was never completed; and a coronation horoscope drawn up in 1429 (the year of the siege of Orléans). The latter horoscope apparently had been the subject of some astrological debate for it contains a brief annotation to the effect that master Roland held the opinion that the king would only rule for eleven years from the time of his coronation; 'where he bases this on, I do not know' Simon de Boesmare added. This master Roland is Roland l'Ecrivain who at that time, it must be remembered, was one of the duke of Bedford's physicians. King Charles was neither dead nor deposed in 1440 but continued to reign until the year of his death 1461. Partiality was not entirely alien to the astrologers in the service of the English. An astrological judgment survives by the Welsh physician and astrologer Thomas Broun from Caermarthen, the city of Merlin, on the peace of Arras that (with the assistance of Pignon) was concluded between the French and the Burgundians in 1435, on Wednesday, September 21 at 19:04 h. p.m. as the text notes with meticulous care.¹¹¹ In the end, the astrologer concluded with some satisfaction, this peace would prove to be most unfortunate for both parties.

No survey of early fifteenth-century astrological historicism in relation to Burgundy would be complete without at least a tentative reconstruction of the role of court-astrologers at the Burgundian court. Though perhaps there are still discoveries to be made, names to be retrieved from unpublished accounts, and better still, actual prognostications to be recovered from manuscript sources, much material and information will have been lost. If Pignon criticised the astrologers of John the Fearless, he has not done us the courtesy of providing their names, their prognostications and, most interesting of all, an indication of their actual influence. The following therefore must needs be sketchy.

¹¹⁰ Poulle, "Horoscopes princiers", pp. 72-73; Boudet, *Lire dans le ciel*, pp. 131-136.

¹¹¹ Wickersheimer, "Un jugement astrologique de la paix d'Arras et le médecin Thomas Broun", in: *Association bourguignonne des sociétés savantes: douzième congrès* (Dijon 1937), pp. 202-204; Bodleian Library, ms. Digby 194, fol. 95-98, contains two astrological judgments: one on the peace of Arras (1435) and the other on the great conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in 1425; Thorndike, *HMES IV*, pp. 96-98; Wickersheimer, *DBM 2*, p. 757; Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good: The Apotheosis of Burgundy* (London 1970), p. 74.

3.5 Astrology and the Court of Burgundy

What concrete evidence do we have of Burgundy's interest in astrology, especially concerning the first two decades of the fifteenth century? The type of evidence one is looking for naturally consists in books and names of astrologers. The condemning remarks that Pignon makes regarding astrology and its practitioners¹¹² not only betray his relative ignorance of the subject, they also warrant the assumption that astrology was flourishing. The traces it has left may be a mere shadow of its original lustre, but since even a mere shadow is always brighter than darkness, we attempt a brief survey of Burgundian books and people, relative to our subject.

On his death in 1404 Philip the Bold's library contained two astronomical books, a *Livre d'Astronomie* and the *Livre de Zacarye Albazarye* to which a third prognosticative text might be added, namely a *Giomansie d'Esbatementens*.¹¹³ The library inventory drawn up in 1420 after the death of John the Fearless mentions the following three titles: 'ung livre nommé *Quadrupiti Tholomé*' which is the same as the earlier mentioned *Livre d'Astronomie*; 'le *Livre du Mirouer aux Dames*' which contains the *Livre de divinacions* by Nicole Oresme; and finally 'ung livre nommé de *Haly qui est des Livres de astrologie*', i.e. an astrological text by Haly Abenragel. Of these only the text by Ptolemy and the book containing Oresme's treatise survive.¹¹⁴ Oddly, Pignon's *Contre les devineurs* does not appear on the inventory of 1420.

After 1420 a number of astrological and prognosticative texts entered the Burgundian library under unknown circumstances. We may note the following: a Latin manuscript called *Regards des XII cignes* (possibly a text by Albumasar); the *Liber introductorius Astronomie super Alcabissus* (in Latin); the *Livre de IX anciens juges* (originally part of the library of Charles V); *Le livre de l'exposicion des songes, et plusieurs autres choses*; a paper codex with more than twenty different texts usually referred to as the *Jeu des echecs moralisés* but containing a text on the Zodiac (*Les 12 signes dou firmament*) and a numerological game of divination; and, of course, finally Pignon's

¹¹² CLD I.4 and II.2.3.

¹¹³ Doutrepoint, *La littérature française*, pp. 273-274; Hughes, "The Library of Philip the Bold", pp. 180-182 (nos. 4, 13, and 29).

¹¹⁴ Georges Doutrepoint, *Inventaire de la «Librairie» de Philippe le Bon 1420* (Genève 1977), nos. 136, 166, 237; Doutrepoint, *La littérature française*, pp. 281-282. The two extant works are in the Royal Library in Brussels: *Quadrupiti Tholome*, ms. 10498-99, and Oresme's *Livre de divinacions*, ms. 11203-4. Oresme's *Livre* was edited by G. W. Coopland, *Nicole Oresme and the Astrologers: A Study of his Livre de Divinacions* (Liverpool 1952), pp. 50-121.

Contre les devineurs. Again, next to Pignon's treatise, only two manuscripts survive: the *Livre de IX juges* and the codex with the *Jeu des Eschechs*.¹¹⁵

This brief survey shows that at least some of the major textbooks on astrology by Ptolemy, Haly, Alcabitius and possibly even Albumasar were present in the Burgundian library. Their number is very small, but this was by no means unusual. Books on astrology and divination have been estimated to constitute approximately 2 - 5% of princely libraries in France and Italy throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹¹⁶ But perhaps more important than these specialist works are the two popular astrological and divinatory texts known as the *12 Signes dou firmament* and the *Règles de divinacion* since they may more adequately reflect the tastes and interests of the court. Also the anti-astrological, or anti-divinatory literature is present in the form of the treatises by Pignon and Oresme. To this might be added the *Songe du Vieil Pelerin* (which contains an important section on superstition) by Philippe de Mézières, but this book was commissioned as late as 1465 by Philip the Good¹¹⁷ and was not yet finished in 1467.

Next to the books there were, of course, the astrologers, but contrary to some of the codices, none of them survived to explain to us the role of astrology in Burgundian or French courtly society. In most cases it is only a name that survives, but sometimes the sources provide some additional information. In what follows we attempt a brief survey of astrologers associated with Burgundy (which is meant to be illustrative and certainly not exhaustive) to provide some local habitations and some names, beginning with three of the more prominent astrologers.

Jean de Rubeis or Jean de Roux¹¹⁸ pretended to be a physician and a surgeon but was persecuted on the instigation of the Faculty of Medicine in Paris around 1410. Imprisoned in 1416 (*propter injurias*),¹¹⁹ he was released

¹¹⁵ Doutrepoint, *La littérature française*, pp. 204-205, 297-298. The extant works are in Brussels, Royal Library: *Livre de IX anciens juges*, ms. 10319; *Jeu des Eschechs* etc., ms. 10394-414. From this latter codex the two divinatory texts (*Les 12 signes dou firmament* and the *Règles de divinacion*) were edited in Appendix III.

¹¹⁶ Boudet, "La papauté d'Avignon et l'astrologie", p. 265.

¹¹⁷ Doutrepoint, *La littérature française*, p. 295.

¹¹⁸ Wickersheimer, DBM 2, p. 475; Thorndike, HMES IV, pp. 94-96; M. Mollat ed., *Comptes généraux de l'état bourguignon entre 1416 et 1420*, 5 vols. (Paris 1965-1970), vol. 1, nos. 133, 180 (pp. 38-39, 48); Mollat, *Comptes*, vol. 2(1), no. 3948 (p. 464); G. du Fresne de Beaucourt, "Le meurtre de Montereau", in: *Revue des Questions Historiques* 5 (1868), p. 209, n. 4.

¹¹⁹ *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, ed. H. Denifle, 4 vols. (Paris 1889-1897), vol. 4, p. 311. Jehan de Roux (de Rubeis) is designated as master of medicine and student of theology. He was imprisoned together with a certain Angelus Johannis (Angle Johan), an Italian physician (see Wickersheimer, DBM 1, pp. 27-28) in 1416, but on his release the following year he opposed the release of his former prison-mate. The reason of this opposition is unknown.

again in 1417. He was in the service of John the Fearless in 1419. He features in the ducal accounts for 1419 as 'maistre Jehan du Roux phisicien' and as 'maistre Jehan de Roux de Parma, phisicien et conseiller de monseigneur le duc'. On one occasion he is paid 100 francs for the 'bons et agreables services' which he rendered to duke John 'en plusieurs manieres (...) chascun jour et espere que encore face ou temps avenir'.¹²⁰ His relationship with the duke would appear to have been cordial. Two astrological predictions by Jean de Rubeis for the years 1420 and 1421 survive, the latter of which he completed on the last day of December 1420 in Bruges. Apparently he made these prognostications annually for in his prediction for 1420 he refers to the one he made the previous year. His prognostications mainly involve international affairs and they deal with the papacy, the Empire, England, France, Portugal and Italy, and, in the one from 1421, Bruges. A remarkable prediction concerning the king of England appears in both extant prognostications, namely that the king is likely to die within three years. Skilled doctors and a marriage with the daughter of the king of France may diminish but never remove the risks. Henry V has not been found wanting in taking both 'precautions', but he nevertheless died in 1422.

Henry Arnault de Zwolle,¹²¹ an astrologer from the Netherlands, was according to a ducal account from 1431 a 'professeur en médecine' of Philip the Good. He is variously identified by the surviving accounts as 'astronmien' or 'maistre en médecine et en astrologie'. In one of the accounts he identifies himself as 'Je Henry de Zwollis, docteur en medecine phisicien de mons. le duc de Bourgogne'. He drew up two horoscopes for the duke in 1431 and was commissioned twice to build a horologe, an astronomical clock that would show the movements of the Sun, Moon, and planets. An account from 1447 survives, detailing the payment of 'trois cens saluz d'or' for 'ung orloge contenant le vray cours des sept planetes'.¹²² In 1455 he received a thousand francs 'monnoie royal' for 'certain notable et subtil ouvrage que icelui S(eigneur) lui a fait faire du mouvement des sept planettes et de la VIIIe et IXe spère'. He was the duke's personal physician and lived in Dijon. When his wife Huguote bore him a son the duke made her a gift: 'un gobelet couvert d'argent doré'. Henry Arnault died in 1465 and was buried at Dijon.

¹²⁰ Mollat, *Comptes*, vol. 1, no. 180 (p. 48).

¹²¹ Wickersheimer, DBM 1, pp. 274-275; Laborde, *Preuves*, vol. 1, nos. 901, 919, 1578 (pp. 259, 263, 430-431); Emmanuel Poulle, *Les instruments de la théorie des planètes selon Ptolémée: Equatoires et horlogerie planétaire du XIIIe au XVIe siècle* (Genève/Paris 1980), vol. 1, pp. 503, 717-732. Poulle deals with the technical details of Henry Arnault's treatise on the mechanics of a planetary horologe. In his edition of Simon de Phares's *Recueil* Wickersheimer confused Henry Arnault with 'maistre Arnoul, astrologien et medicin du roy Charles VIIe' who died of the plague in Paris in 1466 (*Recueil*, p. 4, n. 2 and p. 261).

¹²² Poulle, *Les instruments*, vol. 1, p. 503.

Roland l'Ecrivain (or Scriptoris),¹²³ of illegitimate birth, was legitimised by the duke of Burgundy in 1460 along with his son Martin (also begotten outside of wedlock). His natural father was Jacques l'Ecrivain and his mother was Béatrix Gonsalve (possibly from Portugal); Roland referred to himself as *phiscus Ulixbonensis* (doctor from Lisbon). He became master of medicine in 1424, was dean of the Faculty of Medicine on several occasions and the personal physician of the duke of Bedford, regent of France. Later he became physician of the Burgundian dukes and retained that position from June 1437 until his death (possibly in 1469). He held some ecclesiastical dignities and settled in Bruges. He wrote works on geomancy, physiognomy and arithmetic and was well known for his medical skill, his astrological prognostications and his bad temper. He could demonstrate all these qualities in 1437 when he was involved in a controversy at the university of Paris over propitious days for blood-letting and taking laxatives. Roland had forwarded January 2, 1437 as a favourable day, but his opponent, Laurent Muste, bachelor of theology, had criticised him stating it must be January 8. Two arbitrators were appointed: Jean de Troyes, theologian, and Simon de Boesmare, prior and astrologer, and the dispute was carefully recorded. Naturally the arbitrators took a moderate position in so hazardous a controversy, but they did suggest every physician should have a copy of the great Almanach to tell what sign the Moon was in, and an astrolabe to make precise observations. It is interesting to see how theologians were rubbing shoulders with medical astrologers.

Other names survive from the published accounts, such as: George Causez (1439), Guillaume Hobit (1442), Guillaume and Jehan de Cologne (1457), all marked out as astronomers, and Johannes Cesar (1443) who was paid 9 *francs*, 10 *sols* for fetching an astrolabe.¹²⁴ This list could easily be extended by including the names of ducal physicians and no doubt many names still remain to be discovered in the unpublished ducal accounts. Simon de Phares's *Recueil* is a valuable source and though one should approach his information with some care and reserve, a brief survey of the astrologers that he associates with the house of Burgundy is indispensable.

The first astrologer that Simon mentions in relation to Philip the Bold is Denis Anjorrand whom we have already encountered as predictor of King James's capture at Poitiers: such a prediction naturally enhanced his reputa-

¹²³ Wickersheimer, DBM 2, pp. 723-724; Thérèse Charmasson, "Roland l'Ecrivain, médecin des ducs de Bourgogne", in: *Actes du 101e Congrès national des Sociétés savantes; Sciences fasc. III* (Lille 1976), pp. 21-32; Thérèse Charmasson, *Recherches sur une technique divinatoire: la géomancie dans l'Occident médiéval* (Genève/Paris 1980), pp. 177-193; Laborde, *Preuves*, vol. 1, nos. 1207, 1254, 1901 (pp. 355, 361, 493); Thorndike, HMES IV, pp. 139-143; Simon de Phares, *Recueil*, pp. 251-254; Paris, B.N., ms. lat. 7443; Boudet, *Lire dans le ciel*.

¹²⁴ Laborde, *Preuves*, vol. 1, pp. 371, 384, 388, 471.

tion and he was greatly esteemed, 'par especial de Phelippe le Hardi'.¹²⁵ Nicolas de Paganico OP,¹²⁶ an Italian astrologer and physician of some renown, and, as we have seen, an accomplished sleuth, was first lured to France by Charles V. He cast a nativity horoscope of John the Fearless in 1371 ('par tout veritable') and discovered many poison-plots in France, Simon adds. A similar nativity-horoscope was drawn up by maistre André de Sully,¹²⁷ one of Charles V's astrologers, who apparently also extended his services to Bertrand du Guesclin and the duke of Burgundy: 'Cestui fist la nativité du roy Charles Vie, (...) la nativité du duc d'Orléans, qui fut nommé Loys, le 13e jour de mars et celle de Jehan duc de Bourgogne, qui fut né à Dijon le 28e de may l'an 1370'. Despite the fact that he gets the date wrong (John was born on May 27, 1371) Simon sets great store by these nativities of which he claims to possess copies and which, so he asserts, are in perfect accord with the lives of the persons concerned.

In addition to these astrologers, the *Recueil* also mentions a few sorcerers, a group of people in whom duke Philip took a lively interest. Maistre Gencien de Beaugenci, Orléans's astrologer, exposed Jehan de Bar, 'magicien du duc de Bourgogne',¹²⁸ and Jacques d'Angiers discovered the malpractices of the two Augustinian monks who performed surgery on the mad king, though they were entirely unqualified. Simon says they were 'apostés par le duc de Bourgogne Philippe',¹²⁹ which is not true since we have already seen that it was Louis de Sancerre who invited the two Augustinian monks. Possibly Simon was not unfamiliar with the case of Poinson and Briquet (reviewed in the previous chapter) who were in fact hired and paid by Burgundy.

Occasional slips and mistakes such as these may be attributed to carelessness or lack of correct or complete information, but when we turn to Simon's references on the second Burgundian duke, John the Fearless, we soon encounter a clear example of Simon's creativity. In an entry for 1407 maistre Jean Petit is identified as a 'grant astrologien'.¹³⁰ Simon points out, correctly, that he delivered 'une terrible proposition à Paris (...) à laquelle nul n'osa contredire', but the assertion that Petit prognosticated 'les grandes gelées qui

¹²⁵ Simon de Phares, *Recueil*, p. 208.

¹²⁶ Simon de Phares, *Recueil*, pp. 229-230; Quéatif and Echard, *Scriptores*, vol. 1, p. 570; Thorndike, *HMES* III, pp. 213-217, 698-699; Wickersheimer, *DBM* 2, p. 574. In 1330 Paganico wrote a *Compendium medicinalis astrologie* of which one manuscript copy gives his name as Nicolaus de Aquila. He does not appear to be the same as Nicholaus de Aquilone from Naples who died in Avignon in 1392 as recorded in Pignon's *Catalogus*, p. 16 (cf. Quéatif, *Scriptores*, vol. 1, pp. 702-704).

¹²⁷ Simon de Phares, *Recueil*, p. 232; Wickersheimer, *DBM* 1, p. 26.

¹²⁸ Simon de Phares, *Recueil*, p. 239; see also chapter 2.4.3 and Appendix I.

¹²⁹ Simon de Phares, *Recueil*, p. 240; see also chapter 2.4.2 and note 59.

¹³⁰ Simon de Phares, *Recueil*, p. 238.

furent l'an 1407'¹³¹ or 'la guerre du Liege' is definitely false. In a lengthy entry for the year 1414 on cardinal Pierre d'Ailly,¹³² Simon asserts the cardinal had made prognostications concerning the defeat of the French at the battle of Agincourt (1415) 'et avecque lui accorda maistre Nicolle de Berbeth,¹³³ grant astrologien à Louvain et Michel de la Chesnaye, pensionnaires du duc de Bourgogne'. These are the only names of astrologers that Simon connects with the court of John the Fearless.

The duke does, however, feature in a number of other entries, such as the one on maistre Geuffroy d'Abbeville, the astrologer and personal physician of the dauphin¹³⁴ who acted as royal spokesman and promised to the duchess of Orléans that the death of her husband would be avenged. If Geuffroy had also predicted the death of John the Fearless from the stars, it would have been a self-fulfilling prophecy; but this prediction Simon ascribes to maistre Henri Seldem.¹³⁵

The two remaining Burgundian dukes also get their fair share of astrologers. A certain maistre Simon du Phar, 'natif d'Orleans' (not the author of the *Recueil*, Simon de Phares, but apparently his namesake) was greatly favoured by the court of Charles VII for his prognostications, especially those concerning Charles, count of Charolais, the son of Philip the Good.¹³⁶ Whether this Simon drew up this nativity horoscope for Philip, the entry does not make clear. 'Maistre Olivier Chantemerle fut en ce temps pensionnaire au duc de Bourgogne, homme de grande estyme et moult expert en la science des estoilles'. After having served Philip the Good, maistre Olivier entered the service of duke Charles d'Orléans who had then just returned from his captivity in England and for whom he made several elections.¹³⁷ Charles, son of Louis d'Orléans, had been a prisoner in the Tower in London since Agincourt (i.e. from 1415-1440) and was finally released through Philip the Good's diplomatic efforts.¹³⁸ Philip needed allies and Charles became his most important one. The many gifts and donations that Philip bestowed on Charles may well have included the services of a skilled astrologer. An entry for 1435 makes mention of the royal astrologer messire Jehan de Bregy: 'Cestui fut principié et erudit en la maison de Bourgogne', but he also wrote

¹³¹ In connection with this severe frost, Simon mentions the rescue of a child from an ice floe, a story which occurs in the chronicle of Juvenal des Ursins (*Histoire*, p. 445a), who was probably his source.

¹³² Simon de Phares, *Recueil*, pp. 247-248.

¹³³ Perhaps the same as Nicolas Barbot? Wickersheimer, DBM 2, p. 565.

¹³⁴ Simon de Phares, *Recueil*, p. 238.

¹³⁵ Simon de Phares, *Recueil*, p. 250.

¹³⁶ Simon de Phares, *Recueil*, p. 253.

¹³⁷ Simon de Phares, *Recueil*, p. 254.

¹³⁸ See Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, pp. 123-125.

a treatise on the astrolabe in the vernacular for king René of Sicily and drew up nativity-horoscopes for the house of Savoy, some of which Simon de Phares had apparently purchased in his youth since they were famed for their accuracy.¹³⁹ The death of Philip the Good, finally, was predicted by maistre Jehan du Locron.¹⁴⁰

Only two astrologers mentioned in the *Recueil* are associated with Charles the Bold: Jean Spierinck and Angel Catho (Angelo Cato). Maistre Jehan Spyrynke or Spirink¹⁴¹ was a 'grant et expert astrologien en ce temps, fut moult apécié, pour ce qu'il fist sçavoir au duc Charles de Bourgoigne que s'il alloit sur les Suissez, comme il estoit delibéré faire, il lui en eu prandroit mal. A quoy respondit le duc que la fureur de son espée vainqueroit le cours du ciel, ce que lui, son espée, ne toute sa puissance ne peurent pas fere, car pour y aller s'en ensuivit sa deffaicte, mort et destruction'. A similar story can be found in Pignon's *Contre les devineurs* to prove the exact opposite moral. Of course, in Pignon's version the king who refused to believe his soothsayers won the day.¹⁴² Spierinck is known from a number of sources other than the *Recueil*: he was born in Volkerinchove (in Cambrai), became bachelor of arts in 1439 in Louvain, doctor of medicine in 1454; he was rector of the university and lectured on medicine and astronomy. He acted as counsellor and physician to both Philip the Good and Charles the Bold, founded a medical library and died on October 7, 1499. Charles the Bold also features in an entry on maistre Angelo Cato, who later in life became archbishop of Vienna. He was a 'grant astrologien' and predicted 'l'infortune du duc Charles de Bourgoigne'.¹⁴³ According to the chronicler Philippe de Commines, Cato wrote to the duke in Lausanne in the spring of 1476 and predicted to him the defeat of Grançon and Morat.¹⁴⁴ The duke would be killed on January 5, the following year. Naturally there were other astrologers not mentioned by Simon de Phares. Concluding our survey, we may draw

¹³⁹ Simon de Phares, *Recueil*, pp. 254-255; Wickersheimer, DBM 1, p. 371: Jean de Bregy was royal physician and astrologer from 1446-1453.

¹⁴⁰ Simon de Phares, *Recueil*, p. 260.

¹⁴¹ Laborde, *Preuves*, vol. 1, nos. 1862, 1873, pp. 478, 481 (1461, 1463); Simon de Phares, *Recueil*, pp. 10, 263; Wickersheimer, DBM 2, pp. 486-487.

¹⁴² CLD III.5.

¹⁴³ Simon de Phares, *Recueil*, p. 265; Wickersheimer, DBM 1, pp. 26-27; Philippe de Commines, *Mémoires*, ed. J. Calmette, 3 vols. (Paris 1964-1965), vol. 1, p. 1 (Commines dedicated his memoirs to Cato, 'monsieur l'arcevesque de Vienne'); vol. 2, pp. 118, 129 (Commines's relations with 'le Téméraire'), p. 281 (Cato is identified as 'medecin' of Louis XI); vol. 3, p. 34 (Cato predicted the coronation of Frederick of Tarente; 'duquel vous, mons' de Vienne, m'avez maintes fois asseuré qu'il seroit roy, parlant par astrologie').

¹⁴⁴ Commines, *Mémoires*, vol. 2, p. 118.

attention to Jean de Vésale or Wesalia.¹⁴⁵ Doctor of medicine in Louvain in 1429, and lector of mathematics in 1431, he rendered astrological services to Burgundy and ended his career as town doctor of Brussels. He produced almanacs for the dukes of Burgundy (accounts from 1432 and 1459 survive) and wrote judgments on the double conjunction of Saturn-Mars and Saturn-Jupiter in 1464, and on the comet of 1472. The comet, apparently, meant victory for Burgundy and defeat for Louis XI. Perhaps Jean de Vésale was the same as the Flemish astrologer who drew up the prognostications for the year 1465 on the weather, health and general affairs of which Philip the Good received a copy which is still extant.¹⁴⁶

The actual role of court-astrology especially in the period most relevant to this research, namely the first two decades of the fifteenth century, is difficult to assess, basically for lack of sufficient material, but some points should be emphasised. On the whole ducal relations with astrologers seem to have acquired a certain degree of intimacy and cordiality; like many other courtiers, they received gifts and benefices; next to being physicians they also acted as ducal counsellors. It is especially this latter role that gravely upset Pignon. No doubt the dukes were occasionally swayed by their astrologer's advice regarding propitious days and the knowledge of astrologers concerning princely deaths may have been regarded as disconcerting or even frightening, but from the material no single instance emerges of an astrological prognostication directly influencing a major political decision. The potential at any rate was there, and hence, we may infer, also the fear.¹⁴⁷

3.6 Conclusion

In this chapter we have attempted a reconstruction of Burgundian courtly involvement in astrology. More importantly we have explored the underlying motives for this interest. Astrology and divination were favoured not merely because of people's curiosity and anxiety regarding the future, not merely for purposes of political expediency and as a means of bracing oneself against impending disasters. All these functions were recognised and criticised by

¹⁴⁵ Richard Vaughan, *Charles the Bold: The Last Valois Duke of Burgundy* (London 1973), p. 73; Préaud, *Les astrologues*, pp. 43-44; Abel and Martens, "Le rôle de Jean de Vésale, médecin de la ville de Bruxelles, dans la propagande de Charles le Téméraire", in: *Cahiers bruxellois* 1 (1956), pp. 41-86.

¹⁴⁶ Vaughan (*Philip the Good*, pp. 373-374) quotes from this prognostication; Paris, B.N., ms. fr. 1278, fol. 253r-257r.

¹⁴⁷ Tamsyn Barton, *Ancient Astrology* (London/New York 1994), pp. 44-49, mentions some instances from Antiquity of astrologers inspiring a *coup d'état*. Similar involvements of astrologers in the course of practical politics will no doubt have occurred in the Middle Ages as well.

moralists like Pignon. What made astrology and divination almost universally accepted was its capacity to engage and recognise God's will in the world. The sense of God's proximity in omens, the possibility of computing the *Parousia*, the knowledge that the whole of history followed a divine plan that was written in the stars, made astrological inquiry into a royal and universal science. This astrological historicism could be seen as fuelling, if not legitimising divination in general. Although he opposes divination, Pignon does not direct his arrows at this larger astrological frame, probably because he did not recognise it as a form of historicism. He was thoroughly familiar with concepts such as the cosmic hierarchy and celestial influence, but never associated these with the objects of his critique. He prefers to criticise magic and divination through traditional literary examples, and therefore fails to see that many of the practices that had initially roused his indignation are, in fact, nothing but the logical consequence of the very principles to which he himself adheres.

Though it was a major source of inspiration for all divination, this astrological historicism did not exist in the early fifteenth century as a coherent philosophy of history. Pierre d'Ailly, a contemporary of Pignon and the most important astrologer to occupy himself with this historicism, displayed an 'extremely liberal sense of chronology and causality in his attempts to correlate stellar with earthly events'¹⁴⁸ and he had a conspicuous 'willingness to overlook most obstacles to an acceptance of astrology'.¹⁴⁹ Naturally, d'Ailly never denied the possibility of the science, but he stressed the difficulty of the knowledge instead. But in spite of his attempts in the *Concordantia astronomie cum hystorica narratione* (1414), a treatise contemporary to *Contre les devineurs*, the system was never consistently realised. Perhaps the interest lies not in achieving the intended goal, but in the querying attempt, that, like the astrological dossier discussed earlier, displays intellectual integrity as well as the strong conviction that the stars somehow signify the histories we deem important.

More significant, therefore, than Burgundy's interest in astrologers (so deeply deplored by Pignon) is the astrologers' interest in Burgundy, especially in John the Fearless. The presence of a list of Saturn-Jupiter conjunctions in the dossier examined is of great importance, since it clearly shows that for some time John was believed to play a major role in the greater scheme of things. It is not clear whether Pignon realised this. The reputation of the Burgundian duke would not diminish after his death, but his star would rise in a rather unexpected way. What the astrological dossier did not do, later prophetic texts would, namely allocate to John a place in a millennialist

¹⁴⁸ Smoller, *History, Prophecy and the Stars*, p. 67.

¹⁴⁹ Smoller, *History, Prophecy and the Stars*, p. 76.

prophecy. A fictive prophecy from around 1520 survives in which the emperor Charles V is hailed as the messianic descendent of John the Fearless.¹⁵⁰ Astrologers and pseudo-prophets gave the duke a reputation that Pignon, his humble undertaker, could not possibly give him.

But it should be added that the astrologers were apparently unable to furnish their lord with certain practical and necessary information that might have saved his life. Despite the admonitions of *Contre les devineurs*, John the Fearless availed himself of astrological services until his death, as the case of Jean de Roux clearly shows. Was Jean de Roux or any of his colleagues consulted as to whether September 10, 1419 was a propitious day for meeting the dauphin on the bridge near Montereau? John's temper was marked by indecisiveness during the days prior to the meeting, he was surrounded by counsellors, and one of them, Philippe Mouskes, a Jew, warned him not to go to the meeting since he would not return.¹⁵¹ This question cannot be answered conclusively since we do not know whether John the Fearless acted against or in accordance with the advice he possibly received from astrologers. We do know, however, that Jean de Roux was in the duke's vicinity as his personal physician a few days before the meeting.¹⁵² This knowledge can only serve to make us wonder whether he displayed similar skill in foretelling the fate of John the Fearless as in predicting the death of Henry V. No doubt the grand design of history is easier to reconstruct than its contingent particulars. On this at least historians and astrologers may agree.

¹⁵⁰ For an edition and a full discussion of this prophecy, see Appendix II.

¹⁵¹ Fresne de Beaucourt, "Le meurtre de Montereau", p. 208.

¹⁵² September 4, to be precise; see Fresne de Beaucourt, "Le meurtre de Montereau", p. 209, n. 4.

CHAPTER FOUR

A CRITIQUE OF SUPERSTITION

This is the excellent foppery of the world
(*King Lear* 1.2)

This chapter deals with some censors of superstition and the theoretical framework they developed to both oppose and expound the practices of magic and divination. An ambiguity very similar to the one discussed in the previous chapter regarding the sacred and secular view of history also inheres in the critique of these censors. On the one hand their aim was to criticise, to moralise, and to eradicate the evil of superstition whilst on the other hand they were involved in the intellectual elaboration and exposition of the very subject they so abhorred. For this reason they frequently found themselves explaining why magic was efficacious or why certain divinations came true. In short, they had to explain why superstition is a fallacy, even when there is truth in it.

Essentially critiques of superstition hinge on a friction between philosophy and theology, on a scientifically minded attempt to distinguish sense and nonsense and a religiously oriented attack on the presumed evil and wickedness of superstition. In a sense, critiques of superstition reflect in a nutshell the problematic relationship between faith and reason in the Middle Ages. Some critiques emphasise theological objections to magic and divination, that mainly boil down to the involvement of demons, whereas others lay greater stress on the scientific follies and inanities of these practices. The dominant frame of mind among the authors in this genre, however, does not display a friction, but rather a harmonisation of philosophy and theology, of mind and morals, predominantly in the wake of Thomas Aquinas's writings on superstition, demons, and angels. Hence it is that divination is morally reprehensible even though its success in prediction can be philosophically explained in terms of a scholastic demonology. Philosophy serves theology in making its revealed truths concerning the world intelligible.

The genre to which Pignon's treatise belongs is vast and it is impossible in the span of one chapter to do justice to it, more so since many of the treatises written against magic and divination (both in Latin and the vernacular) are still not available in modern editions. The following presentation will therefore be committed chiefly to providing a survey of those texts that were known and possibly appreciated in France and Burgundy in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century. Some other texts that bear out the popularity of this genre will be considered, but the main purpose of our discussion will

be a more detailed examination of the theoretical frameworks developed in these texts, since it will serve to elucidate and contextualise the contents of Pignon's treatise. Most treatises censuring superstition contain fixed items such as a survey or list of magical or divinatory practices, from which a few items, such as astrology, divination from dreams, auguries or omens, are selected for further elaboration. Treatises with strong theological and moralistic propensities contain sections on demons and not infrequently elaborate demonologies. Many also discuss philosophical issues. In view of the dominant scholastic and Neoplatonic way of thinking (a frame of mind very characteristic of Pignon) causality and hierarchy are recurring themes. Given the Christian concern for responsibility and divine retribution, free will and determinism are also indispensable. Roughly following the themes in Aquinas and Pignon, this chapter will therefore deal with the various kinds of magical arts, with demons, with dreams and with causality. But first we turn to the censors of magic and divination.

4.1 *Censure of Superstition*

Pignon's treatise against courtly magic and divination is not an isolated work. It is the Burgundian representative of a genre that was common in the literature of late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century France. The following survey gives an impression of the popularity of this genre that, very tellingly, flourished during the reigns of Charles V and Charles VI, the former a king who attracted astrologers, the latter a king who attracted magicians. We shall also briefly dwell on the nature of this censure, on how authors struggled to provide an intellectual rationale of their criticism and how they struggled to determine the limits of legitimacy. Finally we shall look at the uses of this censure. Though many treatises clearly seek to moralise or to instruct, adhortations to avoid sin have a tendency to develop into adhortations to extirpate error, and intellectual and theoretical demonologies tend to be used as justifications of inquisitorial practices. Some of the texts introduced here will provide material for analysis later on.

4.1.1 *Censure and Lay-Instruction in France around 1400*

One of the most important, though regrettably not one of the most influential censors of superstition was no doubt Nicole Oresme (c. 1320-1382). He wrote many scientific and mathematical works and is especially noted for the translations of Aristotle's *Ethics*, *Politics*, *Economics*, and the *De caelo* that he made for Charles V. He wrote a number of tracts against judicial astrol-

ogy.¹ The first was a brief treatise called *Contra judicarios astronomos et principes in talibus se occupantes* (c.1360). This text was translated and considerably expanded by Oresme in *Le livre de divinacions* (c. 1366) which in turn was translated into Latin (*De divinationibus*) by an anonymous translator in 1411, the same year that Pignon wrote *Contre les devineurs*. Oresme's most elaborate and penetrating criticism of astrology is in *Contra divinatores horoscopios*² (c. 1370). Finally, the *Quodlibeta*³ deserve mention, which contain a series of questions on various subjects, of which the *De causis mirabilium*⁴ is of specific interest for our analysis. Of these works the French *Livre de divinacions* bears the greatest resemblance to Pignon's treatise; it, too, aims at lay-instruction in the vernacular.

This aspect of lay-instruction was both appreciated and emulated by Oresme's contemporaries, for whereas his philosophical critique was confined to scholarly circles, some of the more 'literary' aspects of his *Livre de divinacions* found their way into the writings of others. An interesting instance of this is the *Demoustracions contre sortileges* by the famous poet Eustache Deschamps.⁵ The *Demoustracions* is a brief prose work which, as G. W. Coopland has shown, was largely transcribed (sometimes verbatim) from Oresme's *Livre*.⁶ Interestingly enough, nothing of Oresme's scepticism or his critique of astrology shows in the *Demoustracions*, and perhaps the selection gives a fair impression of what Deschamps believed would impress a courtly audience. Coopland identified other borrowings from Oresme's treatise, notably in the Latin *Somnium viridarii* and in Pierre d'Ailly's *De*

¹ For a general survey, see Albert D. Menut, "A Provisional Bibliography of Oresme's Writings", in: *Mediaeval Studies* 28 (1966), pp. 279-299; cf. Thorndike's chapters on Oresme, HMES III, pp. 398-471 and Stefano Caroti, *La Critica Contro l'Astrologia di Nicole Oresme e la sua Influenza nel Medioevo e nel Rinascimento* (Roma 1979).

² Nicole Oresme, *Questio contra divinatores horoscopios*, ed. Stefano Caroti, in: *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age* 43 (1976), pp. 201-310.

³ Stefano Caroti, "Nicole Oresme's Polemic against Astrology in his *Quodlibeta*", in: Patrick Curry, ed., *Astrology, Science and Society* (Woodbridge 1987), pp. 75-93.

⁴ Bert Hansen, *Nicole Oresme and the Marvels of Nature: A Study of his De Causis Mirabilium with Critical Edition, Translation and Commentary* (Toronto 1985), pp. 135-363.

⁵ Eustache Deschamps, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. G. Raynaud, vol. 7, pp. 192-199.

⁶ G. W. Coopland, "Eustache Deschamps and Nicholas Oresme: A Note on the *Demoustracions contre sortileges*", in: *Romania* 52 (1926), pp. 355-361. Deschamps copied parts of the prologue, chapter 1, chapter 8 and chapter 9 of the *Livre*. The *Demoustracions* can be divided into three parts. In conformity to most moralistic texts against divination it starts with a list of magical arts (directly copied from Oresme), followed by a list of examples of kings who came to ruin because they dabbled in astrology. The text ends with Biblical authorities denouncing magic and divination.

falsis prophetis (c. 1409),⁷ but the most interesting borrowing was by Philippe de Mézières in his vast allegory *Le Songe du Vieil Pelerin*.⁸

Philippe de Mézières (1327-1405), one time chancellor of Cyprus, wrote his *Songe* as an allegorical examination of the morals of the Christian world to see whether Western Christendom, and France in particular, might be reformed through the agency of Charles VI in such a way as to be worthy of recapturing the Holy Land. In the main section on superstition,⁹ 'la Vieille Supersticion', an old hag depicting judicial astrology, is opposed by the allegorical personification of the university of Paris, a young girl called Bonne Foy who at the court of queen Truth exposes the errors of superstition. Supersticion has only one chapter¹⁰ to state her case, which she does by rehearsing the pro-astrology arguments from chapter 5 of Oresme's *Livre*, which Oresme, in scholastic fashion, refuted in a later chapter. Obviously this is Philippe de Mézières's ironical way of showing that Supersticion has no voice of her own. Also Bonne Foy copies some of her arguments from Oresme¹¹ but the bulk of her reply (covering fifteen chapters) echoes other authorities such as Augustine or John of Salisbury. Philippe de Mézières's treatment of superstition is moralistic rather than philosophical since he deals with it in a context of idolatry and emphasises the need for instruction. He explains how, in youth, human nature is strongly inclined to idolatry and superstition. Apparently Philippe speaks from his own experience here,¹² but he also makes an oblique reference to the 'Blanc Faucon Pelerin au bec et piez dorez' and the 'Faucon gentil son frere a blanches heles', the elaborate allegorical designations of king Charles VI and his brother Louis d'Orléans.

⁷ Coopland, *Nicole Oresme and the Astrologers*, pp. 7-13; for d'Ailly's text see pp. 143-148.

⁸ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du Vieil Pelerin*, ed. G. W. Coopland, 2 vols. (Cambridge 1969); see study by Dora M. Bell, *Etude sur le Songe du Vieil Pèlerin de Philippe de Mézières* (Genève 1955).

⁹ Philippe de Mézières, *Songe* II.140-162.

¹⁰ Philippe de Mézières, *Songe* II.145.

¹¹ *Songe* II.150 is based partly on Oresme's *Livre*, chapter 12; *Songe* II.159 loosely follows *Livre*, chapter 8. Mézières praises Oresme as 'le tresvaillant et subtil et real philosophe des meilleurs qui fust depuis Aristote' (*Songe* II.159, vol. 1, p. 618). Coopland emphasised Mézières's borrowing from Oresme, but this was not as extensive as he suggested. He did not mark the irony of Supersticion's borrowings from chapter 5 of the *Livre*.

¹² Philippe de Mézières, *Songe* II.105, vol. 1, p. 518: 'Dont il avint (...) que l'escripvain de cestui Songe demoura un temps avec lesdiz Espaigneux, et participa avecques eulx comme jeune et fol en la dicte science, par telle maniere que le dit escripvain x ans ou xii apres qu'il se fu party desdiz Espaigneux a sa volente ne pouoit pas bien extirper de son cuer les dessus signes et l'effet d'iceulx contre Dieu'.

As the reader will recall, the abbé de Cérisy did not deny Louis's juvenile interest in magic, but excused it as youthful folly.¹³

Notable in Philippe de Mézières's treatment of superstition is the emphasis on instruction and reform and the role that the university of Paris plays in this. Pignon, who studied in Paris, pays emphatic tribute to his *alma mater*,¹⁴ but does not specify the role that it played in opposing magic and divination. There are two condemnations issued by the university that are relevant to Pignon's critique of superstition: (1) the famous condemnation of 1277 comprising 219 articles¹⁵; and (2) the condemnation of 1398 comprising 28 articles.¹⁶

The former is mainly known for its opposition to those aspects of Aristotelian philosophy that were irreconcilable with Church doctrine, but its main aim was to criticise the astrological doctrines and the fatalism of Aristotle's Arabic commentators and translators. In a number of articles determinism is rejected both in the natural, physical order¹⁷ and in the spiritual order. The condemnation asserts the freedom of the will¹⁸ and the intellect and denies astrological interrogations and the prognostication of human fate or fortune from signs.¹⁹ These are among the dominant themes in the condemnation of 1277 and we can find echoes in Pignon's choice of sections from the SCG (CLD II.4-6) that refute the influence of the heavens on the will and the intellect. On the whole the articles of 1277 are strictly philosophical; magic plays no role in them.²⁰

This is quite different in the condemnation of 1398 which almost exclusively deals with demonic magic. It starts with an enumeration of magical practices and props involving wooden circles or hoops on wooden

¹³ See the case of the apostate monk, discussed in chapter 2.4.1, pp. 60-61 above.

¹⁴ In CLD III.10, e.g., Pignon speaks of 'ma mere l'université'.

¹⁵ *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, vol. 1, pp. 543-555; Roland Hissette, *Enquête sur les 219 articles condamnés à Paris le 7 Mars 1277* (Louvain/Paris 1977). The 219 articles were re-arranged by Mandonnet; Hissette follows the re-arranged order. Cf. also Pierre Duhem, *Le Système du Monde* (Paris 1958), vol. 8, pp. 419-423; Mieczysław Markowski, "Der Mensch und der kosmische Determinismus in späten Mittelalter und in der Renaissance", in: *L'homme et son univers au Moyen Age*, vol. 2, pp. 709-718.

¹⁶ *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, vol. 4, pp. 32-36; cf. also Appendix I of the present study.

¹⁷ See, e.g., art. 102: *Quod nihil fit a casu, sed omnia de necessitate eveniunt* etc. (Numbers of the articles in this and the following notes refer to Hissette's edition.)

¹⁸ Art. 154, e.g., denounces *quod voluntas nostra subiacet potestati corporum caelestium*. Cf. also art. 156 and 160.

¹⁹ Art. 178: *Quod quibusdam signis sciuntur hominum intentiones et mutationes intentionum* etc. As Hissette points out, the 'signs' mentioned in this article are more than celestial signs; the word also refers to the other signs observed by diviners.

²⁰ Art. 63 mentions an *incantator* in passing.

poles (which recalls the iron circle used by Poinson and Briquet), magical flasks and swords, and mysterious, unknown words and names.²¹ One of the rituals described aims at confining a spirit in a consecrated flask. This spirit can consequently reveal to the magicians the whereabouts of hidden treasure. All those who practise this type of magic, the condemnation decrees, are guilty of superstition, idolatry and invocation of demons, the theological categories that are also at the heart of Aquinas's and Pignon's critique. A number of the articles from the condemnation are dealt with in Appendix I, below, and need not concern us here. It is evident that the condemnation of 1398 is close enough to Pignon's critique to be a potential model and source of inspiration. If Pignon knew both condemnations (which is likely) he would have regarded them as complementary. The philosophical opposition to stellar determinism and the theological opposition to demonic magic were to him two sides of the same coin.

The duties of instruction and reform that Philippe de Mézières associates with the university of Paris are eminently represented in the domineering figure of the *doctor christianissimus*, Jean Gerson (1363-1429), one of the most important theologians and preachers in early fifteenth-century Paris. His fierce and repeated attacks on Jean Petit's *Justification* earned him the animosity of the duke of Burgundy, but his opposition to magic and superstition were a source of inspiration to Pignon. Next to his sermons, Gerson wrote a number of works on magic and astrology. The earliest of these, *De erroribus circa artem magicam*²² dates from 1402, and incorporates at the end the text of the 1398-condemnation. The treatise addresses the licentiatees in medicine and censures the use that physicians (apparently all too frequently) make of magic. His *Contra superstitionem sculpturae leonis*²³ (1428) was written for the same purpose, namely to admonish the Montpellier doctors not to use magic (*i. e.* the sculpted image of a lion) to effect cures. He wrote polemical treatises against the observance of propitious days, but his most famous treatise on these subjects is the *Trilogium astrologiae theologizatae*²⁴ (1419), which he wrote for the dauphin (the later Charles VII) advising him not to rely too much on astrologers. Though he approves of astrological consultations under certain conditions, he stresses the uncertainty and the shortcomings of astrological knowledge and defends free will and contingency

²¹ *Chartularium*, vol. 4, p. 32: *nomina quorum signata sunt nobis ignota, scilicet Garsepin, Oroth, Carmesine, Visoc.*

²² Gerson, *Œuvres*, vol. 10, pp. 77-90. On Gerson see Thorndike, HME IV, pp. 114-131; Françoise Bonney, "Autour de Jean Gerson: Opinions de théologiens sur les superstitions et la sorcellerie au début du XVe siècle", in: *Le Moyen Age: Revue d'histoire et de philologie* 77 (1971), pp. 85-98.

²³ Gerson, *Œuvres*, vol. 10, pp. 131-134.

²⁴ Gerson, *Œuvres*, vol. 10, pp. 90-109.

in much the same way as Pignon. The *Trilogium* was written after *Contre les devineurs* and cannot have been one of its models. The works by Gerson that most likely impressed Pignon before 1411 were the *De erroribus* and the sermon *Pour la réforme du Royaume* (1405). In both Gerson criticises the magicians who flocked to the court of Charles VI with the pretence of curing the king.

Another work that may profitably be compared to Pignon's treatise, though it is slightly older and has not left discernible traces in *Contre les devineurs*, is John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*. This twelfth-century classic on the art of rulership was translated into French in 1372 by Denis Foulechat at the behest of Charles V.²⁵ For John of Salisbury a good ruler must also be a good man, versed in virtues and free from follies, but, to quote Pignon, it is not sufficient that he be a good person: he must also be surrounded by good servants and courtiers.²⁶ For John, but also for his fourteenth-century translator Foulechat,²⁷ instructing the court in wisdom and philosophy and eradicating dangerous errors (among which the unsavoury interest in magic and divination is of prime importance) is the main purpose of the book. This theme creates a direct link with *Contre les devineurs* and may lead us to infer that superstition was a more or less permanent courtly preoccupation, even though, sadly, John of Salisbury, like Pignon, is too much committed to his source texts (from Antiquity and the Patristic era) to provide an illuminating insight into the contemporary situation.²⁸

4.1.2 *The Limits of Lawfulness and Possibility*

The spread of the literature on divination and superstition in the fifteenth century can be easily gleaned from the surveys provided by Thorndike or Hansen.²⁹ As a minor addition to our survey in the previous section, Thorndike mentions Jacques le Grand (Jacobus Magnus, an Augustinian from Toulouse)³⁰ who was in Paris in 1405 and who dedicated a moral encyclopedia, the *Sopholegium*, to the confessor of Charles VI. This book appropriately contains a section in which the magical arts are denounced. Next to a few French and Italian censors of superstition, such as Petrus Mamoris of the university of Poitiers who wrote a *Flagellum maleficorum* (1460s) or

²⁵ Denis Foulechat, *Le Policratique de Jean de Salisbury (1372) Livres I-III*, ed. Charles Brucker (Genève 1994).

²⁶ See CLD, first prologue.

²⁷ Foulechat, *Policratique*, p. 86.

²⁸ John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, transl. Pike, pp. v-vi.

²⁹ See, e.g., Thorndike, HMES III, pp. 511-517; HMES IV, pp. 274-307; Hansen, *Quellen*, *passim*.

³⁰ Thorndike, HMES IV, pp. 278-279.

William de Bechis or Becchius of Florence who in his *De potestate spirituum* criticised superstitions in France, it is mainly the authors from Germany and the Low Countries who attract Thorndike's attention. He mentions, for instance, Nikolaus of Dinkelsbühl (†1433), Dionysius the Carthusian (1402-1471), who wrote a *Contra vitia superstitionum*, Thomas Ebendorfer of Haselbach (1387-1464), Henry of Gorcum (Gorichem) (†1460), who wrote his *Tractatus de superstitionis quibusdam casibus* (ca. 1425)³¹ at the university of Cologne, and many others. Though this literature follows the beaten track of Biblical, Patristic and scholastic condemnations, it also, more interestingly, struggles to define the limits of legitimacy and possibility. What is magic capable of achieving and where does it cease to be lawful?

One of the earliest authors to concentrate on this problem of the possibility and lawfulness of magic and divination, and who is also, by the way, an acknowledged source of Pignon, is William of Auvergne (c. 1180-1249).³² William's great merit was to bequeath to all later theorists a fundamental distinction that is not always acknowledged as such, but that plays a part at the background of most discussions and puts the problem of lawfulness and unlawfulness into focus. The aim of magic, William believes, is to work marvels or *mirabilia*. This aim can be pursued in two ways; either by natural magic or by demonic magic.

Natural magic makes use of the hidden or occult virtues of nature and its practitioners are called *magi* (which William derives from *magna agentes*). The occult virtues become apparent in the mysterious capacity of the magnet to attract iron, or in the hidden powers of spontaneous generation. Also man has inexplicable qualities such as the *sensus naturae*, which may best be rendered as 'instinct' or 'intuition' but which also means 'natural divination'.³³ There are many plants and stones with occult virtues, but such materials, William points out, are quite rare in Europe, whereas they abound in distant and exotic places like India.

Demonic magic makes use of the powers of demons and its practitioners are called *malefici*. In idolatrous rituals demons are worshipped and persuaded to perform certain marvels. The power of demons is essentially limited to three areas: (1) divination; (2) the transportation of objects from one place to another, i.e. local motion (about which we will say more later on); and (3) the production of deceitful images in the minds of the beholders. William does not believe in the reality of marvelous apparitions (which he explains as demonic illusions in the mind) and he makes it clear that the craft of

³¹ Hansen, *Quellen*, pp. 87-88.

³² Thorndike, HME II, pp. 338-371. Pignon refers to him as 'maistre Guillaume de Paris' in CLD III.4.

³³ Thorndike, HME II, pp. 348-349.

sorcerers is often exaggerated. On the whole William is a sceptic concerning many magical practices (such as those involving magical characters, figures or wax images) and many of these 'marvels' he tends to regard as mere tricks or sleight of hand. He speaks of *ludificationes*, 'mockeries' of men and demons, or *tractationes* and *traiectationes*, i.e. tricks accomplished by the agility of the hands.³⁴

The upshot of William's theoretical exposition is that the occult virtues of nature are more truly marvelous than the tricks of demons. Demons have certain superhuman capacities, but they cannot act contrary to the laws of nature and hence cannot perform miracles (this only God can do). The marvels that demons perform should be appreciated for what they really are, namely marvels of nature resulting from occult virtues. Demons do nothing but deceitfully and cunningly abuse these powers of nature to incite man to idolatrous worship and illicit pacts. The use of demons in magic is unlawful, but next to unlawful also unnecessary. True knowledge of occult virtues and the practice of natural magic can provide one in a perfectly legitimate way with all the marvels one desires. Demons can add precious little to this: in fact, there are some hidden virtues in natural objects that are more powerful than demons. Thus a peony suspended from the neck, or the heart of a certain fish placed on the coals have the power to drive out demons.³⁵ Thorndike points out that William is not always consistent in his demonological ideas, but the limits he imposed on demonic potency and his appreciation of natural magic as a branch of natural philosophy would become standard ingredients of subsequent discussions even though his views on the legitimacy and possibility of magic were open to reconsideration.

One of the consequences of the type of reasoning that William employs, is that his views on natural and demonic magic instead of functioning as a deterrent can also stimulate philosophical interest in demons and spirits. If demons have superhuman capacities in knowing and operating the hidden virtues of nature, then perhaps they can be used or coerced to perform their skills. Naturally demons are deceitful and evil, but the prevailing *privatio boni*-theology, that defined evil as the absence of good, in a way redeemed the natural endowments of fallen angels; what good remains in demons cannot possibly be evil. This line of thought, that was adopted by certain (not infrequently clerical) *incantatores*, however, was not always acceptable to official authorities.

A case in point is the Spanish Dominican Raymundus de Tarrega (†1371) whose book *De invocatione daemonum* has not come down to us (no doubt through an act of censorship). The work is only known through the condem-

³⁴ Thorndike, HMES II, p. 345.

³⁵ Thorndike, HMES II, p. 360. The example of the fish recalls Tobit 8:1-3.

nation of Nicholas Eymeric, OP (1320-1399), the inquisitor general of Aragon, in his *Directorium Inquisitionis*.³⁶ From Eymeric's condemning remarks one may gather that Tarrega had asserted the legitimacy and meritoriousness of invoking and propitiating demons.³⁷ Eymeric's attitude is obviously hostile and it may be doubted whether Tarrega expressed himself in such heterodox phrases, but it clearly shows that even in Dominican circles theurgic practices were not universally frowned upon.

In brief, the limits of possibility in works of magic are marked by the laws of nature. Neither man nor demon can overstep these limits. Only God can perform miracles that go beyond the overt and occult potentialities of creation. Though magic may be said to produce marvels, these marvels have a rationale that can be examined. What, then, are the limits of lawfulness in magic? If all possible *mirabilia* are natural *mirabilia*, and if all nature is good, how can a magician err? In scholastic fashion the medieval answer is twofold: either in respect of means or in respect of ends. If a magician pursues a wrong end (a crime, a vice), he errs; if he uses the wrong means, he likewise errs. When speaking of sinful means medieval censors always refer to demons.

Aquinas deals with this problem of lawfulness in an article on the Notory Art.³⁸ In defence of its lawfulness he forwards some arguments that may reflect speculations that were current among magicians and clerical sorcerers like Tarrega. Firstly, the means and ends of the Notory Art are quite sane: it aims at knowledge and to that end uses fasts, prayers, figures (*inspectio figurarum*) and formulas (*prolatione ignotorum verborum*). Secondly, using demons for divining the future is wrong, because they cannot foreknow the future. Yet from this it does not follow that it is unlawful to use those qualities of demons that are natural to them, such as knowledge. Intellectually they are more perfect than human beings and hence better capable of grasping truth. Aquinas refutes these arguments by pointing out, firstly, that the means that the *ars notoria* uses are not the causes of knowledge, and hence cannot really be means. If knowledge results from them, it must be through divine inspiration or through demonic information. This automatically brings Aquinas to the second point; demons may know truth, but it is not their task to enlighten man. All dealings with demons are wrong *by definition*. All explicit demonic magic is therefore unlawful, but demons may also be involved in an implicit, not clearly acknowledged way. If the *ars notoria* with

³⁶ Thorndike, HMES III, pp. 511-517; Hansen, *Quellen*, pp. 66-67. Next to this inquisitor's manual Eymeric also wrote two treatises called *Contra astrologos imperitos atque necromanticos* and *Tractatus contra daemonum invocatores*.

³⁷ Hansen, *Quellen*, p. 67

³⁸ ST 2a2ae.96.1 (esp. point 1 and 3); cf. also Pignon's version in CLD II.3.1.

its prayers, figures and formulas cannot possibly produce real knowledge, Aquinas argues, these figures and prayers must function as signs, which creates the suspicion that a pact with the devil is involved.

The same problem is also the subject of a quodlibetal question drawn up by one of Pignon's contemporaries, John of Frankfurt (†1440), a theologian who had studied in Paris and who proposed his *Quaestio utrum potestas coercendi demones fieri possit per caracteres figuras atque verborum prolationes* in Heidelberg in 1412.³⁹ He emphasises the orthodox view of the angelic nature of demons and their natural virtues that despite their corruption are still present.⁴⁰ Dealings with demons are sinful and dangerous, mainly because demons are extremely deceitful. The main point of the question is that man has no way of getting at the qualities of the fallen angels. God and His angels can rule the demons, but man cannot. The means that he frequently uses, namely characters, figures or strange words, have no power to coerce a demon's spiritual nature.⁴¹ Instead demons make people believe that they can be compelled, only to deceive them.⁴² The limitations of the *ars magica* (i.e. the impossibility to command and coerce demons) help to mark the limits of lawfulness. Formally all magic is wrong the moment demons are involved, but this involvement is very hard to ascertain since demons on the whole do not submit to empirical scrutiny and magicians need not own up to the demonic pact. The solution of Aquinas and many other authors, such as John of Frankfurt, consists in examining the practices of magic in the light of the theory of causality. The intended results of magic (a cure, knowledge, information about the future) must be caused by something. If the means of magic (such as the signs and formulas in the *ars notoria*) have no way of producing such effects, they cannot be looked upon as causes, and most likely should be regarded as signs that call on the assistance of superhuman powers that in the eyes of the censors are demons. A magician might best be compared to a secret agent sending a coded message. If the code is unknown to the authorities, the agent must be working for the other side.

There are two implications in this way of reasoning that we should be aware of. (1) The reality of natural and demonic magic is implicitly affirmed. The existence of occult virtues is not questioned and certainly someone like

³⁹ Thorndike, HMES IV, p. 284; Hansen, *Quellen*, pp. 71-82, published the text of the *Quaestio*.

⁴⁰ John points out that *demon est optimus medicus valde cognoscens rerum naturas, scilicet herbarum, lapidum et huiusmodi, quas deo permittente celeriter possunt applicare et morbos curare et egritudines mittere*. See Hansen, *Quellen*, pp. 72-73.

⁴¹ Hansen, *Quellen*, p. 78.

⁴² Hansen, *Quellen*, p. 79: *figant se compelli et hominibus subdi, ut per hoc familiaritatem cum homine contrahant et finaliter eum fallant*.

John of Frankfurt is convinced of the intellectual superiority of demons. (2) The application of the notions of cause and effect on magical practices as a critical tool for evaluation clearly shows that a natural philosophical or even a mechanistic view of reality is considered more reliable than a magical. There is a friction between these two presuppositions that has far-reaching consequences. Eventually this critique in terms of cause and effect would backfire on the very notions of natural and demonic magic.

In time the notion of occult virtue on which the whole of natural magic depends would become untenable. Precisely because occult virtues are beyond human perception, there is no way of verifying how they work. How can Aquinas and John of Frankfurt be sure there are no occult virtues in the mutterings of magicians practising the *ars notoria*? How can occult virtues be identified as causes if not through close examination and research that inevitably, in the end, will make these virtues less and less occult? Already in the fourteenth century Oresme tried to give natural explanations for *mirabilia* without having recourse to either occult virtues or demons.⁴³

With demons the situation is similar though the story is somewhat different. Like occult virtues demons are beyond perception. If demons are to be identified as causes of certain events, these events must be examined and so far such scrutiny has never yielded the necessity of postulating the existence of demons. Demons, however, were believed to be intellectual creatures of great cunning and deceitfulness who could, consequently, decline to submit themselves to inquisitive eyes. If a mind is suspicious enough, it can always assume that demons are at work in the many mysterious events in this world. The apparent absence of demons is then all the more proof of their presence. In the medieval censure of superstition the fate of demons has wavered between redundancy and a position of exaggerated power, and for a long time the latter prevailed. We return to the fate of demon-lore in a later section.

4.1.3 *From Pastoral to Inquisitorial Censure*

Having examined the nature of the censure of superstition, we must now conclude this section by saying something about those at whom this censure was aimed. Who were the people who were thought to be in need of correction and what were the intended audiences of these texts? Since superstition is well-nigh ubiquitous, a description of the audiences of the *superstitio*-literature would involve sketching a profile of society as a whole. At the risk of overgeneralising we shall attempt a very terse survey in the social idiom of the time.

⁴³ See his *De causis mirabilium* and section 4.3.2 below.

In the first place there are the people. Common people were frequently censured for their superstitious propensities and they were probably admonished in sermons, but it is very unlikely that treatises were addressed to them. In the second place there is the court and the nobility. As we saw in chapter two, above, there was a real interest in magic among certain members of the nobility. The sermons of Gerson and a treatise such as CLD clearly address these court circles with their admonishments, but as is clear from a treatise such as the *Livre de divinacions* by Oresme or the *Songe* by Philippe de Mézières, it is not primarily or exclusively demonic magic that captures the court; judicial astrology plays an equally (if not more) important part. In the third place there is the clergy. It may safely be concluded that clerical interest in demonic magic flourished around 1400, sufficiently so to constitute a serious problem for orthodox minds. It is in the theological treatises instructing and admonishing the clergy that demonology (and not astrology) is most prominent. A fourth category can be added to this list, namely the heretics. They were never really envisaged as an audience for the *superstitio*-literature, but as a social group they became more and more a target of censure. Drawn into the censure of superstition and magic, heretics were gradually transformed into sorcerers and witches and conversely magic in time was not merely a theme for correction and instruction, but a motive for large-scale persecution. In time the *tractatus* and *quaestiones* became *flagella* and *mallei*.

Inquisitorial tendencies are always present in the theological literature that censures superstition. Pignon at one point makes clear that sorcerers are not 'digne de vivre'. Yet CLD is not an inquisitorial text. It is aimed at courtiers rather than clergymen or heretics. These latter two categories are not absent, but their role is decidedly less. As a supplement to our survey of *superstitio*-literature, we briefly introduce two fifteenth-century theological treatises censuring clerical magic and heresy respectively. One is by Nikolaus Jauer from Heidelberg, the other by Jehan Tainture from Cologne; the former is an exponent of the pastoral-theological, the latter of the inquisitorial genre.

Nikolaus Jauer⁴⁴ studied at the university of Prague and went to the university of Heidelberg in 1402 where he taught theology until his death in 1435. The *Tractatus de superstitionibus*⁴⁵ that he wrote around 1405 as a pastoral and theological handbook, was perhaps one of the most comprehen-

⁴⁴ On Nikolaus Jauer or Nikolaus Magni de Jawor see: Adolph Franz, *Der Magister Nikolaus Magni de Jawor: ein Beitrag zur Literatur- und Gelehrten-geschichte des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts* (Freiburg 1898), esp. pp. 151-196; Hansen, *Quellen*, pp. 67-71 (with excerpts from the *Tractatus*); Thorndike, HMES IV, pp. 279-283; Frank Fürbeth, *Johannes Hartlieb: Untersuchungen zu Leben und Werk* (Tübingen 1992), pp. 100-108.

⁴⁵ I have consulted München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 5338, fol. 323r - 352v (quoted from by Franz and Fürbeth). I thank dr. Fürbeth for drawing my attention to Jauer and for graciously providing me with xeroxes of the *Tractatus* and the book by Adolph Franz.

sive and widely disseminated works on *superstitio* in the fifteenth century. More than 120 surviving manuscripts have been identified, nearly all of them in German libraries. In all likelihood the treatise was intended for pastoral-catechetical use, as a textbook of theology, but not for lay-instruction.⁴⁶

The *Tractatus* is very much preoccupied with the limits of possibility and legitimacy. The two main questions that determine the framework of the entire treatise have to do with the power of the devil and the use that man can make of him: *utrum dyabolus illudendo possit immittere in animam hominis bona uel mala, utrum homo possit vi ministerio eius*.⁴⁷ The answers to these questions are fairly traditional and self-evident. The devil cannot act on the intellect and the only way he has of moving us is by tampering with our sense-perception and thus confronting us with illusory images. Naturally all dealings with the devil are sinful and illicit. Jauer's choice of questions is very interesting. His first question is not focused on the power of the devil in general, but is concerned with a very specific aspect of demonic power, namely the presumed capacity to implant ideas in the mind. The second question is seen entirely in the light of the first. It is not the use that man wants to make of the devil's capacity to perform *mirabilia* that is questioned (though naturally this would also be unlawful), but the devil's capacity to bestow knowledge. The focus of the treatise is therefore primarily demonic illumination.

The second question is divided and further subdivided into a number of articles. The first deals with the devil's capacity to know the future and to unravel secrets; the second is concerned with the unlawfulness of dealing with the devil; and the third gives a comprehensive survey of magic and superstition. It is basically in these articles that the whole spectrum of magic and demon-lore finds expression. As Fürbeth⁴⁸ has shown, Jauer relies heavily on Aquinas's questions on superstition from the *Summa theologiae*. In turn, Jauer's *Tractatus* served as a source for another fifteenth-century book on magic and superstition, the *Buch aller verbotenen Kunst* by the Munich physician and writer Johannes Hartlieb (c. 1410-1468).⁴⁹ This is a clear indication that Pignon's rendering of the *superstitio*-questions from the ST was by no means an unprecedented choice. The reception of Aquinas's questions constitutes a separate tradition in the wider field of the *superstitio*-literature. Whether Pignon was aware of Jauer's treatise cannot be ascertained for it has left no traces in his work.

⁴⁶ Fürbeth, *Johannes Hartlieb*, pp. 106-108.

⁴⁷ München, clm 5338, fol. 323r; quoted in Fürbeth, *Johannes Hartlieb*, p. 102.

⁴⁸ Fürbeth, *Johannes Hartlieb*, p. 105.

⁴⁹ Fürbeth, *Johannes Hartlieb*, chapter 3.

Although Jauer's *Tractatus* is quite comprehensive, its initial and somewhat more specific focus can be quite revealing as to the motivation for the composition of the treatise. The fact that demonic illumination is made into a main theme, would suggest that Jauer was opposing specific doctrines that were speculating on the possibilities of using demonic knowledge. As we saw in the previous section these doctrines are similar to those of the Notory Art and may have been a particular clerical vice. There is even some external evidence to suggest that clerical magic and demonic illumination were current in Heidelberg in the first decade of the fifteenth century.

Franz⁵⁰ suggests that Jauer in writing his treatise may have been inspired by the condemnation on February 11, 1405, at Heidelberg of Werner von Freiburg, an Augustinian lector in theology, who was accused of having taught superstitious beliefs. The most offensive of these were ritual blessings or benedictions such as the use of the names of the three Magi in formulas or verses as a cure for wounds and diseases, or the use of some lines and phrases from the opening passage of St. John's Gospel as a means of driving out the devil. This type of ecclesiastical magic was very common and both examples also occur in CLD. Werner, however, also had other sins to repent; such as the tenet that God had not created the world directly but by means of angels or that Adam had washed away original sin by immersing himself in the river Jordan. In relation to this last point Franz⁵¹ quotes Werner as confessing to having preached that Adam stood in the river Jordan up to his neck for a hundred years as a penitence for the death of Abel. This tenet seems to be quite different from the accusation which speaks of the cleansing of original sin; but both accounts may be complementary. The reader will recall that the French magician Arnaud Guillaume also provided a story of Adam mourning the death of his son for a hundred years after which he received a cure for original sin.⁵² In the case of Arnaud it was the mysterious book *Smagorad*, in the case of Werner it is submersion in the river Jordan. The story of Adam and his cure for original sin may be a (Hermetic) reference to illumination.

Nikolaus Jauer's concern over clerical and ecclesiastical magic seems to be quite different from the concern over heresy that motivated our next author, Taincture. Yet both developed a very similar scholastic demonology. Different social and intellectual phenomena were dealt with in terms of one and the same theoretical frame. No matter how great the differences between the thoughts of superstitious clerks and the beliefs of religious dissenters, they were all judged to be guilty of the same crime: idolatry or making a pact with

⁵⁰ Franz, *Nikolaus Magni de Jawor*, pp. 151-154.

⁵¹ Franz, *Nikolaus Magni de Jawor*, p. 152, n. 1.

⁵² See chapter 2.4.3 above, esp. pp. 70-72.

the devil. Our next example will demonstrate the social implications of this reductive way of reasoning. Taincture's work takes us back to Burgundy.

Works on *superstitio* do not abound in the Burgundian library; an important exception is the *Traictié contre la Vauderie* from the library of Philip the Good.⁵³ The book was written by the theologian Jehan Taincture who explains in the prologue that he first wrote his treatise in Latin and afterwards in French. Jehan Taincture or Johannis Tinctoris (c. 1400-1469) was born in Tournai and studied in Cologne where he became a professor of theology. He wrote his *Sermo* (or *Tractatus*) *de secta Vaudensium*⁵⁴ in 1460 as a fierce attack on the Waldensian heresy. The essential core of the treatise, however, has nothing to do with the beliefs of these people,⁵⁵ but is for the greater part made up of scholastic demonology.

The anti-Waldensian literature seems to have been a flourishing genre⁵⁶ providing authors with the opportunity of developing their demonologies, which frequently follow the scholastic patterns marked out by Aquinas. The Waldensian heresy was also one of the themes of a lengthy poem, the *Champion des Dames*, that the poet Martin Le Franc dedicated to Philip the Good around 1442.⁵⁷ Also in this poem one finds the stereotype of the witch who is under the spells and delusions of the devil. The publication and dissemination of Taincture's treatise⁵⁸ concurred with a serious persecution of presumed Waldensians in Arras organised by the inquisitor Pierre le Broussart. On the testimony of weak-minded women who were severely

⁵³ Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, ms. 11209. See: Delaissé, L. M. J., et. al., *De gouden eeuw der Vlaamse miniatuur: Het mecenaat van Filips de Goede 1445-1475* (Brussel/Amsterdam 1959), no. 113, p. 114.; Georges Dogaer and Marguerite Debae, *De Librije van Filips de Goede* (Brussel 1967), no. 135, p. 91; Doutrepont, *La littérature française*, pp. 306-307.

⁵⁴ Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, ms. 733-741, fol. 56-69v; Kassel, Ständischen Landesbibliothek, ms. theol. 509, fol. 4-22. The book was printed in 1477 in Bruges. Extracts in Hansen, *Quellen*, pp. 183-188; Paul Fredericq, *Corpus documentorum inquisitionis haereticæ pravitatis Neerlandicae* (Gent/s-Gravenhage 1889), vol. 1, pp. 357-360; and Félix Bourquelot, "Les Vaudois du quinzième siècle", in: *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* (1846), pp. 105-107.

⁵⁵ On Waldensians, see Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons*, pp. 32-42; Bourquelot, "Les Vaudois", pp. 81-109. The noun 'vauderie' deriving from 'Vaudois' became synonymous with sorcery and witchcraft.

⁵⁶ Cf. Hansen, *Quellen*, no. 31, pp. 149-183: *Recollectio* on the Waldensian persecution in Arras; *Quellen*, no. 34, pp. 188-195: 'La Vauderie de Lyonois'. Cf. also the inquisitor Nicolaus Jaquerius who in his *De calcatione daemonum* (1452) and his *Flagellum haereticorum fascinariorum* (1458, i.e. the year prior to the persecutions in Arras; the *fascinari* are the Waldensians) follows scholastic demonology (*Quellen*, no. 29, pp. 133-145; see also Fredericq, *Corpus documentorum*, vol. 1, p. 411).

⁵⁷ Hansen, *Quellen*, no. 20, pp. 99-104; Doutrepont, *La littérature française*, pp. 302-306.

⁵⁸ According to the chronicler Du Clercq (vol. 3, pp. 31-32) Taincture composed a 'traictié tres belle, lequel il publia et envoya en plusieurs lieux' (quoted in Fredericq, *Corpus documentorum*, vol. 1, p. 361).

tortured, many people, including prominent citizens, were arrested and condemned. A contemporary chronicler like Du Clercq pointed out that the confessions were useless since they were procured under torture. Soon the local economy of Arras began to collapse under the inquisitor's zeal and in 1461 duke Philip the Good put an end to the persecution. Possibly he was not impressed by Le Franc's and Tainture's depictions of the heresy and their admonishments to persecution. Thirty years later in 1491 the Parlement of Paris declared that the inquisition had gravely erred.⁵⁹ Tainture's treatise must be seen as providing an ideology for such persecutions, although this need not blind us to his presentation of philosophical arguments. The *Traité contre la Vauderie* will provide us with material for comparison with Pignon's *Contre les devineurs* in a following section.

In conclusion it may be stated that the *superstitio*-literature was flourishing, even though the impact of its moral adhortations was hardly noticeable since magic and divination remained in demand, and were widely practised. This made the censure of *superstitio* something of an academic exercise (especially in the case of the censure of judicial astrology), even though the number of texts, especially those intended for lay-instruction, would grow in the fifteenth century. Despite the fact that many treatises were exercises in scholastic demonology, social repercussions did not remain absent for long. Though it is probably incorrect to suggest that a treatise such as Tainture's caused the Waldensian persecution of 1460 (even if the treatise was written earlier), it would be likewise wrong to deny or underestimate its role in the matter. It functioned as a legitimisation and helped to make persecutions acceptable and understandable. An exaggerated view of demonic power was likely to have social implications of this kind. It is a danger implicit in the work of all authors who took the existence of demons for granted. The intellectual forces that stimulated and checked the demonic powers and Pignon's position in this matter will be the theme of a later section.⁶⁰

Having surveyed the texts that the French-Burgundian court under Charles VI had at its disposal to mend its magical ways, we now turn to the themes and arguments of these works.

4.2 *Classifying Superstition: Magic or Astrology*

The success of a critique relies on a number of conditions, one of which must be the accuracy with which the field one wants to cover is explored and mapped out. Medieval censors of superstition were great mappers and

⁵⁹ Bourquelot, "Les Vaudois", pp. 94-98; Robbins, *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft*, pp. 29-32; Cartellieri, "Die Vauderie von Arras", in: *Am Hofe der Herzöge von Burgund*, pp. 196-221.

⁶⁰ See section 4.3 below.

compilers, but they conducted their empiric research in the library rather than in the field, so that, consequently, their classifications of magic and divination are highly 'bookish' and should not be mistaken for medieval realities. Though they tend to be rather traditional and do not always have a clear bearing on actual magic, these classifications are nevertheless quite revealing with regard to the different ways in which various authors conceived of magic and divination. In what follows, we limit our discussion to four authors that are relevant to CLD, namely Isidore of Seville, John of Salisbury, Thomas Aquinas and Nicole Oresme. The first and most important classification is the list of the *artes magicae* that Isidore of Seville included in his *Etymologies*. The list was copied by many different authors and has received different contextualisations, some authors preferring a moralistic approach and others assuming a more rationalistic attitude. Aquinas and Oresme (both are relevant for Pignon) exemplify these extremes, and John of Salisbury was selected because he occupies a middle position, being something of a rationalist with a moral mission, and because his project (criticising courtly interest in magic) closely resembles Pignon's. It is pointless to deal with Pignon in this section; his classification of the magical arts was copied from Aquinas and can be found in CLD I.2-4.

Isidore of Seville, the arch-encyclopedist of the Latin West, deals with magic in book VIII of his *Etymologiae*⁶¹ which is devoted to religion and religious sects. This suggests he considers magic as a deviant form of religion. His condemnation and his description of magic follows canon law and the condemnations of Church councils.⁶² Nevertheless Isidore's perception of magic is strongly influenced by his interest in astrology. Though condemning judicial astrology, certain astrological notions and beliefs survive in his work, largely because he, naturally, accepted the standard astronomical knowledge.⁶³ The *aruspices*, e.g., who examined the entrails of sacrificial animals and who observed lightning, are designated by Isidore as observers of propitious days and hours (*horarum inspectores*), which is essentially an astrological occupation.⁶⁴ Isidore conceives of the *artes magicae* as prognosticative activities, disregarding the ceremonial aspects they may have had in pre-Christian times. He stresses their unlawfulness, not their impossi-

⁶¹ *Etymologiae* VIII.9 (PL 82, 310-314).

⁶² Isidore was active in both; e.g., the fourth council of Toledo in 633 over which he presided. See Jacques Fontaine, "Isidore de Séville et l'astrologie", in: *Revue des Etudes Latines* (1954), pp. 280-281.

⁶³ *Etymologiae* III.27 (PL 82, 170 ff.). See Fontaine, "Isidore de Séville et l'astrologie", pp. 271-300. Fontaine mentions 'semantic' astrology (reading stars as signs) and the belief that stars are animated.

⁶⁴ Fontaine, "Isidore de Séville et l'astrologie", pp. 280-281; RAC XIII, 'Haruspex', cols. 651-662.

bility or inefficacy. His condemnation is therefore normative, and not rationalistic; because many of the presuppositions of divination, such as the correspondence of macro- and microcosm, the influence of the stars and so on, were part of the general world view. The ironical consequence of this is that Isidore's critique is one of the vehicles that transmitted astrological knowledge to the Middle Ages. This condemnation of magic as a moral and religious perversion coupled with a persistent interest in an 'astrological' world view was to remain the dominant attitude in the Middle Ages. Isidore's list contains the following items:

<i>magi</i>	(or <i>malefici</i> , sorcerers in general);
<i>necromantii</i>	(who practise divination through the dead ⁶⁵);
<i>hydromantii</i>	(Isidore appends Varro's list of divination through the four elements);
<i>geomantia</i>	(by means of earth);
<i>hydromantia</i>	(by means of water);
<i>aeromantia</i>	(by means of air);
<i>pyromantia</i>	(by means of fire);
<i>divini</i>	(diviners, Isidore explains, who are <i>Deo pleni</i>);
<i>incantatores</i>	(use words and incantations);
<i>arioli</i>	(worship idols on their altars);
<i>aruspices</i>	(observe propitious days and examine the entrails of animals);
<i>augures</i>	(interpret the cries of birds; Isidore derives <i>auguria</i> from <i>avium garria</i>);
<i>auspices</i>	(observe the flight of birds; Isidore derives <i>auspicia</i> from <i>avium aspicia</i>);
<i>Pythones</i>	(practise Pythonic divination, deriving from the Pythic Apollo)
<i>astrologi</i> ;	
<i>genethliaci</i>	(draw up nativity horoscopes, like the <i>mathematici</i> and the <i>horoscopi</i>);
<i>mathematici</i> ;	
<i>horoscopi</i> ;	
<i>sortilegi</i>	(make use of the <i>sortes sanctorum</i> ⁶⁶);

⁶⁵ On the Biblical context of consulting the soothsaying spirits of dead ancestors, see DDD, 'wizard', cols. 1705-1707.

⁶⁶ Probably not a Bible-oracle but a lot-oracle; see Harmening, *Superstitio*, pp. 197-204. *Sortilegium* would become synonymous with sorcery (see chapter 1.2, p. 14 above and CLD I.6, note 78 below). Cf. G. R. Owst, "Sortilegium in English Homiletic Literature of the Fourteenth Century", in: *Studies presented Sir Hilary Jenkinson*, ed J. Conway Davies (London

salisatores (practise fortune-telling from physical movements);
praestigium (illusion: Isidore derives the word from *praestringere oculos*).

This list⁶⁷ became extremely influential and many subsequent authors would, almost as a traditional ritual, incorporate a list in their work, even if such a list was not particularly functional, as in John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*.

John of Salisbury's discussion of magic is part of a discussion of the frivolities and idle pastimes of courtiers: after dealing with hunting and gambling, John deals with actors and jugglers; and magicians and sorcerers are first mentioned in the company of wrestlers, mimics, jugglers (*praestigiatores*), and a whole army of jesters.⁶⁸ John is aware of Patristic condemnations of magic and *praestigium* on the basis of demonic involvement, but emphasises that *praestigium* is the art of blinding and deceiving the eyes, thus closely associating the art of magic with the art of trickery.⁶⁹

Following time-honoured tradition, John of Salisbury gives his catalogue of the various types of magic.⁷⁰ He starts with the four basic types that Isidore derived from Varro: *piromantia*; *aeromantia*; *ydromantia*; *geomantia*. To these four he adds: *incantatores*; *arioli*; *aruspices*; *nigromantia*; *Phicii* (i.e. Isidore's *Pythones*); *vultivoli*⁷¹ (who manipulate a person's feelings by means of wax or clay images); *imaginarii* (idolaters, who consult presiding spirits by means of images); *conectores*⁷² (dream-interpreters); *chiromantici*⁷³ (who inspect a person's hands); *specularios*⁷⁴ (who gaze into smooth and shining surfaces such as blades, cups and mirrors); *mathematici*; *genel-*

1957), pp. 272-303. Owst deals with the classifications of the *artes magicae* in the context of sermons.

⁶⁷ A fair number of the words listed by Isidore appear in the Vulgate: *magi* Lev. 19:31; 20:6; I Sam. 28:9; II Par. 33:6; Dan. 1:20; 2:2,10,27 etc.; *malefici* Deut. 18:10; II Par. 33:6; Ier. 27:9; Dan. 2:2; *divini* Lev. 20:27; Num. 22:7; Deut. 18:11,14; I Sam. 6:2 etc.; *incantatores* Deut. 18:11; II Par. 33:6; Isa. 8:19; Dan. 5:11; *arioli* Lev. 19:31; 20:6; Deut. 18:10; I Sam. 28:9 etc.; *aruspices* IV Reg. 21:6; Dan. 2:27; 5:7,11; *augures* Deut. 18:10,14; IV Reg. 17:17; 21:6; II Par. 33:6; Ier. 27:9; cf. RAC I, 'Augurium', cols. 975-981; *pythones* Lev. 20:27; Deut. 18:11; I Sam. 28:7; IV Reg. 21:6; 23:24 etc. Cf also DDD, 'python', cols. 1263-1266.

⁶⁸ *Policraticus* I.8.

⁶⁹ *Policraticus* I.9.

⁷⁰ *Policraticus* I.11-12.

⁷¹ Cf. CLD II.3.2(r2), and the confession of Jehan de Bar in Appendix I, item 8, item 14 and note 8 to the text of the *Confession*.

⁷² On *conectores*, professional dream-interpreters, see Harmening, *Superstitio*, p. 109. Cf. also the section on dreams in the present chapter.

⁷³ Cf. Harmening, *Superstitio*, pp. 189-190; Lynn Thorndike, "Chiromancy in Mediaeval Latin Manuscripts", in: *Speculum* 40 (1965), pp. 674-706. Both *chiromantia* and *spatulimantia* (*Policraticus* II.27) have scholarly traditions.

⁷⁴ Cf. Appendix I, *Confession* of Jehan de Bar, item 12, and *Policraticus* II.28.

liaci (a variant spelling of *genethliaci*); *horoscopi*; *salisatores*; *sortilegi* (who tell fortunes by means of lots or Pythagorean spheres,⁷⁵ *tabulae quae Pitagorica appellantur*); and *augurium*. The list is virtually identical to the one offered by Isidore,⁷⁶ but it contains a few interesting additions, namely the *vultivoli*, *imaginarii*, *conectores*, *chiromantia*, and *specularios*. Contrary to Isidore, John of Salisbury does not deal with magic in a context of heresy, idolatry, or deviant religion but sees it in relation to trickery (as did William of Auvergne) associating it with the craft of actors and jugglers. Naturally he recognises the influence of the devil, but unlike later authors, such as Pignon, he does not provide an elaborate demonology. Though the various kinds of magic receive ample attention in his work, John singles out three subjects with which he deals at greater length, namely omens, dreams and astrol-ogy.⁷⁷

A similar strategy is used by Thomas Aquinas: a general survey and classification of the magical arts is a point of departure for a subsequent elaboration of subjects that Aquinas finds most interesting. Aquinas does not give a mere list of magical arts, but incorporates them into a carefully considered structure. In the first chapter, above, we dealt with his way of classifying the various *superstitiones* in a context of idolatry. We may, therefore, now confine ourselves to the two most important species of superstition which have particular relevance for *Contre les devineurs*: (I) the *superstitio divinatoria* (ST 2a2ae.95) and (II) the *superstitio observationum* or *observantiarum* (ST 2a2ae.96).

I. *DIVINATIO*

Divinatio always requires demonic assistance and can be divided into two categories: firstly a group of divinatory arts that require the express invocation of demons, and secondly a group of arts whereby the devil is not invoked, but in which the devil nevertheless interferes.

Ia. *cum expressa invocatione daemonum* labelled with the generic term *NIGROMANTIA*:

praestigium;
divinatio somniorum;
nigromantia;

⁷⁵ Cf. Appendix III.3.

⁷⁶ Isidore lists *magi*, *divini*, *auspices*, *astrologi*, and *praestigium* as separate items which, as such, do not occur in John's list, but *magi*, *divini*, and *astrologi* are generic terms, *auspices* in Isidore's sense falls under *augurium* in John's list and *praestigium* was dealt with in *Policriticus* I.9.

⁷⁷ Magic in *Policriticus* I.9-12, II.28-29; omens in I.13-II.13; dreams in II.14-17; astrology (including themes such as free will and determinism) in II.18-26.

divinatio per Pythones;
geomantia;
hydromantia;
aeromantia;
pyromantia;
aruspicium;

Ib. *absque expressa invocatione* consists of two types: one involving the observation of the condition and disposition of certain things (denoted by the generic term *augures*) and one involving the examination of the actions undertaken by people to discover *aliquid occultum* (labelled with the generic term *sortes*).

Ib.1 *AUGURES*

astrologi;
geneatici (another variant of *genethliaci*);
augurium;
omen (unintentional utterances);
chiromantia or *divinatio manus*;
spatulimantia;

Ib.2 *SORTES*

protractio punctorum or *geomantia*;
sortes (drawing lots, picking cards, drawing straws and throwing dice).

In his question on *divinatio* Aquinas provides in subsequent articles further elaborations of certain practices. These are: *divinatio per astra* (qu. 95.5; Aquinas does not speak of *astrologia* here⁷⁸); *divinatio per somnia* (95.6); *divinatio per auguria et omina* (95.7); and *divinatio sortium* (95.8),⁷⁹ which reflect a choice very similar to the one John of Salisbury made.

II. *SUPERSTITIO OBSERVANTIARUM*

ars notoria (acquisition of knowledge through illumination);
immutatio corporum;
observationes ad praecognoscenda aliqua fortuna
 (omens and portents in a general sense, including chance encounters and sneezing; these are *sine ratione et arte*, Aquinas adds);
suspendere divini verba ad collum

⁷⁸ Cf. also Aquinas's short treatise *In quibus homo potest licite uti iudicio astrorum*, in: *S. Thomae Aquinatis Opuscula omnia*, ed. P. Mandonnet (Paris 1927), vol. 3: *Opuscula genuina theologica*, opusc. 17, pp. 142-143.

⁷⁹ Cf. also Aquinas's treatise *De sortibus*, in: *S. Thomae Aquinatis Opuscula omnia*, ed. P. Mandonnet (Paris 1927), vol. 3: *Opuscula genuina theologica*, opusc. 18, pp. 144-162.

(amulets) or *incantatio* (these are lawful when they are done in proper devotion).

Aquinas, like John of Salisbury, incorporates the entire list from the *Etymologiae* (the *arioli* and the *salisatores* are notable exceptions) and he even copies some of Isidore's etymologies (deriving, e.g., *augurium* from *garritus avium*). Aquinas makes some interesting additions, such as the *ars notoria*, the *omina* as a separate category, palmistry, and *protractio punctorum* or *geomantia*.

The word *geomantia* which Isidore copied from Varro, denotes a form of divination in which one of the four elements, earth, is involved. Generally, the interpretation of any sign relating to this element, including earthquakes and volcanic eruptions, could qualify as geomancy. This is not what Aquinas means by *geomantia* here; the name he prefers is *protractio punctorum* which denotes exactly what this form of divination involves. A geomancer draws figures with an odd or even number of points grouped in four lines. This divinatory method was introduced into the West by Hugh of Santalla (twelfth century) who made the first Latin translation of an Arabic geomancy. In Arabic the *ars punctatoria* is called *raml* (meaning sand, since the figures and points could easily be drawn in the sand) and legend traces its origins to the archangel Gabriel who revealed this technique to the legendary prophet Tumtum. It became extremely popular in the later Middle Ages and Renaissance and, interesting detail, one of the most important authors of a medieval *Geomantia* was William of Moerbeke, the great translator, who furnished Aquinas with Latin versions of Aristotle.⁸⁰

It may be wondered why the subcategories of divination, *augures* (Ib1) and *sortes* (Ib2) do not form part of the *superstitio observantiarum*. The answer would seem to lie in the brief phrase *sine ratione et arte*, i.e. superstitious observances require no skill, craft, or knowledge whatsoever. In other words, the distinction between divination and superstitious observances seems to be one between intelligent and silly superstitions. Astrology, chiromancy, spatulimancy, and geomancy were scholarly disciplines and many specialist text-books from the Middle Ages and Renaissance are still extant. Aquinas's mention of astrology is interesting. Though he uses the word *astrologi* in his list (95.3), he later on (in 95.5) prefers to speak of *divinatio per astra* which suggests he wants to exempt astrology proper from his discussion. Question 95.5 essentially deals with causation and never mentions (what we would call)

⁸⁰ See Charmasson, *Recherches sur une technique divinatoire: la géomancie dans l'Occident médiéval*; Stephen Skinner, *Terrestrial Astrology: Divination by Geomancy* (London 1980); Emilie Savage-Smith and Marion B. Smith, *Islamic Geomancy and a Thirteenth-Century Divinatory Device* (Malibu 1980).

astronomy. Pignon's sometimes fierce attacks on astrologers and their techniques⁸¹ do not come from Aquinas. Reading Aquinas's criticism, he obviously inferred too much. For Aquinas astrology is not one of the *superstitiones*; *divinatio per astra* is, and though an important one, it is nevertheless one of many. In Pignon's treatise astrology has received a remarkable 'foregrounding'. Though *Contre les devineurs* is closely modelled on Aquinas, astrology seems to be the dominant theme. It features prominently in the prologues and the author expounds the distinction between lawful astrology and judicial astrology even before he deals with the magical arts. Where did this shift in emphasis come from?

Is it a consequence of an increase in the number of astrologers that frequented the French-Burgundian court? King Charles V greatly stimulated astrology, and astrology was a major item on the ecclesiastical agenda (not in the least because of Aquinas, but in Pignon's own day d'Ailly and to a lesser degree Gerson also made major contributions). We have seen that the same holds for magicians who eagerly flocked to the court of king Charles VI and were patronised amongst others by the duke of Burgundy. Or is it perhaps a consequence of another literary model that Pignon knew, a text he may not have copied, but which was a source of inspiration? Given the fact that Pignon, like many other authors in the field, relies more on books than on reality, this seems to be the more plausible option. We have already mentioned the Paris condemnation of 1277, but Oresme's *Livre de divinacions* is also a suitable candidate. The book was known at the Burgundian court and it may have inspired the title of Pignon's treatise.

Oresme has written his treatise, so he tells us, to inform and warn laymen of the dangers and follies inherent in fortune-telling ('deviner les aventures et les fortunes avenir, ou les choses occultes'). The pursuit of these things is particularly dangerous for those of high estate such as princes or lords who are burdened with the responsibilities of government. Though his criticism aims at the whole traditional group of magical and divinatory arts, he pays special attention to astrology, which he subdivides into six parts.⁸²

1. The first part of astrology is speculative and mathematical in nature and is concerned with the movements and measurements of the heavenly bodies, on the basis of which conjunctions and eclipses can be predicted accurately.

2. The second is a part of natural science and is propaedeutic to the making of astrological judgments; it deals with the qualities and influences of the stars or Zodiacal signs and the physical effects that they may produce. Oresme adds that though in principle this knowledge is possible and falls within the

⁸¹ Cf. CLD I.2 where Pignon speaks of astrological books with tables, numbers, figures and characters, etc.

⁸² Oresme, *Livre de divinacions*, ed. Coopland, chapter 2, pp. 54-57.

range of human cognition, very little is known about it, and many of the rules that have come down to us are wrong.

3. The third part of astrology concerns predictions based on stellar revolutions and conjunctions. These predictions have a bearing on: (a) great events such as plagues, deaths, famine, floods, wars, the emergence of prophets and new religions. Oresme is careful to point out that with these great events of the world nothing is certain; neither date nor place can be attributed to them, and they can only be known in the most general of terms; (b) Predictions may also relate to the condition of the atmosphere and to weather-changes. Although this type of prognostication is possible in principle, many of its underlying rules (the same ones as in 2) are false, so that very little progress has been made in this science: 'Et par ce veons nous communement que de telles mutacions scevent mieulx jugier les mariniers ou les laboureurs des champs que ne font les astronomiciens'.⁸³ (c) Thirdly, predictions may concern the humours of the body and hence be of great importance to medical science. Again the effects of the planets are of a physical nature, and might as such be an object of knowledge, but, Oresme stresses, beyond the impact of Sun and Moon very little is certain.

4. The fourth part of astrology concerns nativities, and though, in principle, it is possible to know a person's complexion and inclinations from the stars under which he is born (complexion and inclination still belong to the physical effects), his fortunes and all things relating to his free will are entirely beyond the grasp of man's cognition and cannot be deduced from the stars. Again Oresme concludes that all astrological rules concerning these things are false.

5. The fifth part of astrology concerns interrogations, questions whose answers are determined by the constellation at the moment of inquiry. Oresme dismisses these as nonsense.

6. The sixth part of astrology, finally, deals with elections, i.e. the selection of propitious days for the affairs of life, whether it be travel, work, or marriage. Oresme includes in this category the fabrication of images, 'carmes', rings and the like, which, in order to possess certain effective magical qualities, must be made on a propitious moment under a favourable constellation. Oresme emphasises that such things are entirely ineffective, 'se ce n'est par art magique ou par nigromance'.

In his elaborate subdivision of astrology, Oresme not only illustrates the epistemological limitations of all forms of prognostication, he also emphasises that the only true objects of such inquiry are the physical effects of the stars. These are his criteria for assessing and rejecting the other forms of divination. Oresme refrains from giving a straightforward list, but apparently feels he has to say something about the traditional divinatory arts, nearly all of which

⁸³ Oresme, *Livre de divinacions*, p. 56.

he considers nonsensical. In chapter three of his treatise he mentions the following: 'gromance' (i.e. geomancy, which Oresme considers a mere game of odd or even); 'auguremens'; 'nigromancie'; 'ydromancie'; 'pyromancie'; 'cyromancie' (which, Oresme adds, may have some truth in it when applied to someone's complexion and inclination); 'auspices'; 'art magique'; 'incantacions'; 'songes'; 'visions'; and 'prophecies naturelles'. In chapter eleven Oresme makes further additions:⁸⁴ 'la teste Saturne'⁸⁵; art notoire; art contre notoire; piromance; spatulomance; art de sintille; divinemens par metalz, par cyre, par pains, par sternemens, par foudres, et par telles sorceries'. Oresme refrains from expounding on these. Many of the names in such lists go back to Isidore, but from the cursory way in which Oresme deals with them, it is evident that he attaches little value to them. The full weight of his discussion is on astrology.

In Aquinas and John of Salisbury astrology is considered (along with dreams, omens and lots) in a specific context of magical and divinatory arts which are enumerated mainly on the basis of Isidore of Seville. In Oresme's treatise it is the other way round: the various divinatory arts are appended to a lengthy examination of astrology.

The ways in which these quite conventional lists with magical and divinatory arts are presented and the contexts in which they are embedded are clear indications of the nature of the critique of superstition as developed by the various authors. Isidore and Thomas Aquinas tend to see magic and divination essentially as a perversion of the virtues of religion. Though Thomas shows a marked tendency to draw technical matters such as causality into his discussion, his main concern in ST 2a2ae.94-96 is doctrinal, which means that he deals with issues such as lawfulness and sinfulness. Someone like Oresme, on the other hand, is not a moralist. Though the main purpose of his treatise, namely to warn rulers and laymen against the dangers of divination, has obvious ethical underpinnings, his exposition of these dangers is not done in terms of sinfulness or lawfulness but in terms of possibility and rationality. He repeatedly emphasises that the rules of astrological prediction are either uncertain or wrong and this scientific scepticism makes him dismissive of the other forms of divination. John of Salisbury can be seen to occupy a middle position: he is a moralist, like Aquinas, but also a sceptic, who regards magic as nonsensical and speaks of it mockingly. Pignon also

⁸⁴ Oresme, *Livre de divinacions*, p. 92.

⁸⁵ As Coopland points out, it is unclear what Oresme means by this. Cf. DSO 2, cols. 657-658, 'Tête', 'Tête de mort'. In magic lore, heads severed from bodies are known to have been used for soothsaying. Cf. Keith Thomas's report on the trial (in 1371) of a magician who was caught with the head of a Saracen in his bag. He explained that he had bought the head in Toledo and that he intended to use it to capture a soothsaying spirit (see Thomas, *Decline of Magic*, p. 230). Possibly Oresme refers to some such practice.

stands between Aquinas and Oresme, possibly quite literally if Oresme's treatise was a source for *Contre les devineurs*. Pignon is mainly concerned with lawfulness and sin, but he is also much interested in scientific reasoning, especially where astrology is concerned. Still, there is a significant difference between Pignon and John of Salisbury. The moralistic angle always entails the notion of demonic involvement. We have already seen how the devil's pact played a prominent role in Aquinas's *Summa*. In the *Policraticus* this role is limited. John does not elaborate on the devil's pact nor does he develop a demonology. The reason for this is that John did not really believe in the power of demons. Demons existed, to be sure. They tempted and tricked people and could produce some 'miraculous' feats, but the emphasis in John's discussion is on 'trick' and not on 'miracle'. This is different with Pignon. In the fourteenth and fifteenth century the interest in demons and their miraculous power grew dramatically, and he is clearly a child of his times.

4.3 Demons

In the previous chapter we have seen how despite the (early) Christian belief that with Christ's coming the rule of astrology had come to an end, the stars continued to exert their influence on medieval Christendom. The same can be said of demons.

4.3.1 Dualism

There are many references to demons and evil spirits in the Bible. There is a strong tendency to conflate these with pagan deities, but they are often depicted, too, as the dark destructive forces of the wilderness and outer darkness. Especially in the Old Testament their contours are vague and indeterminate; their origin (the fall of the angels) is never clearly expressed and occasionally we find these destructive and evil spirits taking their orders immediately from God.⁸⁶ From these scattered references it is possible to reconstruct a more complete picture. Briefly, the spirits (both angels and demons) are part of a heavenly council, meeting on the 'mount of the congregation' (an Old Testament Olympus); they are charged with governing the nations, but many of them prove corrupt, and finally God casts them out. The fall of Lucifer, one of the most exalted and radiant angels, was described by the prophet Ezekiel. But the fall of the angels in general would be most elaborately expounded in the apocryphal *Book of Enoch*, and in addition to

⁸⁶ Ex. 12:23; I Sam. 16:14; I Kings 22:19-23.

that the *Book of Revelation* makes explicit mention of a war in heaven.⁸⁷ The corruption of the spirits and the clean sweep of heaven degraded these fallen angels to the level of mere mortals:⁸⁸ they no longer govern but are governed⁸⁹ and moreover in their frequent appearances in the New Testament they are basically depicted as outcasts. The disciples receive the power to drive out demons⁹⁰ and this essentially defines the role of demons in the New Testament. From spiritual rulers of nations they have fallen from heaven to become the petty tormenters of the microcosm of the human soul, and thence they are driven out into the outer darkness, into swine who hurl themselves into the abyss.⁹¹

The story presented in this way is one of defeat and annihilation, but like Satan in Milton's epic *Paradise Lost*, demons have proved relentlessly dynamic. Despite the spectacular number of exorcisms performed by Christ and his apostles, demons were in the habit of coming back in greater numbers,⁹² and even Christ himself found an opponent in Satan, his archenemy. These indications of the strength and magnitude of the forces of evil may result from the dualist influences that the Hebrews underwent during their exile, but Scripture always in the end reasserts a monistic view: Satan is called anti-Christ in the *Book of Revelation* which means that he is negatively defined and has no being of his own. This monistic view of evil became a dominant theme in later Christian thought, mainly through the efforts of Augustine who defined evil, in Neoplatonic rather than Biblical terms, as a *privatio boni*, something which lacks being, rather than something in itself. This view is eminently represented in the work of Anselm of Canterbury and in that of Aquinas. We also find it in John of Salisbury when he explains that exorcisms were 'established to diminish the power of demons and to break the tie of intimacy which they have with man, and can accomplish nothing in virtue of their own power unless they gain their potency from direction given by God'.⁹³

⁸⁷ Council: Job 1:6 ff.; Zac. 3:1-10; Ps. 82; I Kings 22:19-23; DDD, cols. 391-398. Mount of the congregation: Isa. 14:13; Ez. 28:14. Rule over the nations: Ps. 82; Deut. 4:19-20; Fall of Satan and the other angels: Ez. 28:12-19; Isa. 14:9-16; Rev. 12:7-12. In general see DDD, 'demon', cols. 445-455.

⁸⁸ Ps. 82:7.

⁸⁹ Christ governs all angels (Eph. 1:21) but even man is placed in judgment over the (presumably fallen) angels (I Cor. 6:3).

⁹⁰ Luke 10:17-20.

⁹¹ Mat. 8:28-34; Luke 8:26-39.

⁹² Cf. Mat. 12:43-45 and Luke 11:14-26; a cast out demon will come back and bring seven fellow demons, worse than himself.

⁹³ *Policraticus* II.27, Pike transl., p. 143.

Still, a dualist reading of evil has always lurked in the background of Christian theology. Though an openly avowed philosophical dualism was never accepted as theologically sane, expositions and elaborations of the power of the devil, on the whole, met with little censure. Again Augustine is the major authority for demon-lore in the Middle Ages, but his discussions are not the only reason for the rise of Satan. As Christianity was spreading, people soon discovered that demons were convenient scapegoats and exorcisms important means of establishing and consolidating power. The best way of conquering pagan religions and heresies was by demonising these beliefs, and, if need be, the believers. A monistic approach would deny the permanent power of evil and would therefore aim to remedy it by persuasion, correction and instruction; an approach which is far too gentle to be effective. A 'dualistic' approach on the other hand would envisage itself to be up against powerful and dangerous forces, which, logically, require destruction rather than correction. In reality the division was not so clear-cut and in practice the Church's dealings with the powers of darkness mostly consisted in teaching the former and doing the latter.

A change came about in the course of the Middle Ages in the way people conceived of the power of demons. This power was gradually waxing. Man was considered relatively helpless in the face of demonic vexations and temptations; only with the help of God could demons be expelled. Demons were thus partly used to lift the burden of human responsibility for natural and intentional evils,⁹⁴ but the repeated stress on the need for rescue and salvation, by contrast, also implied a repeated stress on the hold that demons have on man. In the work of the thirteenth-century abbot Richalm of Schönthal, *Liber revelationum de insidiis et versutiis daemonum adversus homines*,⁹⁵ demons have organised themselves in a hierarchic order exactly mirroring the monastic order Richalm knew, complete with abbots and priors, yet their numbers are disturbing. With a few well-chosen metaphors Richalm creates a sense of suffocation: demons surround him as water surrounds a drowning man; closing his eyes, he sees demons everywhere, like a thick cloud of dust. They cause giddiness, sleepiness, indigestion, they send fleas to torment him, at night he overhears them plotting their evil intents, they cause improper thoughts, make his head itch, cause toothaches and make him sneeze; most hauntingly he has the feeling that his every move is being watched. Ironically

⁹⁴ Flint, *The Rise of Magic*, pp. 146-157, stresses the compassionate motives of much early medieval demon-lore.

⁹⁵ The treatise (early thirteenth century) was published in: B. Pezsius, ed., *Thesaurus anecdotorum novissimus*, vol. 1, part 2 (Augsburg 1721). See Peter Dinzelbacher, "Die Realität des Teufels im Mittelalter", in: Peter Segl, ed., *Der Hexenhammer: Entstehung und Umfeld des Malleus maleficarum von 1487* (Köln 1988), pp. 151-152; Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons*, pp. 71-73.

enough, this paranoid fear of demons had a few decades earlier been the subject of a treatise *Epistola de substantia et natura daemonum* by the jurist and philosopher Witelo,⁹⁶ who attributed such experiences with demons to insanity, sickness and melancholic vapours rising from the stomach to the brain. His opinions would be referred to approvingly by Nicole Oresme, but also the obsessions of the abbot Richalm would have its followers. One need only leaf through the pages of the witchcraft manuals, such as Kramer's *Malleus maleficarum*, to find the power of the devil writ large. Phenomena that were initially seen as illusory, such as lycanthropy or the witches' sabbath, were finally believed to be real demon-wrought 'miracles'.⁹⁷ The witches' sabbath with its imagined travesties of the Eucharist, mass and Christian congregation, is, in fact, a demonic anti-Church closely related to Richalm's monastic order of demons. In this way inquisitors actively created a dualism of God and devil that their predecessors had wanted to extirpate in the Albigenian and Waldensian heresies.⁹⁸ This was a dualism that finally got out of hand and cost the life of thousands.

4.3.2 Naturalisation of the Demonic

Compared with inquisitorial aggression, in word as well as in deed, Witelo's rationalistic views of demons appear peacefully ineffectual. He was a monist in a truly Neoplatonic sense, conceiving of demons as *mediae potestates*. Arguing from the fairly traditional notions of the longevity of demons, their aerial bodies, and their intelligence which is much greater than man's, Witelo concludes that, since they know more than man, they must be less sinful (not surprisingly, evil is for Witelo an obfuscation of reason). Demons occupy a position between humans and angels: they are corporeal, mortal, and to a small degree sinful, and should therefore not be identified with the perverted fallen angels from Christian doctrine. Naturally Witelo accepts their

⁹⁶ See Eugenia Paschetto, "Witelo et Pietro d'Abano à propos des démons", in: Christian Wenin, ed., *L'homme et son univers au Moyen Age*, vol. 2 (Louvain-la-Neuve 1986), pp. 675-682; Dinzelbacher, "Realität des Teufels", pp. 152-153. The text of *De natura daemonum* was published in: Jerzy Burchardt, *List Witelona do Ludwika we Lwówku Śląskim* (Wrocław/Warszawa 1979), pp. 161-180.

⁹⁷ It should be noted that people like Kramer, in asserting the power of the devil, were moving beyond the limits set by authorities such as Aquinas. See, e.g., the case-study by Peter van der Eerden, "De *Malleus maleficarum*, de duivel en de kwestie van de verdwenen geslachtsdelen", in: G. Rooijakkers et al., eds., *Duivelsbeelden: Een cultuurhistorische speurtocht door de Lage Landen* (Baarn 1994), pp. 137-167. Van der Eerden points out that in Kramer's conception the 'demonic universe has the potential for infinite expansion'.

⁹⁸ Dinzelbacher, "Realität des Teufels", pp. 169-170 and n. 75; H. R. Trevor-Roper, *The European Witch-Craze of the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Harmondsworth 1978), pp. 113-114. The point is elaborately stressed in Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons*.

existence, but only on the basis of revealed theological truth. Reasoning from nature, nothing can be known of these fallen angels. This position of double truth (independent co-existence of revealed and rational truths) afforded Witelo the opportunity of denying all supernatural agency, including the agency of his demons (they exist but do not act), to terrestrial occurrences and prodigies, however miraculous they may seem. There is a natural explanation for everything in this world and all demonic experiences are simply delusions of the *imaginatio*.⁹⁹

Witelo's rationalist views are quite exceptional, but his naturalist attitude is less unique. Even in the Patristic era, when the urgencies of personal salvation and the imminent *Parousia* overshadowed all interest in natural science and philosophy, Christian thinkers could not escape addressing the issues of natural science. Discarding astrology and divination as the work of demons, the early Fathers were still left with the question of where demons (who, of course, in no way partook of divine omniscience) got their *prae-scientia futurorum*.¹⁰⁰ Answering this question, as Augustine did in *De divinatione daemonum*, implicitly meant that demons were assigned a place in the natural order of things, and thus, in principle, they became an object of natural philosophy.

The naturalisation of the demonic coupled with a *privatio boni*-theology kept demonic forces at bay for the greater part of the Middle Ages and might even have brought about their final redundancy, were it not for two (possibly related) developments, namely the earlier mentioned dualism and the growth of a new concept of nature. The growing interest of medieval scholars for nature (especially those associated with the School of Chartres) is well-known. An important expression of the new status of nature can be found in Alain de Lille's *De complacentu Naturae* (referred to by Pignon) where *Natura* (modelled after Plato's Demiurg) is God's junior partner in the process of creation. This self-regulating force of nature was not infrequently felt to infringe on God's omnipotence, especially since it provided a scientific explanatory model for *mirabilia* that needed no longer be referred to divine intervention or demonic agency. Reluctance to accept naturalistic explanations drove objectors to regard demonic activities as preternatural causes, thus actively bringing about the dualism we already discussed. Albertus Magnus is known to have complained about the anti-scientific and anti-naturalistic tendencies in his own order. A Dominican 'demon' rebuked him for always studying nature, which made Albert exclaim: 'There are ignorant people who want to oppose the study of philosophy by all possible means, in particular

⁹⁹ See esp. Paschetto, "Witelo", pp. 680-681.

¹⁰⁰ E. J. Dijksterhuis, *De mechanisering van het wereldbeeld* (Amsterdam 1950), I.123-124, p. 105. (Translated by C. Dikshoorn, *The Mechanization of the World Picture* (Oxford 1961).)

in the order of the Dominicans, where no one resists them when like stupid beasts they go on against things they do not understand'.¹⁰¹

Though Albert's criticism was mainly directed at a fairly common aspect of the mentality of the Friars Preachers, it was nevertheless mainly due to himself and his pupil and fellow Dominican Thomas Aquinas, that an impressive synthesis and harmonisation of philosophy and theology was brought about.¹⁰² Aquinas believed there could be no contradiction between the truths of philosophy and theology. Albert confidently emphasised the need for research and experiment and, in the spirit of Aristotle, both set great store by observation and sense-perception as a means to knowledge. Both philosophers, therefore, made significant and influential contributions to a naturalistic approach of *mirabilia*.¹⁰³ This approach is of great importance in relation to demons.

An important example of the redundancy of demons in a naturalistic view of marvels alongside a theological affirmation of their existence can be found in Nicole Oresme. Oresme went so far as to stress that 'if faith did not posit their existence, there is no natural effect from which they can be proved to exist'.¹⁰⁴ Oresme consistently looked for natural causes in order to explain marvels, not merely at the exclusion of demons, but even at the exclusion of celestial influences. In this he went much further than Adelard or William of Conches whose naturalistic explanations mainly unburdened demonic arguments by focusing on celestial causality.¹⁰⁵ Oresme never denied the existence of demons and he was sensitive to their theological functions. This becomes clear in his *De causis mirabilium*¹⁰⁶ where he deals with insanity: *maniaci* are commonly considered *demoniaci* but this is done mainly through ignorance of natural causes. God may allow demons to enter a person's body for a specific purpose ('that the works of God be made manifest'¹⁰⁷), but since mental illnesses occur around the powers of the soul and the senses and can quite sensibly be explained from physical causes, one should not too quickly conclude that this is the work of demons.

Pignon is less careful than Oresme in ascribing certain marvels to the work of demons and, though it is not entirely certain whether he would escape the censure of Albert the Great, a naturalistic tendency can clearly be distin-

¹⁰¹ Dijksterhuis, *Mechanisering* II.47, p. 148 (English translation, p. 134). Dijksterhuis quoted from Albertus Magnus, *In epistolas B. Dionysii Areopagitae*, Ep. VIII.2.

¹⁰² Dijksterhuis, *Mechanisering* II.40-47, pp. 143-148, also stresses the role of the Franciscans Alexander of Hales and Roger Bacon.

¹⁰³ See Bert Hansen, *Nicole Oresme and the Marvels of Nature*, pp. 54-61.

¹⁰⁴ Hansen, *Oresme*, p. 98, quoted from question 23 of the *Tabula problematum*.

¹⁰⁵ Hansen, *Oresme*, pp. 52-53.

¹⁰⁶ Oresme, *De causis mirabilium*, ed. Hansen, c. 3, pp. 260-265.

¹⁰⁷ Oresme refers to John 9:3.

guished in his way of thinking. The major difference is that demons need not rival with natural causes; rather, they are treated as natural causes. Pignon develops his demonology in CLD I.7-8. Following Augustine's *De divinatione daemonum*, he explains that demons are spiritual creatures whose condition is very similar to that of the air. In large numbers they inhabit the atmosphere, and due to their lightness, they can move swiftly from one place to another. As fallen angels they still retain a knowledge and experience vastly superior to ours, especially in relation to the workings of nature and the planetary influences that affect the earth. Additionally, their longevity adds to their knowledge. Demons have the power to move and change material substances in a way similar to nature, but their swiftness enables them to do this much faster. These natural advantages enable them to acquire accurate knowledge about the constellations and their influence under which people are born. In this way they know people's inclinations, and since the majority of mankind will be inclined to follow these passions and desires rather than reason, there is ample room for temptation, for the demonic will is corrupt and demons are bent on the destruction of man. God uses them as ministers and executives of divine justice, and occasionally allows them to try the saints.

This concise physiology of demons, Pignon derived from Augustine, who copied his ideas to some extent from Apuleius whom he regarded as the greatest of the pagan theologians.¹⁰⁸ In his oration *De deo Socratis*, Apuleius explained how all domains of reality are teeming with life. On the earth and in the water there are animals and fish, the ether is filled with (living) stars and the space between, the air, is filled with daemons.¹⁰⁹ These are living, rational and sensitive creatures (just like man), who are immortal (like the gods), and who have aerial bodies more subtle than clouds. This idea of a middle position between God and man is essentially Platonic,¹¹⁰ but it was not only his Platonic bent of mind that had Augustine accept the aerial status of demons. The New Testament clearly speaks of Satan as the 'prince of the powers of the air'¹¹¹ thus sanctioning the demonic habitat between the mountains and the sphere of the Moon. Yet this middle position is far from unproblematic in the Christian Neoplatonic line of thought. In the ontological hierarchy demons properly belong in hell (best envisaged as Dante's subterranean pit) and not in the air, as Witelo realised, for creatures occupying a middle position between God and man cannot be wholly perverted and must

¹⁰⁸ DCD VIII.14.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. also Philo, *De gigantibus* 6-11 (Loeb ed., pp. 448-451); and DCD VIII.14.

¹¹⁰ Plato, *Symposium* 202d; ps.-Plato, *Epinomis* 984d-985d (Loeb ed., Plato vol. 12, pp. 461-465).

¹¹¹ Eph. 2:2, cf. 6:12; DDD, col. 156.

be better than man. Pignon was not aware of the problem, but his *auctor*, Aquinas, was. Aquinas solved the problem not by regarding the air as the natural environment of demons, but by regarding it as a place of punishment. All demons properly belong in hell, but some fulfil the function of tempter and to that end inhabit the dark atmosphere (*caliginosus aër*).¹¹² It is their function to tempt man, who can morally improve himself by resisting the demonic attacks; ultimately all demons will be thrown into hell.

There is another problem related to this, namely the problem of demons' bodies. In a Neoplatonic hierarchy demons have their proper place in the upper air, but in the Christian scheme of things they reside there only temporarily. They belong somewhere else (namely in hell) but they also come from elsewhere (from heaven). As fallen angels, they are *intelligentiae*, purely intellectual beings without a body. Hence they can have no sense experience, nor can they suffer pain. Aquinas is quick to point out that the older Church authorities (sometimes inadvertently) adopted non-Christian ways of speaking,¹¹³ but that this did not mean that the old pagan philosophers were right in positing that demons have bodies, aerial or otherwise. Since they do not have a body, the fallen and unfallen angels have only *intellectus* and *voluntas*.¹¹⁴ Demons can suffer only in the sense that their evil will is thwarted and frustrated,¹¹⁵ and deprived of sense-perception their knowledge does not derive from abstraction or discursive thought,¹¹⁶ but from pure, immediate and intuitive intellection. This raises a new problem, namely: how can angels and demons in the absence of senses have any knowledge of particular things (*singularia*)? If demons are to deceive us and angels are to watch over us, they must have such knowledge. Aquinas¹¹⁷ argues that since *intelligentiae* are superior to man, they can know through immediate and unified intellection what man can only know through separate faculties: the universal through the intellect and the particular through the senses. Superior to man's five exterior senses is his interior sense, the *sensus communis*, that knows in a unified way what man's intellect and senses know separately. Analogous to this, one can imagine that the *intelligentiae* know in a unified way what man's intellect and senses know separately. Furthermore, God knows *singularia* since His knowledge is the cause of all substances, i.e. of both form and matter (matter being the *principio individuatio-nis*) of particular things. This knowledge God imparts to his angels so that

¹¹² ST 1a.64.4(R).

¹¹³ ST 1a.51.1(r1); ST 1a.54.5(r1-3).

¹¹⁴ ST 1a.54.5.

¹¹⁵ ST 1a.64.4(R).

¹¹⁶ ST 1a.58.3+4.

¹¹⁷ ST 1a.57.2.

things should not only exist in angelic knowledge in their general nature, but also in their particular individuality. It will be clear that Aquinas struggles to reconcile the sometimes very anthropomorphic angels from Scripture with the structure of the (Neo)platonist ontological hierarchy. Contrary to the Platonists from Antiquity, he is forced to elaborate on how angels mingle in the affairs of the world and even assume bodies, which, interestingly, may be aerial.¹¹⁸

Pignon is not troubled by these problems. His demons are pre-scholastic, equipped with subtle physiques and, though God has bestowed on them superior knowledge, they still learn from experience, a quality that is hardly reconcilable with Thomistic angelology. Pignon partly represents his demons as miracle-workers. They can bring about 'maint ovrag mervellex, desquels nulz ne saroit assigner raison naturele sofisant'; and 'le deable puet faire mout de mervelles et choses toutes nouvelles autrefois non oïes et non veüs'.¹¹⁹ Still, Pignon's mind is not entirely impotent in the face of demonic ravings. Demons can mingle in natural processes causing storms¹²⁰ and infecting the air, not in any miraculous way, but because they have the 'puissance (...) de (...) transporter (...) substances materielles'. What Pignon probably means is that *intelligentiae* can act on material things through local motion and can produce marvelous effects through activating and moving the hidden virtues or, in Augustine's terms, the *rationes seminales* of the things in this world. These are also the limitations that Aquinas imposed on the powers of angels and demons.¹²¹ Aquinas denied that demons could work real miracles, but he was willing to concede that the term *miracula* was not wholly inappropriate for the deeds with which demons set the minds of men marvelling.¹²² Though beyond human capabilities, these miracles occur within the proper bounds of nature.

Aquinas gives the example of the magicians of Pharaoh who turned rods into serpents. In itself this was a natural process possibly resulting from putrefaction (Aquinas elaborates the point for serpents in general, not for the magicians' serpents in particular).¹²³ The *semina* of the serpents that were present in the decomposing rod were activated and produced (in what looks like a case of spontaneous generation) the animals in question. The fact that the whole process looks miraculous, is because demons had accelerated the

¹¹⁸ ST 1a.51.2(r3).

¹¹⁹ CLD I.7.

¹²⁰ Cf. ST 1a.114.4(R); DCD XX.19; Job 1:19. By divine permission, Job's children were killed in a storm caused by Satan.

¹²¹ ST 1a.110.3+4.

¹²² ST 1a.114.4.

¹²³ ST 1a.114.4(R+r2). On generation from putrefaction, see Thomas Litt, *Les corps célestes dans l'univers de Saint Thomas d'Aquin* (Louvain/Paris 1963), pp. 130-143.

process. The example was copied by Jehan Taincture in his treatise *Contre la Vauderie*. In a section on the power of demons he explains very lucidly how matter yields to spiritual substances (*in casu* demons) in respect of local motion, which is matter's most perfect quality and hence, in the Neoplatonic hierarchy that also Taincture embraces, immediately subordinated to the lowest level of spiritual nature. Demons thus have power to move things locally, which explains how they can cause storms and speed up otherwise natural processes.

Par ceste maniere les magitiens du roy Pharaon par leurs enchantemens et invocations secretes firent de verges vrays serpens, comme la Sainte Escripiture le tesmoingne, et ce se fist par la subtilité ingenieuse de l'ennemy qui cognoissant toutes les semences esparsez es elemens corporelz qui pevent servir aucunement a produire ces choses les assembla comme en un moment et les joignant deüement ensemble en fist sourdre serpens comme soudainement nature non aidee seult faire petit a petit et en grant temps. Comme souvent bien treuve serpens engendrez es arbres pourris et mesmement en l'arbre appellé tillueil a la fois se engendrent aucuns dragons.¹²⁴

Pignon also demystifies the divinations of demons. Demons cannot foreknow the future, but they are better equipped (not in the least because they are closer to the stars) to observe causes and predict the possible effects. Moreover, they can supply diviners with predictions of marvels that they themselves intend to perform. People can be deceived by such self-fulfilling prophecies since demons are invisible and cannot be seen to disturb matter. The most alarming aspect of this power of demons to act on material substances through local motion is their ability to tamper with man's senses and imagination. Pignon does not elaborate the point, but he may have been familiar with Aquinas's treatment of the topic.¹²⁵ Sense impressions, Thomas explains, are retained in the corporal spirits and humours of the body, that in turn may affect and induce change in the senses so that when we dream or when we are awake, we may perceive illusory appearances. It is especially people who suffer from insanity who are plagued in this way by hallucinations. Through local motion angels or demons can stir and manipulate these spirits and humours and thus conjure up visions either to reveal something, or, as the case may be, to deceive people. Again demons cannot act on matter directly, but they are constrained to follow the laws of nature.

¹²⁴ Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, ms. 11209, fol. 58v-59r. The point of acceleration is not in Aquinas but is added as elucidation by Taincture.

¹²⁵ ST 1a.111.3.

4.3.3 *Demonic Illumination*

In this naturalistic vein, Pignon emphasises that demons cannot influence man's rational soul or will (other than by deception or persuasion). He might have placed more emphasis on the fact that demons cannot impose their will on the material world¹²⁶ but are constrained to follow the laws of nature; and that their influence consists in causing local motion. This he does not do and one cannot escape the impression that the limitations he imposes on demonic agency derive from his reading of Aquinas rather than from his personal conviction. Thus we can find him rebuking certain fools who believe that 'riens ne se faisoit par puissance de deables, ains disoient que tout ce que nous veons advenir en ce monde se fait par puissance de nature'.¹²⁷ Oresme with his thoroughgoing naturalisations, would be one of those fools. Pignon prefers to elaborate on demonic powers and, very tellingly, provides the example of uneducated people who suddenly speak Latin or some other foreign language. The example is rather strange since according to Thomas, demons cannot affect the rational soul, but Pignon is convinced this sudden linguistic competence (which he does not question) is the result of demonic influence or possession.¹²⁸ Pignon's motive for wanting to enlarge the role of demons in the world is obvious. By emphasising demonic possession he automatically draws attention to exorcism which he regards as one of the pillars of the faith.

Of course, the irony is that Oresme was a far better exorcist than Pignon. Oresme's naturalist arguments made demons redundant in much the same way as the mechanised world-view put an end to the belief in witches.¹²⁹ Whereas Oresme is praised for his scientific, even empirical, attitude, which has earned him a reputation as a nominalist,¹³⁰ Pignon is consciously committed to a Neoplatonic worldview that, like Plato's growing beard, is capable of generating a whole universe filled with spiritual life. In his later treatise on the three estates, Pignon explicitly refers to the celestial hierarchies of the pseudo-Dionysius¹³¹ and their impact on the human mind. Man may acquire knowledge through study, but also through divine revelation and angelic illumination:

¹²⁶ As Thomas did in ST 1a.110.2.

¹²⁷ CLD I.8.

¹²⁸ Cf. also CLD II.3.1 (and note 240) where Pignon makes a conscious attempt to amplify the role of demons by stressing that they can be a source of knowledge.

¹²⁹ Trevor-Roper, *The European Witch-Craze*, pp. 108-110.

¹³⁰ Oberman's view; see Hansen, *Nicole Oresme and the Marvels of Nature*, pp. 107-108, n. 35.

¹³¹ See Vanderjagt, *Laurens Pignon*, pp. 135-136; CDE II. 98-152, pp. 149-150.

par revelacion de Dieu et illumination faicte des angelz aux hommes, il est vray que l'entendement humain puet recevoir perfection et congnoissance plus grande que nature ne lui donne. Et par ainsy sont et ont esté et peulent estre plusieurs entendemens humains enluminé et endoctriné par les creatures intellectuelles et espirituellenes separees de toute matiere et de leur propre condicion incorruptibles, que nous appellons en commun (nom) 'angelz'.¹³²

We are left wondering why these angelic illuminations apparently do not include the spontaneous acquisition of Latin, but it will be clear that Pignon conceived of angelic and demonic illumination in much the same way. The Neoplatonic frame is very productive of this type of reasoning from preternatural causes.

Roughly Neoplatonism posed two major problems to Christian demonology: (1) as the example of Witelo shows, it was difficult to conceive how spiritual creatures who are ontologically and hierarchically superior to us, can be evil; (2) angelology and demonology are readily wedded to natural philosophy and astrology. Both these consequences limited the power of evil and contravened the earlier-mentioned dualism; but they also spawned a renewed interest in demons and demonic magic. In a previous section we already explored this consequence of the *privatio boni*-idea and gave the example of Raymundus de Tarrega. Another splendid example of this is Antonius de Monte Ulmi¹³³ (flourished 1384-1390) who wrote a book on astrological necromancy called *De occultis et manifestis* or *Liber intelligentiarum* in which he explained that the stars and the constellations are inhabited by demons and angels, organised in twelve altitudes corresponding to the twelve signs of the Zodiac. Himself an ardent experimenter in invoking these intelligences, Antonius gives prescriptions and directions concerning the drawing of magic circles, on the imprisoning of spirits in bottles and crystals, on the use of suffumigations¹³⁴ and of astrological images. The striking feature of Antonius's demonic magic is that he tries to explain its efficacy in terms of natural conditions and astrological influences. This feature would become very prominent in the Platonism of the Renaissance. Ficino,¹³⁵ for example, developed his magic on the premise that there is a profound concord

¹³² CDE II. 133-144, pp. 149-150.

¹³³ Thorndike, HMES III, pp. 602-610.

¹³⁴ These and other items dealt with by Antonius (see Thorndike) have clear parallels in the confession of Jehan de Bar and the condemnation of 1398; see Appendix I.

¹³⁵ On Ficino, see, e.g., Garin, *Astrology in the Renaissance*, pp. 67-76; D. P. Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella* (London 1958), pp. 45-53; Brian P. Copenhaver, "Astrology and Magic", in: C. B. Schmitt, ed., *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy* (Cambridge 1988), pp. 264-300; and Marsilio Ficino, *Three Books of Life*, ed., transl. Carol V. Kaske and John R. Clark (Binghamton 1989).

between heaven, which is filled with spirits and astral souls, and the earth, uniting both into a single living organism. The magic and theurgy of his *De Vita*, which is aimed at obtaining benefits from astral souls and planetary demons, does not look upon these demons as fickle forces of evil (though Ficino does believe there are bad demons). All these spirits follow natural patterns and laws which enable man to propitiate and entice them and elicit their precious gifts by 'magical' observances, by applying certain diets, by means of music and light, by sculpting astrological images at propitious moments to capture a beneficent astral influence and so on. This multitude of propitious spirits was neither conceived of nor condoned by Pignon and his scholastic colleagues, though it was a consequence of the Neoplatonic schemes they adopted.

The characteristic attitude of early fifteenth-century orthodoxy regarding the relationship between man and angels is voiced by Jean Gerson¹³⁶ who emphasised that all angels were appointed by God as serving spirits *in ministerium pro hominibus*. If we put faith, Gerson argued, in men skilled in medicine or astrology or any other art that might be of help to us, how much more can we rely on the angelic spirits. Astrology as mentioned here by Gerson is of the legitimate kind. Still, the theurgic implications of his statement are striking:¹³⁷ the medicinal use of angels would no doubt have appealed to someone like Ficino, but Gerson adds that angels only act upon devout prayers to God and these should not be made *per curiosas inspectiones vel observationes constellationum*, which means that the selection of an astrologically propitious moment is prohibited.¹³⁸ The ministry of the angels, however, is a central element in later medieval beliefs.

Belief in a multitude of spirits never ruled out naturalistic explanations of the *mirabilia* but always tried to integrate the laws of nature and the spirits in one unified cosmic system. Demons could use the laws of nature to their end without ever changing and outstepping them. This approach precluded the excesses of dualism, but was also consistently disinclined to settle for a wholly naturalistic explanation of the strange phenomena in this world. A lucid example of this harmonisation of philosophy and theology, of Aristotle and demonology, is provided by Jehan Taincture, whom we may quote on demonic illusions and dreams by way of prologue to the next section.

La maniere de ces apparations de songes est declairee par Aristote qui dist: quant la personne dort et que foison sang descent les mouvemens et impressions qui sont

¹³⁶ Gerson, *Trilogium astrologiae theologizatae, propositio 17* (*Œuvres complètes*, vol. 10, p. 99).

¹³⁷ Thorndike, *HMES* IV, p. 118.

¹³⁸ Gerson, *Trilogium, propositio 20* (*Œuvres complètes*, vol. 10, pp. 99-100).

demourez des motions sensitizez et sont conservez es esperis sensitifz meuvent lors le sens commun et lui viennent telles apparitions comme s'il estoit meü de vrayes choses au dehors. Et se puet faire tant forte et vehemente commotion des esperis et humeurs que ces apparicions pevent mesmes avenir en veillant quant par grant trouble et forte impression de la fantasie les sens de dehors sont de tous pions aliénés et estrangiez de leurs propres mouvemens comme il appert es frenetiques et demoniacres. Et ces choses se pevent faire du dyable et par ceste maniere il abuse souvent les gens lesquelles veillans cuident veoir, oÿr ou faire merveilles et si ne voient, oÿent ou font chose quelconquez.¹³⁹

Again demonic illusions rely on the use of local motion in stirring the 'esperis et humeurs'. Taincture, as Pignon before him, does not only use it as an explanatory model for dreams, but also for the hallucinations and ecstasies of 'aucunes simples femmelettez au service du dyable' who believe they embark on nightly transvections, and who 'afferment qu'elles chevauchent en la compaignie de dame Herodias et de Dyane, deesse des payëns'.¹⁴⁰ These followers of Herodias are probably the same as the 'vieilles qui vont de nuit avec les bonnes choses' mentioned by Pignon.¹⁴¹ These ecstatic aspects of the remnants of pagan religions were never a problem for moralists; their demonic nature is evident. With dreams this was different, mainly because dreams have Biblical sanction as a reliable vehicle of revelation.

4.4 *Dreams*

What is the stuff that dreams are made of? Understanding the nature and causes of dreams, may help a person decide whether a dream has any divinatory value, and, if so, whether the information it yields is related to physique, fortunes or the future. But despite its impressive precedents in the form of numerous Biblical examples of prophetic dreams, medieval authors were unwilling to sanction dream-interpretation, mainly because the Vulgate prohibited it: *nec inveniat in te qui (...) observet somnia*.¹⁴² This did not discourage people in the Middle Ages from taking a lively interest in dreams and their interpretations. This persistent interest did not merely arise from superstitious propensities; it was firmly rooted in the conviction that dreams could be divine revelations.

Already in classical Antiquity views on the nature and origins of dreams differed widely. Next to the religious or spiritualist view, there were also

¹³⁹ Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, ms. 11209, fol. 67r-v.

¹⁴⁰ Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, ms. 11209, fol. 68r.

¹⁴¹ CLD I.2 and I.6.

¹⁴² Deut. 18:10. *Somnatores* are also mentioned in II Par. 33:6; Ier. 27:9; 29:28; Dan. 5:12; Zac. 10:2.

those who agreed with Scrooge that there is more of gravy than of grave in their nightly visitations. As with most points of philosophy, the difference between a natural and a supernatural approach becomes clearest in the views of Aristotle and Plato. For Plato dreams could have prophetic qualities, they could be God-given previsions of truth. Dreams could have 'fictional' qualities in 'realising' what could not be accomplished in waking life; there is even a sense of the rational soul travelling upwards in pursuit of Truth.¹⁴³ In the *Timaeus* Plato shows himself capable of developing a physiological explanation of dreams, treating them as internal appearances of real objects, and though this may resemble Aristotle's idea that dreams are re-enactments of residual experiences and perceptions, there is an important and fundamental difference. Plato never abandons the notion that dreams are God-given and that they essentially serve divinatory purposes. Dreams fulfil a role that Plato denies to poetic fictions: they are a means of attaining to Truth.

With Aristotle it is the opposite: whereas poetic fictions are a means to insight and understanding, dreams are nothing but appearances that result from perceptual remnants from a person's waking experience. Thought and perception are suspended during sleep, but some perceptual movements may still persist, that, deprived of a real sense-object, rehearse previous experiences. Aristotle develops his dream-theory in the *Parva naturalia*¹⁴⁴ and explicitly denies the divine origin of dreams; his only concern is to discuss dreams in terms of their physiological causes¹⁴⁵ and accordingly the only divinatory value of dreams has to do with a person's health or behaviour as it is rooted in his physiological condition. Aristotle does concede that dreams are 'daemonic',¹⁴⁶ a somewhat mystifying phrase that David Gallop interprets as 'having the appearance of intelligent design whilst being nothing of the sort'.¹⁴⁷ This reference to the daemonic shows that Aristotle was con-

¹⁴³ These ideas are most prominent in *Republic* IX. See David Gallop, *Aristotle on Sleep and Dreams* (Peterborough 1990), pp. 7-16.

¹⁴⁴ Aristotle's three short works on sleep and dreams (*De somno et vigilia*, *De insomniis*, *De divinatione per somnum*) were known in the Middle Ages as part of the *Parva naturalia* (which also included *De sensu et sensibilibus*, *De memoria et reminiscensibus*, *De longitudine et brevitate vitae*, *De juventute et senectute*, *De vita et morte*, and *De respiratione*).

¹⁴⁵ His views are shared by authors such as Lucretius (*De rerum natura* IV.962-1036) and Cicero (*De divinatione* II.139-141).

¹⁴⁶ Aristotle, *De divinatione per somnum*, chapt. 2 (463b 12-15): 'In general, since some of the other animals dream, dreams could not be sent by God, nor do they occur for that purpose. Nevertheless, they are daemonic. For nature is daemonic, but not divine' (Gallop transl., p. 107).

¹⁴⁷ Gallop, *Aristotle on Sleep and Dreams*, pp. 39-45, 180. See also the elaborate discussion by Ph. J. van der Eijk, *Aristoteles über Träume und über die Weissagung im Schlaf*, dissertation (Leiden 1991), pp. 321-327. Van der Eijk points out that 'daemonic' means not 'supernatural', but 'beyond human rational control'.

scious of the appearance of the potential prophetic nature of dreams, but instead of attributing it to God, he attributed it to sheer coincidence.

Both views on the nature of dreams, i.e. the divine and the physiological, were passed down to the Middle Ages. Text-books like Macrobius's commentary on Scipio's dream provided a conceptual frame in which dreams were discussed. Biblical precedent made the interpretation of dreams more than any other form of divination acceptable to both the clergy and the laity.¹⁴⁸ Dream-books attributed to well-known Biblical dream-interpreters such as Joseph and Daniel were in circulation, providing interpretations of a variety of dream-motifs: 'To bear arms in dreams signifies security'; 'To see birds fight among themselves signifies fecundity'; 'To see a clear sky signifies gain'; 'to see one's own intestines means secrets revealed' and so on.¹⁴⁹ Dream-books from Antiquity by authors such as Artemidorus or Astrampsychos were transmitted, but new ones were also composed. Thorndike draws attention to an anonymous thirteenth-century dream-book, *Expositio somniorum*,¹⁵⁰ that is more elaborate in the treatment of its subject. The author points out that the interpretation of dreams is a necessary undertaking and has Biblical sanction. He also deals with the various causes of dreams, which in general are both physiological and spiritual. Thus dreams usually begin with a *spiritus*, a vapour rising from the heart and ascending to the brain. A person's physical condition has a strong impact on his dreams (impurity of the blood, e.g., may cause one to see chimeras) but dreams can also have a demonic origin as in the case of a monk who turned Jewish because he had seen Moses surrounded by angels in white and Christ surrounded by black figures. The author is confident that a wise man can distinguish between natural and demonic causes of dreams. Other medieval treatises elaborated the point of natural causation adding celestial influences. One treatise points out that dreams that are hardest to remember, are most likely to come true because they were caused by the constellations and, like the swift and smooth movements of the stars, these dreams also easily and swiftly escape the memory.¹⁵¹ Another text discusses the meaning of dreams in relation to the phases of the Moon.¹⁵²

On the whole medieval authors agreed on the multiple causes of dreams. Albertus Magnus, e.g., was somewhat displeased by Aristotle's dense and far too succinct treatment of the subject in the *Parva naturalia*. Though he

¹⁴⁸ See Harmening, *Superstitio*, pp. 95 ff., for a discussion of various medieval sources.

¹⁴⁹ Thorndike, HMES II, pp. 294-295 and n. 5; cf. also the entire chapter on dream-books, pp. 290-302, and Harmening, *Superstitio*, pp. 107-109.

¹⁵⁰ Thorndike, HMES II, pp. 297-300 (Paris, B.N., ms. 16610).

¹⁵¹ Thorndike, HMES III, p. 559. Thorndike discusses Matthias Farinator's fourteenth-century *Lumen animae*, printed in 1477.

¹⁵² Quoted by Harmening, *Superstitio*, p. 107.

agreed that dreams in general have neither divine nor demonic origins, he does emphasise the influence of the stars and stresses the prophetic nature of dreams and hence the necessity of dream-interpretations.¹⁵³ Albertus goes further than Aristotle who does not discuss celestial influence in relation to dreams and who is willing to regard dreams only as signs of future illnesses since dreams reflect the physical condition. If a dream happens to come true, this is pure coincidence.¹⁵⁴ This careful and sober attitude towards dreams is echoed by medieval authors (one finds it, e.g., in Petrarch¹⁵⁵), but on the whole medieval attitudes as borne out by the above mentioned *Expositio somniorum* were quite enthusiastic. This was different with the theologians and moralists.

In his *Summa theologiae* Aquinas opts for multiple causes, incorporating Aristotle's ideas in a wider comprehensive scheme. The only forms of divination from dreams that Aristotle deems possible (namely as aids to medical diagnostics) are the only forms that Aquinas deems legitimate. For Aquinas there are other forms as well. We shall briefly recapitulate Pignon's elaboration of Aquinas's arguments.¹⁵⁶

Following Aquinas, Pignon distinguishes four categories of causes: internal and external causes which can each be further subdivided into physical and spiritual causes. Thus dreams may be caused by a person's complexion or his physical condition and be a symptom of the latter (internal physical cause), or a dream may result from thoughts and preoccupations that so impress the mind that they still haunt us in our sleep (internal spiritual cause). Neither of these dreams has any prophetic value, though the former may be useful to physicians who wish to determine a person's complexion. Dreams may also be the result of exterior influences, such as the environment, the air, the stars, or food and drink. Sense-impressions from the outside may likewise be reiterated in dreams (exterior physical causes). Again, these dreams are useful only as medical indications, and to this end they may be applied perfectly legitimately.

Dreams can reveal the future only when they result from inspiration (exterior spiritual cause), but unfortunately inspiration has a double source: it may come from God or it may come from demons.¹⁵⁷ Unless the source reveal itself to the dreamer or dream-interpreter, the latter has no way of knowing whether the interpretation of a dream is legitimate or not. To

¹⁵³ Thorndike, *HMS* II, pp. 575-577.

¹⁵⁴ Aristotle, *De divinatione per somnum*, 463a3-21, 463a31-b11, Gallop ed., pp. 105-107.

¹⁵⁵ *Epistol. Famil.* V.7 (Francesco Petrarca, *Rerum familiarium libri I-VIII*, transl. A. S. Bernardo (Albany 1975), pp. 251-255).

¹⁵⁶ CLD II.2.4; ST 2a2ae.95.6.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. also CLD I.3.

complicate matters, Aquinas (Pignon's source) explains that demons *aliqua futura revelant his qui cum eis habent pacta illicita*, which means that demons may, in fact, reveal the future and provide correct information. Since both the divine and the demonic dreams may come true, there would seem to be no objective criterion for deciding whether a dream may be legitimately interpreted or not. It might be argued that Aquinas's remark on the devil's pact offers a (theoretical) way out: anyone seriously searching his conscience will know whether he has made a pact with the devil or not.¹⁵⁸ If so, he will know his dreams come from a tainted source. A third party has no way of verifying this and naturally anyone involved in a pact with the prince of liars, will not always feel obliged to speak the truth, so that a dreamer's affirmation that his dreams come from God is not reliable. By extension this also holds for the dream itself. Neither Pignon nor Aquinas makes clear how demonic or divine dreams may be told apart: what keeps a demonic dream from protesting its divine origin to the dreamer?

The safest way out of this dilemma would be to prohibit all dream-interpretation except the medical, but would this not defy God if He were to choose to inspire a prophetic dream? Agostino Trionfo (1243-1328) formulated the orthodox answer in his *Contra divinatores et sompniatores* by pointing out that distinguishing between divine revelation and diabolic illusion is a gift of the Holy Spirit.¹⁵⁹ Such a supernatural gift could, of course, raise problems very similar to the ones raised by inspired dreams, but in practice this meant that Biblical teaching and Church doctrine were the standard for judging and evaluating dreams. If the message of a dream is at odds with Christian doctrine it must be demonic. Even if dreams and their interpreters do not openly contradict Scripture, they are still not safe from censure.

Pignon's aversion to dream-interpreters becomes clear from some examples from his own experience that he adds to his rendering of Aquinas. The dream-interpreters he has known ('songeurs' he calls them), tell their clients' fortunes in the following way. First they eat and drink as much as they can, after which they go to sleep. The dreams they have during this repose are the basis for the prognostications they draw up afterwards. Naturally they observe their clients carefully to acquaint themselves with their complexions

¹⁵⁸ Aquinas points out (ST 2a2ae.95.7(R)) that divination from dreams is unlawful when an explicit or implicit pact with demons is involved. Using Augustine's sign theory (DCD XXI.6; DDC II.20; ST 2a2ae.96.2) he suggests that dreams (meaningless in themselves) can function as a means of communication between man and demons (a) when the devils are actually invoked; then at least the dreamer will know that his action is illegitimate; (b) when devils tacitly involve themselves because man seeks knowledge beyond human reach. Cf. Harmenting, *Superstitio*, pp. 110-111.

¹⁵⁹ Thorndike, HME III, pp. 9-12.

and inclinations so as to make their prognostications agree with their clients' character. For this reason such prognostications will never be wrong entirely, and they will almost certainly appeal to the client's taste. There is here a touch of Oresme's scepticism and psychological insight, but Pignon does not forget to mention the share of the devil in all this; he concludes that these dream-interpreters are 'sens cervelle et sans entendement'. This conclusion is, next to rhetorical, also somewhat odd, since from the way they conduct their business one would rather infer the opposite. Even if they are 'sens cervelle', the statement is at odds with Aristotelian physiology, for what Pignon has clearly meant as a derogatory remark to emphasise the inanity of their divinations, is in fact for Aristotle, despite his reservations, a motive for accepting there is some truth in precognition. Ordinary people are more likely to receive prophetic dreams than intelligent and learned people because their vacant minds are more sensitive to external stimuli and the subtle stirrings of nature through their passiveness and relative emptiness.¹⁶⁰ This is in keeping with Aristotle's notion of causality and a similar explanation was no doubt forwarded by Pignon's 'songeurs' who attributed their dreams to stellar causation, though, one may surmise, they were less eager to disclose the nature of their susceptibility to these impressions in quite the same way. For Pignon simplicity or empty-mindedness implies a greater susceptibility, not to celestial but to demonic influence: hence divinatory gifts and even 'speaking in tongues' are for him definite proof for the existence of demons and demonic possession.¹⁶¹

This is not the only instance in which demonic inspiration has to rival with natural causes as an explanatory model for prophetic dreams. Pignon continues with another example: after the fat 'songeurs' come the lean ones. These are 'personnes de simple estat' who fast excessively and who allow themselves to become feeble and emaciated. In this depraved condition they are particularly susceptible to dreams and visions which the devil provides them with in ample measure. Pignon is particularly outraged since these ascetics are held in high esteem among the people for their saintly lives (one may recall the severe fasts of St. Francis and other radical mystics) and he regards them as a source of false teachings and heresies. Heresy is a sure sign of the devil, but the visions on which these heresies are based could be explained physiologically, if not from an empty mind, then certainly from an empty stomach. It is characteristic of theologians like Pignon to emphasise causes of dreams that transcend the purely physiological. Their elaboration

¹⁶⁰ Aristotle, *De divinatione per somnium*, 464a19-27, Gallop ed., pp. 110-111.

¹⁶¹ CLD I.8: 'bons ruides hommes et fames qui parloient latin et divers langages reveloient a ceux qui venoient devant eux che que il avoient fait, la ou il ne les avoient onques veüs ne congneüs'.

of demonic inspiration implicitly affirms the reality of divine inspiration and may even conceal a secret yearning for divine ecstasies and heavenly visions.

We may, in conclusion, compare this to John of Salisbury's treatment of dreams in his *Policraticus*.¹⁶² His classification of dreams is modelled on the one offered by Macrobius in his commentary on Scipio's dream¹⁶³ and it distinguishes four types: (1) *insomnia* or troubled dreams that result from emotional turmoil, anxieties or plain drunkenness; (2) *phantasma* or hallucinatory and nightmarish dreams that mostly result from impairments of mental or physical health; (3) *somnium* or the enigmatic dream that covers truth and reality with a veil of allegory; and (4) the *oraculum*, a dream in which a message is delivered by some estimable person, an ancestor, an angel or a deity. Following Macrobius, John dismisses the first two types as having no prophetic significance (no doubt because they have physiological causes) and points out that God prefers to use the *somnium*, though prophets and saints are known to have had dream visions of angels who bring them messages from God.

Somnia usually have multiple meanings and John criticises sharply the so-called *Dream-Books* of Daniel since these attach a fixed interpretation to a given dream-motif. The symbolism of dreams requires a far more subtle approach. John briefly discusses two methods of interpretation; one conceiving of the relation between image and referent in terms of likeness (thus, for instance the seven fat and lean cows in Pharaoh's dream were like the seven fat and lean years in respect of accidence); the other tracing the meaning of an image by antithesis. When Julius Caesar told his astrologers that he had dreamed that he had 'defiled the couch of his own mother', they explained to him that this signified he would establish a world empire (which makes one curious about what the astrologers would have said if Caesar had dreamed of world dominion). John, however, manages to find an even stranger instance of how a foul image may denote something fair, more so since it does not concern a dream, but a passage from Scripture. The story of David who has his officer Uriah killed in order to steal his wife Bathsheba¹⁶⁴ (in the Middle Ages a type of vanity and wantonness) is radically transformed by one of Augustine's ingenious and Christological reinterpretations of Scripture: Bathsheba stands for the Church, soiled by sin, from which she is saved by David, who represents Christ. Though he is far from challenging the authoritative views of Augustine, John displays some surprise at this remarkable interpretation. The multiplicity of meaning is also a strong

¹⁶² *Policraticus* II.15-17.

¹⁶³ Macrobius, *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio* I.3, transl. W. H. Stahl (New York 1990), pp. 87-92.

¹⁶⁴ II Sam. 11.

disincentive to John and he dissuades his readers from attempting to interpret dreams. If one has not received a special gift from God (like Daniel and Joseph), interpreting dreams will only lead to error and vice: the stress in John's disapproval is here on the ambiguities of signification. Demons do not enter in until the end of his discussion, where he attributes violent (but illusory) afflictions of the soul to demonic agency. The example he uses is that of the witches' sabbath, the nightly gatherings organised by Herodias (which we already encountered in Taincture's treatise) during which the participants indulge in perverse rituals and eat babies. The nightly transvections that the participants believe themselves to be making are demon-wrought illusions, but John makes no mention of a devil's pact; he chiefly regards these 'visions' as follies in need of correction.

Though John of Salisbury carefully follows Macrobius, he departs from his source in one important respect. John distinguishes four types of dreams, whereas Macrobius has five: the one with which John has not dealt separately is the *visio* or prophetic dream. It is this type of dream that was best loved in the Middle Ages, especially as a literary mode. The dream of Scipio that Macrobius comments upon is a *visio* in the sense that Scipio saw the regions of his abode after death and his future condition.¹⁶⁵ Rather than being the stuff of actual dreams, such visits to the afterlife were mainly undertaken in the literary imagination, as in Dante's *Divine Comedy* where Cicero's statesman's heaven is transformed into hell, purgatory and paradise. Divination from dreams was best served by the *somnium* with its personal, social and universal implications¹⁶⁶ for the here and now, and it is criticised accordingly. That John of Salisbury should have omitted the *visio* is somewhat odd, especially in view of his literary tastes, but it does help to focus our attention on the nature of John's critique of dream-divination. Contrary to Pignon, John is less concerned about the causes of dreams than about their interpretation. It is the realisation that in the world of images fair can be foul and foul can be fair that upsets him most; what *causes* dream is of secondary interest. This realisation does not lead him to conclude that divination itself is mainly an act of the interpreter rather than the dreamer, even if both are one and the same person, but his advice to his readers not to dabble in dream-interpretation is telling. The question is whether the significance of a dream is in the dream or the interpreter. Whereas John opts for the latter, Pignon settles for the former.

¹⁶⁵ Macrobius's definition, *Commentary* I.3, transl. Stahl, p. 90.

¹⁶⁶ Macrobius recognises five varieties of the *somnium* (*Commentary*, transl. Stahl, p. 90): the personal (relative to the self); alien (to the other); social (to society); public (to the city or commonwealth); and universal (to the sky, the atmosphere or the elements).

A preference for physics over hermeneutics is characteristic of Pignon's critique of divination and superstition. This is not merely a result of his paraphrases and translations from Aquinas. That he wholeheartedly agrees with this approach shows from his careful elaborations, from the examples he gives in its support, and especially in his choice of sections from Aquinas. Having finished with Aquinas's questions on superstition from the *Summa theologiae*, Pignon does not end the second part of his treatise, but he selects three chapters from the *Summa contra gentiles*, not on magic or superstition, but on causality and the influence of the heavens on man. To this important aspect of Pignon's critique we next turn.

4.5 Stars, Causes and Free Will

Stellar determinism was a serious academic problem in the Middle Ages. The ninth-century Arab astronomer Albumasar, whose *Introductorium* was of major importance for the development of astrology in the West, explained that the stars not only determine the options man has but also the choice man will make.¹⁶⁷ It is easy to see how determinism on the level of individual behaviour can result in a deterministic view of history. Albumasar's *De magnis coniunctionibus* was a major source for Western astrologers who tried to read history from the stars and this historicism, as we saw in the previous chapter, was widely accepted. Conversely, did this acceptance not imply some degree of determinism?

4.5.1 Stellar and Divine Determinism: Augustine, Boethius, and Aquinas

The works of Albumasar were not the first to confront Christian thinkers with the problems of fatalism and determinism. Already in (late) Antiquity Christians had to answer the fatalism of the Stoics. In book five of his *City of God*, Augustine provides a survey of the major problems concerning stellar determinism, which became an important source for subsequent treatments of the theme. Augustine, in fact, dealt with two closely related and entangled themes, namely stellar determinism and divine determinism. The former discussion basically resulted from the assimilation of classical learning, but the latter was a consequence of the philosophical struggle with the concepts of the omnipotence and omniscience of the Christian God. Both themes deserve our attention.

Augustine takes the greatness of the Roman empire as his point of departure. This greatness cannot possibly have been brought about by fate,

¹⁶⁷ Quoted by Garin, *Astrology in the Renaissance*, p. 20.

meaning stellar determinism. The determinate rule of the stars has a number of precarious implications: (1) if the stars determine life independent of the will of God, determinism will lead to atheism; (2) if it is God's will that the stars rule thus independently, it is still the heavenly senate that is responsible for crimes here on earth, which would remove all responsibility from man and all justice from God's revenge and retribution; (3) if God rules the stars that in turn rule man, the former objection still holds, for then God is responsible for all evil; (4) and if the stars only signify future events without causing them, then still it is inexplicable how dissimilar events can happen under one and the same constellation.¹⁶⁸ The first three arguments are essentially theological and will convince only those who believe in man's free prerogative and who refuse to make God the cause of evil. The final argument is philosophical and allows Augustine to introduce the famous example of the twins.¹⁶⁹

Twins are born under the same constellation, so that their nativity horoscopes are identical, and yet their personalities and their lives can be very different. This means that if astrology is true, two different lives must be predicted from one and the same horoscope, which is nonsense. Augustine refutes the counter-argument of Nigidius Figulus, who drew an analogy with the potter's wheel.¹⁷⁰ The heavens turn round so fast that what we perceive simultaneously, is in fact happening separately. This, Augustine points out, must lead to scepticism. How can we ever make predictions concerning human fortunes if our perceptions are defective? Another counter-argument makes use of the small difference in the actual time of birth of twins: Esau came first, and then came Jacob holding the foot of his twin brother. Augustine belittles the argument by asking whether a small difference in time can reasonably be held responsible for the great differences in life and character of the famous Biblical twins.¹⁷¹ The question is rhetorical, but Augustine does concede (without too much emphasis) that the stars affect the corporal frame and the physical circumstances of life.¹⁷² That this in itself might very plausibly account for the physical likeness of twins is something he does not care to dwell on. He does emphasise the influence of more

¹⁶⁸ DCD V.1.

¹⁶⁹ DCD V.2.

¹⁷⁰ DCD V.3.

¹⁷¹ DCD V.4; see also *De diversis quaestionibus* 45 (*Aduersus mathematicos*, CC 44a, pp. 67-69), where Augustine makes some calculations. In 24 hours the heavens make a full rotation of 360 degrees, which means that in one minute the heavens shift a quarter of a degree. One second will leave only a fraction of that quarter. Since twins are born within seconds of each other, the shifts in position are negligible and imperceptible and cannot be used to account for the differences in life, character and fortunes.

¹⁷² DCD V.6.

immediate causes, such as nutrition and environment, but since it is not his main intention to redeem nature from the influence of the stars, he soon settles on what is his main objective, namely the freedom of the will. In Pignon's day Jean Gerson admired the twin argument greatly, but apparently felt the need to improve upon it, mentioning the birth of a two-headed man on the borders of Brittany and Normandy. One head desired to live continentally, whilst the other wanted the opposite.¹⁷³ Gerson does not explain how this case exemplifies the triumph of mind over matter, or of will over stellar determinism, but he does report that one head died six months before the other.

The twin argument is devised to bring to light the self-contradictoriness of astrological claims. Augustine applies this method also to the selection of propitious days for travel, marriage, conception and the like. He demonstrates that this selection is either impossible or pointless. If celestial influence is determinate, no choice can make man escape his fate. If the stars do not impose necessity on man's enterprises, it makes no difference which day is chosen.¹⁷⁴

Stellar determinism is not the real problem for Augustine; precognition is. Cicero had argued that free will and foreknowledge are mutually exclusive since foreknowledge implies a fixed unalterable sequence of causes and effects. Augustine, however, stressing God's omniscience and omnipotence finds it impossible to deny the existence of divine foreknowledge and is therefore compelled to counter Cicero's incompatibility argument. Oddly enough Augustine does this by accepting the concatenation of causes that lead up to an event and by stressing that nothing can happen except through the will of God. Stellar determinism seems to be replaced by theological fatalism, but Augustine argues that this does not deprive the will of its freedom. First of all divine foreknowledge does not impose necessity on the will, because, secondly, God does not simply know what man will choose, but, more importantly, knows that man will choose freely. That God knows we use our will freely is the only guarantee for its freedom. Thirdly, all things that happen are caused by a will, either God's will, or the will of His creatures. Now all occurrences are brought about through the power of the omnipotent God. God is the source of all ability to do something, but not the source of all willing. The evil (unnatural) will does not come from God, so that, in a sense, man's ability to sin is the best proof of the freedom of the will.¹⁷⁵ This is more or less the free will argument that Anselm of Canterbury would develop half a millennium later. Freedom of will is entirely defined in

¹⁷³ Thorndike, *HMES* IV, p. 121.

¹⁷⁴ *DCD* V.7.

¹⁷⁵ *DCD* V.9.

Neoplatonic terms. The will is free and capable of willing because it is directed towards God. If the will abandons God, it forfeits its freedom and in a sense its power and its being. In the *privatio boni*-theology, it will be remembered, evil is a defect, and sinning an act of self-mutilation.

Safeguarding free will by defining obedience and righteousness as freedom still leaves the problem of determinism unresolved. If all power and ability come from God who, as a first cause tips off the causal chains of reality, how can there be contingency? In Augustine's presentation of things divine foreknowledge still implies necessity. There is a solution, however, that Augustine forwarded in his *Confessiones*.¹⁷⁶ There he interprets God's eternity not as infinite duration but as timelessness. Beyond the stretch of time and duration, God regards everything in His eternal present. This can justify God's omniscience (strictly speaking God does not 'fore'-know things since this would imply temporality), but it also means that temporal effects have a timeless cause. Hence not all temporal events result from an ineluctable chain of causation initiated by God, but new effects may come about undetermined, though their capability, their power to happen, derives timelessly from God. Dynamically creation re-arranges its relation to its Creator and not vice versa. This solution and the problems it entailed would have a profound influence on later Christian authors who dealt with this theme.

Boethius was the first to adopt and fully develop these ideas, but he did so in relation to a textual source that was unknown to Augustine, namely Aristotle's *De interpretatione*, chapter 9.¹⁷⁷ In this famous chapter Aristotle argues that if future contingent propositions are true their corresponding states of affairs must come about of necessity. Boethius tackled this problem by denying truth or falsehood to future contingent propositions since the corresponding future states of affairs are indeterminate. Aristotle's logical problem, however, gained particular poignancy in a context of Christian belief in an omniscient God, and Boethius in fact denied that God can have knowledge of the truth or falsehood of future contingent propositions. This does not mean that God is ignorant of the things that from a human perspective lie hidden in the future. Like Augustine, Boethius sees God as eternal, surveying the whole of time as present before Him. God knows all things because all things happen under His eyes in an eternal 'now'. The fact that God sees them does not impose necessity on them, though it must be conceded that when they happen, it is necessary that they happen. The only necessity involved in future

¹⁷⁶ *Confessiones* XI.10 ff.; cf. DCD XII.17-18. The argument is not in his *De libero arbitrio*; cf. William Lane Craig, *The Problem of Divine Foreknowledge and Future Contingents from Aristotle to Suarez* (Leiden 1988), pp. 66-67.

¹⁷⁷ Aristotle's *Categories and De interpretatione*, transl., annot. J. L. Ackrill (Oxford 1985); cf. discussion in Craig, *Divine Foreknowledge and Future Contingents*, pp. 1-58.

contingents is therefore a conditional necessity. *If* God knows about certain events, then they happen necessarily, but God's knowing them depends (in the case of human action) on man's free choice.¹⁷⁸

Aquinas adopted the Augustinian-Boethian idea of God's timeless eternity and His knowledge of vision, but there was an implicit problem that made his attempt to escape fatalism unsuccessful. Boethius's solution seems to imply that man's temporal actions are the cause of divine knowledge, an implication of which Thomas Aquinas was aware and that he tried to avoid. For Aquinas contingent events cannot cause God's knowledge of them. The temporal cannot cause the eternal. God, being pure actuality, has no potentiality that can be actualised. Aquinas agreed with Aristotle that God knows only Himself immediately. It is only indirectly, by knowing Himself as *Prima Causa* that God knows all his effects. These effects are all possible effects, not merely the effects that (will) actually come about. Aquinas believed that it was God's will that finally determined what will be. Even if divine knowledge, encompassing all possible effects, leaves some room for choice among a series of options, the actual choice, if left entirely to a creature, cannot be a cause of God's knowledge of a future contingent singular. Hence God's will is the final arbiter, which forces Aquinas into a position of divine determinism. Aquinas explicitly espouses contingency and free will but can do no more than Augustine did, namely safeguard free will and contingency by means of a definition: God wills that man's will is free, and God wills there is contingency.¹⁷⁹

For a proper appreciation of the remarks that Pignon makes regarding freedom, contingency and determinism, it is important to understand that Aquinas reasons along two lines. In regard to the natural and temporal sequence of causes and effects (the horizontal relationships between created beings) some things occur determinately and some things contingently; in the sublunar realm stellar influence is unmistakable but not deterministic. Moreover, man's reason and will, being spiritual and not material are exempt from any material influence (above the stars, to paraphrase Pignon) and can hence be called free. But next to the horizontal relations there are also the vertical ones: everything is immediately subject to the will of God. Hence it is that we experience freedom from restraint according to nature, but are always subject to the all-governing will of God. Dante experienced this on Mount Purgatory: his natural strength helped him to ascend in broad daylight, but it was only at night, when he discovered he could progress no further, that he realised that all along it had been the light of Grace that made it possible to climb up.

¹⁷⁸ Craig, *Divine Foreknowledge and Future Contingents*, pp. 96-97.

¹⁷⁹ Craig, *Divine Foreknowledge and Future Contingents*, pp. 121-126.

Augustine, Boethius, Aquinas and even Aristotle are Pignon's major authorities and he refers to them explicitly. Of the problems concerning future contingents and divine foreknowledge and the Augustinian-Boethian solution of God's timeless eternity, precious little survives in CLD, though in his later treatise CDE he does refer to the latter when he explains that

Dieu a perpetuellement sans fin et sans commencement par sa simple essence et souveraine sapience veu et congneu toutes choses qui estoient a avenir et leurs propriettes essencieles et condicions naturelles, propres vertus et operacions (...). Dieu l'a sceu et veu et congneu toutes choses sans fin et sans commencement devant que oncques le monde feust.¹⁸⁰

His reference to Aristotle's *Perihermeneias*¹⁸¹ suggests that he may have been aware of the problem, but on the whole what he presents as paraphrases from Aristotle are in fact paraphrases from Aquinas and they do not betray any profound knowledge of Aristotle's texts. In his treatment of free will and causality Pignon follows Aquinas's arguments according to nature, which is an obvious choice. In Aquinas's view necessity is imposed on things directly by God's supreme and timeless will and not through a chain of causes. Though this view is something Aquinas may not have owned up to wholeheartedly, it nevertheless safeguards the processes of nature from being deterministic, though nature itself is determined. In Aquinas's economy of nature it is impossible to know future contingent events (unless through revelation, as in prophecy) so that divination is by definition impossible. An examination of the true nature of natural causation, Pignon believes, can demonstrate this point and for this reason he elaborates on it in the second part of his treatise. In what follows we summarise his arguments.¹⁸²

4.5.2 Pignon on Causality in CLD

Future events can be known in two ways: either they are known in themselves, or they are known from their causes. Only God can know the future in itself, for only He can behold all things in a timeless present and if God does not reveal his knowledge to man, man has no way of knowing the future except through its causes. The relations between a cause and its effects are threefold. They are qualified by (1) necessity; (2) part-necessity; (3) contingency. Some effects follow necessarily from their causes and this necessity

¹⁸⁰ CDE II. 1088-1098, pp. 169-170. It is not quite clear, however, how God from a vantage point 'sans fin et sans commencement' can see things 'devant ... le monde feust'.

¹⁸¹ CLD III.6.

¹⁸² For references to the relevant passages in Aquinas, the reader is referred to the notes of the edition.

essentially pertains to the movements of the heavenly bodies. In turn these heavenly bodies necessarily produce effects in the sublunar realm, such as meteorological changes, but these effects do not happen in a deterministic way and they show a considerable degree of variance. Finally there are effects which are not caused by the heavens. These are contingent events and are either caused by man's free will or result not from one but from a series of causes, as is the case with accidental occurrences such as finding buried treasure. In the case of necessary causation, prediction is possible; in case of part-necessity only conjecture of what is likely to happen is an option; and contingent events can in no way be foreknown.¹⁸³ Foreknowing future events that result from free choice could mean that man's soul, comprising the three faculties of reason, volition and memory, are subject to the stars, which is impossible since the soul is a spiritual and not a material substance.¹⁸⁴

In spite of this denial of foreknowledge of future contingents, Pignon still feels the need to account for the truth of certain divinations.¹⁸⁵ Next to demonic information, he recognises the possibility that people allow themselves to be swayed by celestial influence. Their natural passions, complexions and inclinations may be moved and inclined in a certain way and if will and reason are (voluntarily) suspended, people will follow the sway of heaven, and consequently their actions can be predicted. Since often people are inclined to follow their passions rather than their reason, prognostications always stand a fair chance of coming true. The argument is very curious since it offers an excellent defence of astrology. No doubt a prudent astrologer could use it to justify his craft and prove its scientific foundation.

Stellar influence on human inclination is something of a topic in treatises against divination, for apart from Pignon and his source Aquinas, also Oresme elaborates the point. In chapter ten of his *Livre de divinacions*¹⁸⁶ Oresme makes a number of psychological observations concerning human nature in which the reliance of human aptitudes and propensities on celestial causes is quite striking. He quotes William of Auvergne on man's propensity to indulge in idolatry, which by extension he applies to divination. Apparently this inclination is strongest among people who live in the South or the East. They have a natural aptness for the study of the stars. Conversely those who live in other regions, will not profit by astrology for lack of this inclination: 'parquoy il s'ensuit, selon astrologie, que ceux de France, et encor mains d'Engleterre et de par deca, qui sont pres de la fin de septentrion habitable

¹⁸³ CLD II.2.1.

¹⁸⁴ CLD II.2.3.

¹⁸⁵ CLD II.2.3(r2).

¹⁸⁶ Oresme, *Livre de divinacions*, pp. 80-85.

et pres de la fin d'occident, ilz ne peuent pas communement prouffiter en astrologie de jugemens'.¹⁸⁷ This is an urge that should be repressed, but 'il avient souvent que enquerir de telles fortunes n'est pas tant seulement presage ou signe de mal mais en est cause'.¹⁸⁸ The excitement and strain involved in hopes and fears (aroused by prognostications) may easily induce people to act impetuously and foolishly: 'la ou il a plus de passions il y a mains de raisons' as Aristotle had pointed out, and reason must rule, both in the individual and in the state. Divination which stirs the passions and diminishes reason, is, therefore, a cause of misfortune. Oresme even adduces an argument from astrology itself: divination and magic are taught by Saturn and Mercury, both malevolent planets signifying bad fortune. A strong reading of Oresme's argument would be that the stars incline people to an interest in astrology, causing in turn so much excitement that reason is obfuscated and misfortunes follow.

The impact of celestial influences on the human mind and will was apparently a popular and compelling thought and, after paraphrasing Aquinas's questions on superstition, Pignon dedicates three chapters to this specific theme. He rejects the Stoic position that all knowledge derives from external impressions and the materialist notion that the rational soul is corporeal. Instead he emphasises that the rational soul is spiritual and incorruptible in defence of which he forwards a number of arguments. (1) Something superior cannot be ruled by something inferior; the intellect is spiritual, the planets corporeal, and hence the intellect is not ruled by the planets. (2) If something inferior is ruled by something superior, these natures must be somehow alike; the intellect is spiritual, the celestial bodies are not, and hence the intellect is not ruled by them. (3) All things subject to celestial influences are mutable, temporal and subject to corruption and generation; the intellect is not, and hence it is not influenced by the heavens. In all three arguments the nobility and superiority of the mind is a foregone conclusion and it seems rather strange that Pignon did not use some of the arguments that Aquinas had formulated in the SCG, such as the mind's ability to grasp universal forms (of which it would be incapable if it were mutable and temporal). At the end of his discussion, Pignon adds a *caveat*. Though the intellect itself is incorruptible, the physical condition of the body and the brain in an individual may pose serious impediments to the exercise of the intellect. Differences in intelligence result from different corporeal dispositions that may well be affected by celestial influences. Pignon quotes Ptolemy on the benevolent influence of Saturn and Mercury on the intellect.¹⁸⁹ As in the case of Ores-

¹⁸⁷ Oresme, *Livre de divinacions*, chapter 11, pp. 86-88. Oresme refers to Ptolemy here.

¹⁸⁸ Oresme, *Livre de divinacions*, p. 82.

¹⁸⁹ CLD II.4 and CDE II. 1459-1464, p. 177.

me, we are left wondering whether this concession regarding Mercury and Saturn does not somehow strengthen astrology's position. If the stars can influence a person's intelligence (whether someone will be dull or smart) they can also manipulate someone's passions and inclinations (a foolish person will easily follow his passions).

Next to the intellect the will must be safeguarded from celestial influence.¹⁹⁰ Pignon provides the following arguments. (1) If the will is subject to the stars, there is no difference between man and beast. All choices would be made according to nature, and morality would become pointless. (2) Nature pursues its ends through determinate means, nature cannot err and under similar conditions nature produces its effects always in similar fashion. In choosing, man can, however, use various means, he is capable of error and people make very different choices. (3) Moreover, if the will is determined by the stars all praise and blame, admonishment and punishment would become pointless. As was the case in his discussion of the intellect, so also in his discussion of the will does Pignon end with a few considerations to the contrary. The heavens may incline the will by influencing material conditions and circumstances of any volitional act. Thus people may be inclined or compelled by conditions of the atmosphere (such as heat, cold or pestilence) or by conditions of the body (such as disease, the inclinations and effects endemic to their complexion, or injury to the brain). Again, though the will is not determined by the heavens, it is not out of heaven's reach.

In conclusion to the second part of his treatise, Pignon deals with the nature of celestial causation.¹⁹¹ The influence of the heavens is undeniably there, but the heavens do not impose necessity on their sublunar effects. Pignon presents the following three reasons: (1) matter is disposed to receive a plurality of forms and is in no way constrained by the heavens to receive any particular form; (2) the things and occurrences in this world depend on the remote causes (stars) and what Aquinas calls the proximate causes (the passive and active virtues of inferior bodies); and (3) the perfect motions of the heavens ought to have perfect effects; in the sublunar realm effects are far from perfect which must result from the imperfections of the 'causes prochaines'. For Aquinas these three reasons summarise the conditions of contingency. The motor of all sublunar changes is the stars, but the stars do not determine the nature of this change. This is left to causes that Aristotle termed fortuitous. More abstractly, Aquinas listed the following three causes *per accidens*.¹⁹²

¹⁹⁰ CLD II.5.

¹⁹¹ CLD II.6.

¹⁹² Aquinas, *In metaphysicam* VI.3 (1210). See Litt, *Corps célestes*, p. 216.

- (1) defect in the material cause;
- (2) concurrence of two (or more) non-subordinated causes;
- (3) defect in the operation of an efficient cause.

The effects produced by these causes (along with those produced by the will) can be called contingent and escape stellar determinism. It will be observed that these three causes match the ones Pignon listed in CLD II.6.

Because Pignon has lifted Aquinas's discussion of contingency and free will and the absence of necessity from celestial causation in these matters somewhat out of the context of the SCG, the reader is left wondering what the precise relation between remote and proximate causes is. Pignon may have felt the omission as he was writing CLD II.6 and possibly wanted to add some explanatory information, but he produced a paragraph in muddled French instead in which Aquinas's distinction between remote and proximate causes is combined with the notions of primary and secondary causes in a rather confusing way. The following elucidations are therefore in order. Aquinas recognises three primary causes in the universe.

- (1) an incorruptible and immutable primary cause: God;
- (2) incorruptible and mutable secondary causes: celestial bodies and their angelic movers;
- (3) corruptible and mutable causes: inferior bodies.

These classes of causes are hierarchically organised according to a Neoplatonic Dionysian model. The superior causes move the ones immediately inferior to them, who in turn are instrumental in moving the ones one step further down. Thus the inferior bodies are moved by the celestial bodies, which are moved by the angelic movers, who are moved by God. Motion should be conceived here in Aristotelian terms: God does not actively impart movement but inspires it through the love that His creatures bear Him. A brief exposition of this hierarchy is lacking in CLD (the presentation of CLD II.6 being very confused) but Pignon made up for it in CDE.

Pignon's later treatise CDE contains a fuller and more complete account of causality. Essentially his presentation focuses on the causal chains that make up the cosmic hierarchy and on the reasons why things escape celestial influence (i.e. because there is contingency and free will). Explanations concerning the latter point he largely copied from CLD, but the former point receives its fullest treatment in CDE. Since Pignon is our main hero, a survey is in order.

4.5.3 *Pignon on Causality in CDE*

Pignon explains how the heavenly spheres rule all corporeal things in the world. Celestial bodies are superior (1) because they are incorruptible as opposed to inferior bodies that are in a constant flux on account of the

contrarieties, the formative principles of matter; and (2) because they have perfect regular motions ‘uniforme de orrient en occident et de occident en orrient’.¹⁹³ The premiss in these two arguments is, of course, that the inferior must be governed by the superior, which holds not only for the material but also for the spiritual beings. Hence man’s intellect receives its knowledge from the angels.¹⁹⁴ The rule of the superior over the inferior immediately takes Pignon to the problem of determinism. The heavens do not impose necessity (1) because of the refractoriness of matter;¹⁹⁵ (2) because ‘aucun effait a plusieurs causes concurrens en sa production’;¹⁹⁶ and (3) because of the ‘difformité’, ‘variacion’, and ‘contrarietté’ of the ‘effais naturelx’ that are due to ‘la disposicion des secondes causes prouchains qui souvent sont contraires a la souveraine, qui est le ciel’.¹⁹⁷ These three reasons, of course, are the same as the three causes *per accidens* listed earlier and the three reasons that Pignon elaborated in CLD II.6. CLD was an important source for CDE, for Pignon copied from his earlier treatise the arguments that will and reason are exempt from celestial influence.¹⁹⁸

These central themes, the rule of the superior over the inferior, contingency and free will, constitute the main borrowings from CLD, but CDE elaborates these themes by a discussion of hierarchy and secondary causation. This hierarchy is clearly modelled on the one by Aquinas outlined above. Bearing that structure in mind we summarise Pignon’s exposition as follows.

God is the universal and general cause of all things actual and possible,¹⁹⁹ who bestows ‘being’ on the things of creation and determines their goal.²⁰⁰ As ruler God knows all things past, present and future in his eternal present, and He organises all things hierarchically.²⁰¹

More important than Pignon’s references to the First Cause are his references to secondary causes. Pignon gives the example of a builder. Though a builder is more praiseworthy to the extent that he knows not only the general principles but also the particular details of a building (such as the amount of brick necessary), he still leaves the actual building to his workers (*causa efficiens* of the building).²⁰² The same goes for a ruler or king who

¹⁹³ CDE II. 49-50, p. 148.

¹⁹⁴ CDE II. 133-150, pp. 149-150.

¹⁹⁵ CDE II. 235-262, p. 152.

¹⁹⁶ CDE II. 263-293, pp. 152-153.

¹⁹⁷ CDE II. 294-315, p. 153.

¹⁹⁸ CLD II.4+5; CDE II. 316-495, pp. 153-157; cf. the scheme on p. 216 in the present study.

¹⁹⁹ CDE II. 1052-1058, p. 169.

²⁰⁰ CDE II. 1070-1082, p. 169.

²⁰¹ CDE II. 1083-1104, pp. 169-170.

²⁰² CDE II. 1135-1164, pp. 170-171.

needs a whole hierarchy of officers and servants for government:²⁰³ 'car avoir plusieurs administrateurs et ministres dessoubz ung gouverneur est plus grant noblesse que avoir mains',²⁰⁴ an obvious point of view for a civil servant or diplomat like Pignon: 'ainsy voit on chambellans, conseillers, chanceliers, secretaires, baillis, provoz, eschevins, maires, sergens et tant d'aultres que on peut dire, et tous neccessaires'.²⁰⁵ In like manner, God has His workers or efficient causes: 'les causes moyennes qui sont angelz, corps celestiaux, plusieurs influences, constellacions du cours du ciel'.²⁰⁶ Repeatedly Pignon stresses that under God's rule some things result from necessary causes, other things from voluntary causes and others still from contingent causes,²⁰⁷ but, this being said, he provides a full account of stellar causation.

All things move as a result of stellar motion. Pignon compares the heavens to the wheels of a clock or the wings of a mill²⁰⁸ that set everything else in motion. Celestial motion is a necessary condition for all other motion, for 'se la roe cesse l'ouvrage cesse'.²⁰⁹ This does not mean that the latter is predetermined by the former. The relationship between celestial cause and contingent effect resembles the relationship that Augustine posited between God and free agent. All capability to act derives from God, but the actual choices are left up to the agents. Likewise celestial bodies bestow all power to move, but actual motions in this world may be contingent. Next to efficient causes, the heavens are also the formal causes of things in this world because the material world is governed by celestial influence. This influence is received, first, in the four elements from which all corporeal things have been composed. Each planet has its own virtue, influence and motion (some planets taking longer, others shorter to encompass the earth) so that

par icelly mouvement et influence toutes choses encloses entre eulx recoivent 'estre', vye, operacion. Et neantmoins combien que soubz ung meisme instant et heure plusieurs hommes puissent naistre, toutesfois n'est point possible que soubz ung mesme raye.²¹⁰

²⁰³ CDE II. 1165-1187, p. 171.

²⁰⁴ CDE II. 1131-1133, p. 170.

²⁰⁵ CDE II. 1183-1187, p. 171.

²⁰⁶ CDE II. 1205-1207, p. 172. The analogy between a ruler's council and the heavenly council is evident.

²⁰⁷ CDE II. 1261-1265, 1279-1283, p. 173.

²⁰⁸ CDE II. 1682-1692, p. 182.

²⁰⁹ CDE I. 1688, p. 182.

²¹⁰ CDE II. 1668-1674, pp. 181-182.

This latter remark is quite striking since it voices the reply an astrologer might give to the twin argument. Though it does not refute the sceptical argument of immeasurability of minute differences, it does confirm that people who are born simultaneously are subject to quite different 'rays' of influence and will hence differ among themselves. Next to the four elements, celestial influences also condition the four contrary qualities that produce the elements in nature and the various complexions ('sanguin, flematique, colerique, et melencolique') in man.²¹¹ The heavenly bodies do not impose necessity on their effects but nevertheless 'par icelles irradiacions qui font l'influence sont engendré hommes et femmes; naissent, vivent et ont leur inclinacions a certains ouvrages selon la nature de la constellation soubz quoy ilz sont engendré et nei'.²¹² The influence of the stars on the human frame is quite extensive and Pignon goes so far as to attribute the existence of the tripartite structure of society (the theme to which CDE owes its title though it occupies less than a quarter of the whole treatise) to the stars. He includes a general list of the planets and the complexions they are supposed to foster: under the influence of the Moon people are virtuous, but have a changeable will; under Mercury people are ingenious, and skilful in merchandise and public government; under Mars they are belligerent, 'de courage felon'; under the Sun they are gracious and fond of honour; under Jupiter they are studious, wise, 'enclins a servir aux temples'; under Venus sensuous, amorous, fond of music and play; and finally under Saturn grave, dangerous and melancholy. In CLD Pignon pointed out that celestial influences could only be formulated 'en terme generalz' and that the mistake of the foolish astrologers was to suppose there is 'contrainte et necessité' which allows them to make predictions 'descendent a termes particuliers',²¹³ but from his remarks on the planets and their effects it will be evident that Pignon is less of a sceptic than he professes to be. Essentially the astrological presuppositions of Pignon are the same as those of the diviners he opposes. In many ways he paints a rather extreme picture of them as if they believed that through astrology 'il puelent savoir *entierement toute* la disposicion et ordenance du temps a advenir'.²¹⁴ Surely an astrologer who wanted to stay in business would be careful to avoid such definite statements.

To sum up, it is evident that Pignon's views of causality stay very close to Aquinas's. He accepts God as primary and universal cause of everything, which, reasoning along the lines of Aquinas's natural philosophy, means that God sets everything in motion, but leaves the actual execution of His plans

²¹¹ CDE II. 1692-1717, p. 182.

²¹² CDE II. 1727-1732, p. 183.

²¹³ CLD II.4, final lines.

²¹⁴ CLD II.6; italics mine.

to his ministers. These are the middle causes, the angels and the celestial bodies they move, which Aquinas labels 'remote causes' or 'secondary causes' and which Pignon sometimes confusingly calls 'sovereign causes' (probably meaning sovereign in the created order). These middle causes in turn move the lower, proximate causes (i.e. the four contrarieties and the material bodies in this world, which Pignon tends to call 'secondary causes' though he also uses this term for celestial bodies) and make all sublunar change possible. This influence of the higher on the lower is not deterministic because of man's free will and the contingency that arises from the imperfections and the corruptibility (Pignon speaks of 'fluxibilité') of the proximate causes. By definition, will and reason are exempt from cosmic determinism, but Pignon realised that the physical conditions of body and brain are a weak point and open up the possibility of celestial influence (strengthening the case for astrology) and, as we saw in an earlier section, the possibility of demonic influence.

Pignon used this hierarchic model and its causal relationships both for a discourse on superstition and for one on politics. No doubt the scholastic model was close to his heart, but its application is not self-evident in a discourse such as CLD that essentially hinges on the notion of the devil's pact. In his discussion of causality he does not elaborate on the role of demons, which makes these chapters reminiscent of Oresme's *Livre*. We already noticed that Pignon's demons are pre-scholastic and not fully integrated in (and hence restrained by) the Aristotelian cosmos. In his attack on divination Pignon therefore stresses the impediments to celestial influence (free will and contingency), whereas conversely in his work on the three estates he wishes to draw out the structure of the cosmic hierarchy and, ironically enough, the influences whereby the superior rules (but not determines) the inferior. One may safely conclude that CLD and CDE are complementary and are essentially composed from the same ideas. This is hardly surprising in view of Pignon's political interests. The anti-deterministic arguments of CLD are, in fact, the cornerstones of his ideas on political rule which he conceives of in terms of secondary causation.²¹⁵

Pignon may not have gone very far in what we earlier called the naturalisation of demons, but to show how demonology and causality can be made compatible within a Dionysian hierarchic world view, we shall in conclusion concentrate once more on a passage from Jehan Tainture's *Contre la Vauderie*. Tainture improves on the causality-argument by referring explicitly to local motion, which Pignon rather clumsily referred to as 'mouvement de orrient en occident et de occident en orrient'. As his clock-metaphor shows, Pignon did grasp that local motion underlies all other

²¹⁵ CDE II. 1309-1317, p. 174.

motion, especially the processes of generation and corruption in this world, to which Taincture more ably refers.

Selon la doctrine de saint Denis la sapience divine ait joint et uny les fins des premiers choses aux commencement des secondes. Il est de neccessité que la nature et chose basse en ce qui est en soy le plus noble et esleüe soit touchié de la nature haulte, et pour ce que le mouvement de lieu en lieu est le premier et le plus parfait mouvement qui soit en nature corporelle.

Car come enseigne Aristote, le mouvement local ne touche ou dispose a la corruption et perte de la substance ce que font toutes les autres especes et manieres de mouvemens. Car generation et corruption attingnent la substance en soy et alteracion, augmentation et diminucion sont dispositions preparatoires a la corruption et perte de la substance. Au surplus le mouvement local se treuve bien sans les autres, comme ou ciel n'est quelque mouvement fors le local. Mais les autres ne pevent estre sans lui. Si s'ensieut en bonne consequence que se les autres mouvemens sont quelque part, aussi y est le mouvement local. Mais ceste consequence ne puet estre retournee, car il ne s'ensuit pas se icellui local mouvement est en quelque corps que pourtant les autres y soient.

Puis doncquez que le mouvement local est le premier et le plus parfait mouvement qui soit en nature corporelle, comme dit est, il fault que nature corporelle obeïsse a la nature espirituelle en cestui mouvement local. Si s'ensuit neccessairement que l'angele puist a la verité faire et produire toutes les choses et non autres qui pevent sourdre et naistre par applicquier et joindre localment les choses actives aux passives en quelque maniere que ce soit. Et qui est cellui qui ne sace tresbien que le Createur a conferé aux corporelz elemens du monde une grande vertu et tresample povoir qui est principalement en aucunes secretes et incogneüz semences esparses par tout en la nature corporelle desquelles differemment jointez et ensemble appliquez sourdent de bien merveilleuses besoingnez et tresestrangez affectz et toutes ces choses pevent se faire a la verité par le subtil engien du dyable.²¹⁶

Angels and demons can only affect matter through a means immediately subordinated to them, i.e. the most noble quality of matter, which is local motion. But with this tool they can produce many *mirabilia*. This encapsulation of demons in a pattern of natural causation was interpreted earlier as a restriction of their power (which it is when compared to dualism), but at the same time it implies an increase in their capabilities. If demons can use local motion, and if local motion underlies all other motions in the world, the scope of their capacities is quite impressive. Naturalising demons will logically lead to the demonisation of nature.

²¹⁶ Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, ms. 11209, fol. 57r-58v.

4.6 Conclusion

Taincture lucidly expresses what is the essential point of all theological criticism of superstition. He explains the remarkable feats of magic and divination by means of the perfect blend of demons and natural causes. Pignon's way of thinking agrees with Taincture's, though this does not yet find a mature expression in CLD. His modest demonology and his elaborate treatment of efficient causation betray a philosophical orientation and make CLD resemble Oresme's *Livre*, even though Pignon entirely lacks Oresme's scepticism. Yet essentially Pignon and Taincture are of one mind. Both accept the same cosmological hierarchy as the backcloth of their speculations; both are motivated by a similar inquisitorial zeal to eradicate heresy; both conceive of magic in the same theological categories (idolatry and the devil's pact); and though they differ in the elaboration of their demonologies, we have noticed in Pignon the tendency to broaden the field of the devil's influence.

This expansion of demonic power raises an important question. What are the limits of the demonisation of nature? Turning demons into natural causes, does not make them less evil or dangerous; not does it sanction people's dealings with them. Making demonic actions intelligible in terms of natural philosophy, means that some of the things that happen *naturaliter* have demonic causes and should be shunned. Since the demon-wrought events themselves, however, can be understood *naturaliter*, like all other events in the world, it is difficult to see how they can be told apart. One could question not simply the possibility of such a distinction, but even the need for it. If the stars cannot touch the will and the rational soul of man, neither can demons (who can only operate through local motion); there is always the danger of deceit and temptation, but since the wise man can rule the stars, he can also withstand demonic snares. It is not inconceivable that demonic magic argues along these lines and regards demonic powers as a subset of the hidden virtues of nature.

If demonic magic is an undesirable consequence of the demonisation of nature, one may wonder why this demonisation should have been brought about in the first place. Why should demons be able to control local motion? If evil is a *privatio boni*, a defect, one may assume that demons as fallen angels have incurred a certain amount of damage. In other words, they are no longer the perfect creatures they used to be as their degradation to the sphere below the Moon (in a Neoplatonic hierarchy) clearly indicates. If they can lose spiritual perfection, why then, would they not also forfeit their capacity to exert influence over nature?

By granting demons power over local motion and hence giving them the potential to interfere in virtually all processes of movement and change in this world, demonologists seem to be caught in the snare that their *privatio*

boni-theology originally tried to avoid. Theoretically demons may not be able to rival God, but in practice, in the sublunar realm, they are ubiquitous. It seems only a small step from the formal philosophical limitations of demonic power, such as their incapacity to cause substantial change (as in lycanthropy) to the demonologies of the great witch-craze. The main reason why theologians were disinclined to impose such limits on demons, was that they feared that the denial of demonic influence on the world would result in the denial of demons themselves and hence, perhaps, in the denial of sin and evil. This fear is essentially a dualistic fear since it sees demons as a necessary condition for moral and religious instruction. The basic idea is that the exorcist needs demons in order to be an exorcist.

A critique of superstition must decide on what it will do with demons. Radical 'exorcism', as one can find it in Oresme, is a serious option; or one may follow Witelo's suggestion and confine demons to aerial prisons. The predominantly theological and moralistic critiques, such as Pignon's, accepted the power of demons and explained their operations in terms of natural philosophy. This decision places these critiques in a middle position between the two extremes of a theory of demonic magic (demons may be evil but not unusable) and a thoroughly naturalistic 'demon-less' view of nature.

RECAPITULATION

In conclusion to this introductory study, we briefly recapitulate its main conclusions in relation to the treatise *Contre les devineurs*.

1. The author of CLD.

Though the treatise CLD is anonymous, the author can be identified as Laurens Pignon on the basis of references in the authorised treatise CDE. In this treatise on the three estates, written in the late 1420s and dedicated to Philip the Good, Pignon refers explicitly to an earlier treatise called *Contre les devineurs*. Manuscript 11216 from the Royal Library in Brussels bears that title. It also contains a date, 1411, and is dedicated to John the Fearless, the father of Philip the Good. An additional important ground for the identification of Pignon as author consists in the substantial textual overlap between the two treatises. A number of passages are virtually identical and go back on the same sources.¹ In itself this overlap is no proof, but in conjunction with the reference to CLD the attribution is reliable. Pignon wrote CLD early in his career and its composition coincides with Pignon's appointment as father confessor to Philip, the son of John the Fearless.

2. The motives of CLD.

The growth of magic, court astrology and other forms of divination was a source of grave disturbance to Pignon,² but the most compelling motive for writing the treatise seems to have been Pignon's conviction that the civil war of 1411 was caused by princely dabblings in the occult. This assumption has an historical implication that Pignon does not further elucidate. Was the civil war God's punishment for man's trespasses? The *exemplum* of Saul and the witch of Endor (which Pignon adduced to emphasise his point) suggests a more subtle relationship between the sin and the war. Interest in magic has caused the court to degenerate, and in Pignon's organised and hierarchical world view moral degeneration at the top immediately leads to chaos.

3. The aims of CLD.

The aim that Pignon pursues in his treatise consists in providing lay instruction for a court audience. Preaching against the abuses of magic and divination was not uncommon (Gerson is a prominent example) and Pignon states in his treatise that he wants to 'prechier verité'. Around 1400 there was a steadily growing literature censuring superstition, and Pignon consciously

¹ For further details the reader is referred to the 'Introduction to the Manuscript', pp. 215-219 below.

² CLD, second prologue.

follows its main characteristics. The age in which Pignon lived was a period in which many translations and vernacularisations were produced of learned Latin texts³ and again Pignon follows the trend by paraphrasing and translating sections from Aquinas. Pignon, however, did not want only to imitate homiletic and literary models in order to educate the court. He confesses that he was personally disturbed by the practices of magic and divination that he witnessed among courtiers and the clergy. His aims can briefly be summarised as moralistic censure and philosophical instruction.

4. The themes of CLD.

The central theme of the treatise is *superstitio*. Pignon derives his main theme from his source, Thomas Aquinas, who defines *superstitio* as a perversion of true religious worship, thus making it synonymous with idolatry. For Pignon superstition covers two main areas: magic and divination. He expounds both themes in moralistic religious terms, but adds (from a different section of the works of Aquinas) a didactic and philosophical discussion on causality to prove, as it were, the fallacy of divination. Pignon not only appeals to faith, he also appeals to reason.

5. The contexts of CLD.

The treatise derives its significance mainly from two contexts: a socio-historical context of popular or courtly magic and court-astrology, and a literary, intellectual context of learned treatises on superstition, astrology and magic. The socio-historical surveys in chapters 2 and 3 have shown the prominent role that magic and divination played in popular and court life of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, but only a few details of this wealth of historical material transpire in the treatise. Pignon's literary and philosophical sources are clearly the dominant influences. They include first and foremost Thomas Aquinas, but also Isidore of Seville, the Decretals, Gregory of Tours and possibly Nicole Oresme. The relation between these two contexts is interesting. Though Pignon's main incentive to write (namely the war of 1411) clearly derives from the first context, he can only come to terms with his subject by means of the second context. The world of experience and the world of books are related for Pignon, but not fully integrated.

6. The meaning and significance of CLD.

When we deal with the significance of CLD the following conclusions can be made. Firstly, CLD is an important source for the study of magic and divination in the courtly environment of France and Burgundy in the period around 1400, but as a source it should be used with the utmost care. The examples of magic and divination that Pignon gives are based on literary models (mostly on Aquinas) with a long history of transmission, and not on reality. Only where literary models are absent, can it be assumed that

³ On Pignon as translator, see 'Introduction to the Manuscript', pp. 213-222 below.

contemporary divinatory and magical realities transpire. In CLD these 'realities' are, e.g., the 'cedules' with prognostications that circulated at court, the frequent astrological consultations, the practices of dream-interpreters and the sorceries committed near Dijon. References such as to the 'vieilles sorcieres', on the other hand, are a literary *topos* and have no direct relation to contemporary reality. Secondly, CLD demonstrates the significance, perhaps even the popularity of Aquinas's questions on *superstitio*, and it provides us with concrete evidence of its transmission. CLD shows us how scholastic knowledge was disseminated in the vernacular. Thirdly, Pignon's treatise inevitably plays a role in the demonological literature of the later Middle Ages. CLD has a marked inquisitorial tendency but does not provide an elaborate demonology to further that end. Pignon does not seek to inspire fear of the devil in his readers but tries to arouse their concern for the dangers that threaten the proper God-given order of things in this world. In his perception, interest in magic and divination does not lead to frenzied demonic possessions (the mental aberrations that would attract the attention of later witch-hunters), but first and foremost to war and bad government, in short, to social disruption. The fact that CLD and CDE are based on the same cosmological ideas clearly shows that Pignon saw magic and divination as 'political' crimes, as assaults on the proper *ordo*.

LAURENS PIGNON
CONTRE LES DEVINEURS

INTRODUCTION TO THE MANUSCRIPT

BRUXELLES, BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE, MS. 11216

1. *Codicological Observations*

The *Traité contre les devineurs* survives in a unique manuscript-copy: ms. 11216 of the Royal Library in Brussels. The text was written on parchment of relatively poor quality. The book contains 60 folia measuring approximately 212 × 149 mm each. Some leaves have different measurements due to their irregular shape. The text of the treatise runs from fol. 2r up to and including fol. 59v. The text columns measure 145 × 106 mm on average and each page contains 29 lines of text, with the exception of fol. 42r+v which has 30 lines.

The book is rebound in a modern eighteenth-century binding. Though this binding is fairly tight the following collation could be reconstructed. The manuscript consists of 8 quires of four double leaves (i.e. 8 folia) each, with the exception of the third quire, which is an anomaly. The following formula depicts the collation: 1⁸ + 1 leaf before 1 (fol.1); 2⁸; 3² + 1 leaf after 2 (fol.20); 4⁸; 5⁸; 6⁸; 7⁸; 8⁸. Quires proved identifiable on the basis of catch-words in the lower right hand corner of the last page of each quire (on fols. 9v, 17v, 20v, 28v, 36v, 44v, 52v resp.). Only the first two quires bear signatures in the bottom right hand corner: in Q1 fol. 2r has 'a', fol. 5r has 'd'; in Q2 fol. 10r has 'i', fol. 11r has 'ij', fol. 12r has 'iij', and fol. 13r has 'iiij'. The text was written in one hand in a *littera Gothica textualis*. Some corrections were made in the text or occasionally in the margins of the text.

Folio 1 was inserted before the text and may have been part of the earlier, fifteenth-century binding of the book in which it possibly served as a fly-leaf. Fol. 1r contains the title of the work 'Traité contre les divineurs' in a later hand. Fol. 1v contains what appears to be (part of) a 30-line letter written in Latin (in cursive script) of which the contents are difficult to reconstruct because the tight binding of the book renders the end of each line illegible so that it is hard to determine how much is lost in this way. The last line bears a date: *quadragesimo quartodecimo mensis decembris die qu(...)*, i.e. December (4, 5, 14, 15?), 1414, followed below by a defective signature: 'Joha(...)'. The date makes the document contemporary to the treatise. It contains the names of pope John XXIII, Robertus Ansem and Johannis Lachenel.

Prior to folio 1 there is a paper leaf (probably inserted when the book was rebound in the eighteenth century) which contains the following (nineteenth-

century) handwritten remark by one the librarians of the Bibliothèque Royale: 'Ce volume a 59 feuillets plus un feuillet blanc sur lequel se trouvent les signatures de Brimeu, de Chassa dit le benetru et d'Olivier de La Marche qu'y a inséré sa devise *tant a souffert*. Voy la *Biblioth. protypogr.* et M. Jules Barrois Nos. 1217 et 2098. Cet exemplaire est le No. 1217, car le second feuillet commence par *requiest* et le reste de la description lui convient. F. D. R.' The three signatures are discussed in the section on the history of the manuscript.

2. The Edition

2.1 Treatment of the Text

The main objective of this edition is to provide an intelligible and readable text. To that end a system of positive correction was applied to all scribal errors, omissions and other textual obscurities. Manuscript-readings that were not emendable in the text itself by means of the sigla were assigned to the notes, and, in some cases, where this was deemed necessary, supplemented by explanations and comments. The spelling in the manuscript is highly inconsistent, but no standardisation was attempted. Likewise grammar and syntax leave much to be desired, but as long as inconsistencies did not impair the legibility, no editorial intervention was applied. Intervention is ideally limited to brief editorial corrections; but a number of obscure and problematic sentences and phrases remain that could not be remedied in this way. In these instances explanations, reading-suggestions and discussions are provided in the footnotes, where necessary accompanied by a reconstruction of the problematic phrases and clauses.

In editing the text, I have followed the guidelines of the *Etablissement de règles pratiques pour l'édition des anciens textes français*,¹ especially the section on the treatment of the text. In addition the following remarks should be made: capitalisation was applied to all proper nouns and the names of the divinity including the Church (in the corporate sense of the body of Christ); punctuation follows modern conventions; titles and Latin words and passages were consistently italicised; the i/j and u/v spelling was adapted to modern conventions; final '-x', however, was not converted to '-us'; occasionally the manuscript uses 'c' for 's' and vice versa ('ce' instead of 'se'; 'se' instead of 'ce'; but also 'ceconde' etc.), but, again, where legibility was not impeded, no correction was made.

¹ Published in *Romania* 52 (1926), pp. 243-249.

A remark should be made about the footnotes. They contain: (1) manuscript-readings; (2) elucidations and discussions of textual problems; (3) source-references including the original texts which were paraphrased or translated by Pignon; and (4) explanations of words, names, concepts and arguments as well as commentaries on Pignon's discourse and thoughts in general. The first two concern the language of the text, the latter two its contents. Since form and content are highly interdependent and (though distinguishable) practically inseparable, no formal segregation was attempted of these four functions on the level of the lay-out.

The manuscript contains a number of brief marginal notes and glosses, containing source-references, mostly to verses and passages from the Bible. Some of these notes were rendered illegible because of the tight binding of the book or because the ink has faded, but where possible these notes were recorded and expounded in the footnotes.

The following textual signs are used:

- (>) Pointed brackets indicate editorial additions, by way of correction or conjecture, of letters or words that do not appear in the manuscript-text.
- () Parentheses indicate material that can be found in the manuscript, but which should be omitted to make the text grammatically correct and/or intelligible.
- [] Square brackets indicate the foliation of the manuscript-text. In the notes square brackets were used to mark the solutions of abbreviations in the marginal notes and glosses of the manuscript.
- | | Lines or strokes were used to mark words and phrases that, though they are in the manuscript, were somehow misplaced and have been relocated. All instances of relocation and shifting are accompanied by explanatory notes.
- † A cross indicates that a passage was deleted either by the scribe of the manuscript or by the editor. All such deletions are accompanied by explanatory footnotes.

2.2 *Structure*

The treatise contains several rubricated words, titles and explicits that function as structuring devices. The titles of the chapters of the treatise, the captions of the subsections of chapters, and of the tables of contents and the rubricated explicits have all been italicised in the present edition. It seemed appropriate, however, to print the main titles and incipits of the treatise (also rubricated) in bold capitals, so as to clearly demarcate the three parts of the text.

The structure of the text is quite intricate. The text contains two prologues, a short table of contents outlining the themes of the three parts of the treatise, followed by the three parts themselves, each of them preceded by a table of contents listing the subjects of its constituent chapters. Contrary to parts 1 and 3, which have a straightforward chapter division, part 2, modelled on Thomas Aquinas's *Summa theologiae*, is organised according to the scholastic method. The first three of its six chapters contain a number of propositions, that in themselves can be analysed into two parts, the former explanatory, giving a detailed exposition of the proposition, the latter disputative, forwarding a number of objections to the proposition at hand, which are then consecutively answered and refuted. To facilitate reading, and with the express purpose of bringing out the scholastic structure of the second part, all chapters and subsections of chapters have been numbered by a simple code: thus II.1.2, for instance, refers to part II, chapter 1, proposition 2, etc. In addition to this, the separate objections and their corresponding replies in the discursive part of the first three chapters of part II were numbered where this seemed appropriate (i.e. where the number of objections is more than one, and where the reader will find such a corollary of matching objections and replies helpful). No such structuring devices were employed in the original manuscript. The rubrications obviously were employed to achieve some sort of stratification, but they sometimes fail in this respect, since they were not used consistently.

The use of rubrics in the manuscript may be illustrated from fol. 16v (cf. the edited text below) where we find the end of part I and the beginning of part II. The explicit of part I is rubricated (hence italicised in the edited text), and so is the incipit of part II: 'Chy commence la seconde partie de cest treitié' which appears as a capitalised title in the present edition. Next, rubrications are used as a structuring device in the table of contents to part II as a whole, and to the table of contents of chapter 1 (fol. 16r-16v) which lists the four propositions with which this chapter deals. Each separate item in such a list is accompanied (always at the end of a line) by a rubric repeating the first few words of that item ('ou premier capitre', 'ou tiers capitre', 'ou .vi°. chapitre', etc.; or, in the list of propositions, simply: 'la tierce', 'quarte', etc.). Since these rubrics would only burden the lay-out and

add nothing to clarify the text, they were entirely omitted from the edition and replaced by the earlier mentioned numerals. Another reason for omitting them is the fact that the copyist did not use them consistently: the table of contents of part III (fol. 47v), for instance, contains only one single rubric for chapter 1, although the list comprises ten chapters.

Rubrics were also used by the copyist to mark the beginnings of the prologues, the chapters, and the subsections of chapters. These rubrics were italicised and incorporated in the text as titles and captions. They also include the word 'contre' which the copyist used several times in part II, chapters 1-3, to mark the sections containing the objections and refutations. Again, the use of these rubrics is not consistent: CLD II.2.6 has a caption but is not rubricated (hence not italicised); CLD II.1.2, II.2.2 up to II.2.5, II.3 and II.4, to mention a few instances, have no rubricated titles, and also the word 'contre' is omitted frequently. Where these markers lack in the manuscript, they have been added in their appropriate places in the edited text for the sake of clarity and consistency.

One final remark must be made concerning a rubricated word on fol. 30r, line 18 of the manuscript. The word 'occultes' is written in red and has been italicised in the edited text. It is neither a title, nor a caption, nor a catchword, nor a note; it is the only word in the actual text of the treatise to be rubricated, and without any apparent reason (i.e. it does not require more emphasis than other phrases in the same context). In the margin (of the same line 18) again the word 'occultes' can be discerned, probably serving as a direction for the rubrication.

3. *History of the Manuscript*

Doutrepoint summarily lists the few details that can be traced as to the history of the manuscript.² The book does not appear in the inventory³ that Philip the Good had commissioned Jehan Bonost, Jacques de Templeuve and Jehan de La Chesnel (in all likelihood the same as the Johannis Lachenel mentioned above) to draw up in 1420, the year after the death of his father. In fact, the

² The literature on CLD is not very extensive. The following list contains the most important references. Doutrepoint, *La littérature française*, pp. 180, 289-290; Georges Dogaer and Marguerite Debae, *De Librije van Filips de Goede*, no. 123, pp. 84-85; Werner Paravicini, *Guy de Brimeu: Der burgundische Staat und seine adlige Führungsschicht unter Karl dem Kühnen* (Bonn 1975) pp. 88-90; Vanderjagt, "Enige inleidende opmerkingen over Laurentius Pignon en zijn werk", pp. 197-222 (this article provides in an appendix a transcription of the first prologue of the treatise); Vanderjagt, *Laurens Pignon*, pp. 9-10, 137, 140 ff, 152 ff.

³ This inventory was published by Doutrepoint: *Inventaire de la «Librairie» de Philippe le Bon 1420*.

book was not catalogued until 1467, after the death of Philip the Good.⁴ An account survives from the following year, July 1468, which records that the book was bound: 'Pour avoir fait fermer et clorre quatre livres que Jehan le Tourneur avoit en sa garde, assavoir: l'un de la *Vie de seur Collette*, le *Premier livre du Trésor*, le *Traictié contre les divineurs* et le *Quart livre de Zénophon*, VI s'.⁵ 'Quel est ce Jehan le Tourneur qui, d'après un compte de juillet 1468 "avoit quatre livres en sa garde"?' Doutrepoint wonders in a footnote.⁶ Yet the status of Le Tourneur as courtier of Charles the Bold is not entirely lost in the mist of time. He appears in one of the published accounts of the year 1467-68: 'A Jehan le Tourneur, sommelier de corps de M(on)d(it)S(eigneur), - pour avoir fait porter l'orloge de MdS, de Mons à Bruges ... XX s'.⁷ He was also one of the more prominent members of Charles the Bold's retinue (of 1003 persons) on the occasion of the duke's meeting with emperor Frederick III of Germany on September 30, 1473.⁸ Was Jehan le Tourneur only supposed to see to the binding of the books mentioned in the account, or did he have them on loan? The fact that the account was drawn up not long after the book was catalogued suggests that the latter more or less occasioned the (re-)binding. Does this imply that the book suffered from relative neglect between its composition in 1411 and the time it was mentioned in the inventory of 1467? We cannot be sure, but we would do well to bear in mind that libraries and storehouses can be the embodiment of cultural amnesia.

The fact that the book was recorded so late may suggest that it led an inconspicuous existence, but it is not inconceivable that it was absent from the ducal library because it was actually read and circulated among members of the Burgundian court. Some traces of this, be it for the latter part of the fifteenth century, survive on the final pages of the manuscript where the names of three readers or owners and their personal motto's can be found. Fol. 60r reads: 'Non force Brimeu' and on fol. 60v two owner-marks can

⁴ The inventory of 1467 was incorporated into Jules Barrois's *Bibliothèque Prototypographique* (1830) and the *Traictié* seems to have existed in two copies listed as nos. 1217 and 2098 respectively. A librarian of the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels identified ms. 11216 as no. 1217 on the basis of an incipit. Of no. 2098 in Barrois's list no trace remains. Paravicini (*Guy de Brimeu*, p. 89, n. 18) points out that chancellor Guillaume Hugonet may have owned a copy of the same or a similar book. The catalogue of his library mentions 'ung traictié contre les astrologiens, en papier': L.-P. Gachard, "Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de Guillaume Hugonet", in: *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire* 2 (1838), p. 126. This need not have been a copy of Pignon's text. The reference in Hugonet's catalogue may well have been to an entirely different treatise altogether, such as Oresme's *Contra astrologos*, for instance.

⁵ Doutrepoint, *La littérature française*, p. 180.

⁶ Doutrepoint, *La littérature française*, p. 465.

⁷ Laborde, *Preuves*, vol. 1, no. 1938, p. 499.

⁸ Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, p. 141.

be found: 'Benetru ou Chassa le .J.' and 'Tant a souffert Lamarche'. The references are to Guy de Brimeu, lord of Humbercourt, Jean le Chassa otherwise known as 'le Benetru' (an hereditary family nickname) and Olivier de La Marche, personal friends and counsellors of Charles the Bold, in whose company the duke apparently enjoyed reading and discussing books.⁹ Commenting on these signatures Paravicini remarks: 'Ist dies ein Zeugnis jener Lesestunden von denen derselbe Olivier de La Marche in seinem Mémoires spricht? Er sagt vom jungen Karl: *Jamais ne se couchoit qu'il ne fist lire deux heures devant luy, et lisoit souvent devant luy le seigneur de Humbercourt, qui moult bien lisoit et retenoit*'.¹⁰ Apparently the duke's favourites were books on Roman history, but whether the treatise by Pignon was ever the object of the duke's perusal we can never tell.

The most notable of these three men is no doubt Olivier de La Marche (c. 1425-1502) whose lineage and person and even his very soul were intimately involved in the house of Burgundy which, if not for the royal house of France, he would not hesitate to call 'la plus grande du monde'.¹¹ Less intimately associated with the court was Jehan le Chassa, a nobleman from the Franche-Comté, who made himself a career from *pannetier* to ducal counsellor, but who in 1470 fell into disgrace, was accused of conspiring to kill Charles, and dismissing these allegations as slanders practically accused the duke of buggery.¹² Guy de Brimeu, lord of Humbercourt, was one of Charles's most powerful lieutenants, who in the final years of Charles's reign established for himself what has been described as 'a state within a state', centering on Maastricht as capital. After the death of Charles the Bold he came to a bad end on April 3, 1477, when, after severe torture, he was decapitated at Ghent for treason.¹³ Despite the ultimate misfortunes of at least two of its readers, we may wonder whether the presence of their names on the last pages of the manuscript bears witness to the relative popularity of the text.

4. Pignon as Translator

Pignon does not rank among the great and original minds of the fifteenth century. The literary fruits of his intellectual labours consist mainly in

⁹ See Vanderjagt, '*Qui sa vertu anoblist*', p. 59.

¹⁰ Paravicini, *Guy de Brimeu*, p. 89. Brimeu's motto and signature on fol. 60r of the manuscript appear as illustration no. 3 in Paravicini's book (facing p. 400).

¹¹ Doutrepont, *La littérature française*, pp. 446 ff. On La Marche's morose motto, see Huizinga, *Herfsttij*, p. 41.

¹² Paravicini, *Guy de Brimeu*, p. 89, n. 18; Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, p. 141.

¹³ Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, pp. 253-254. See also Werner Paravicini's monograph *Guy de Brimeu*.

translations and compilations. The *Catalogus* and *Chronica* record data relative to the Dominican Order, and especially the *Chronica* may serve as a useful means of establishing and corroborating some historical data (and Pignon's knowledge thereof) in the first decade of the fifteenth century, but aside from this the two small works have no bearing on Pignon's intellectual interests. Of the three works that reflect Pignon's intellectual preoccupations, viz. the French version of Durand de St. Pourçain's treatise *Circa originem potestatum et iurisdictionum*, the *Traictié contre les devineurs* and the *Traictié de la cause de la diversité des estaz*, the first is an acknowledged translation and the other two elaborate paraphrases that expound, but nevertheless very much rely on their source-texts. CLD is for the greater part based on five consecutive questions from Aquinas's *Summa theologiae*¹⁴ and on three chapters from the *Summa contra gentiles*.¹⁵ In addition to this material Pignon made use of texts by Augustine, Jerome, and Isidore of Seville. A further large amount of the references to the Bible, Augustine, Aristotle, Ptolemy and some other authorities, he derived from Thomas and not from these sources themselves.

It was no understatement when Pignon announced in the first prologue of his treatise against divination that he had no intention of venting private opinions: 'je ne veul rien dire de mon seul et propre sentement, ains je veul seulement exposer et translater de latin en françois les raisons et auctorités de la Sainte Escripiture et des sains docteurs de l'Eglise (...); je n'aye entencion de y escrire aucune cose que je n'aye leüe en livres canoniques et approuvés de Sainte Eglise'. Yet he refrains from explicitly stating who his main authority is. In his later treatise CDE, he would be more openhearted and frankly confess that he was following 'la doctrine de saint Thomas en son livre qu'il fist contre les erreurs des anciens herites et des philozophes payens'.¹⁶ In the present edition an attempt has been made to document the relation between CLD and its source-texts as carefully as possible in the notes. The Latin original was provided where this might reasonably be deemed expedient, namely when Pignon gives fairly literal paraphrases or translations, or when comparison between sources and texts is necessary for the elucidation of difficult or opaque passages. A close comparison of Thomas's texts and Pignon's renderings enables us not only to assess Pignon's reliance on the two *Summa*'s for his material, but it also automatically brings to light the remarks and passages that are original. In some cases these original passages are elaborations and explanations of themes or difficulties derived from Thomas; in a few instances, however, they are observations

¹⁴ ST 2a2ae.92-96.

¹⁵ SCG III.84-86.

¹⁶ CDE II. 1049-1051, pp. 168-169.

Pignon derived from his own experience.¹⁷ On the whole Pignon remains fairly faithful to his sources.

Also in his later treatise CDE, Thomas is the most important basis for his thought, though Pignon does seem to have a more self-confident grip on his source-material, since his paraphrases are freer and the organisation of his discourse is less obviously modelled on Thomas's. His earlier labours were a source of some pride to Pignon because he refers to CLD twice by name (CDE II. 348, 939) in a context in which he recapitulates some of the arguments from his earlier treatise to incorporate them into the structure of his argumentation. Since these passages are of crucial importance for the establishment of Pignon's authorship of CLD, a comparison of the relevant paragraphs from both treatises is called for.

CDE is subdivided into three parts; the first dealing with a number of presuppositions; the second dealing with a number of objections and problems; and, finally, the third dealing with the subject proper of the treatise, namely the origin of the three estates. The first part contains six propositions that outline the hierarchical order of the universe in which the heavens govern the material world. Celestial governance of the mutable sublunar world is one of the major premisses of medieval science, but in order not to misconstrue this doctrine and to exclude all determinism, Pignon emphasises that the soul of man is in no way compelled by the heavens and their influence. This he does in his third proposition (CDE II. 182-495).

la conclusion cy mise (...) contient trois parties: la partie premiere, que l'influence et cours du ciel ne met point de necessité sur les choses corporelles et materielles; la seconde, que il n'est point neccessaire directement des operacions de l'entendement humain; la tierce, que directement n'a puissance sur les operacions de la volenté humaine et du franc arbitrage. (CDE II. 226-234)

These three parts correspond to three chapters from CLD, which, in turn, are based on three chapters from the SCG. Thus part 1 corresponds to CLD II.6 and SCG III.86; part 2 to CLD II.4 and SCG III.84; and part 3 to CLD II.5 and SCG III.85. Pignon did not copy the chapters from Thomas in their entirety but made a selection of those passages that he felt conveyed the theme of such a chapter most comprehensively. He was careful to leave out the more intricate and involved philosophical discussions and on the whole he seems to have felt uneasy in rendering some of the standard scholastic terminology. Thus, for example, we find Pignon referring to 'participation', but not to 'universals', 'potency', 'act', or (Platonic) 'ideas', even when the

¹⁷ See, e.g., his remarks about the fateful year 1411 in CLD III.2 or his remarks about dreams and diviners in CLD II.2.4.

mention of these concepts might have helped to clarify his point (as it did in Aquinas). The following table gives an analysis of the third proposition of CDE and shows the relation between its constituent parts and the relevant passages from CLD and the SCG.

Tierce conclusion; introductory remarks (ll. 182-234)

1 ^{er} partie (ll. 235-315)	SCG III.86	CLD II.6
raison 1 (ll. 235-262)	(2617b)	raison 1
raison 2 (ll. 263-293)	(2618)	raison 2
raison 3 (ll. 294-315)	(2619)	raison 3
2 ^{me} + 3 ^{me} partie (ll. 316-375)		CLD, prologues
raison 1 (ll. 376-398)	SCG III.84 (2583)	CLD II.4, raison 1
raison 2 (ll. 399-410)	SCG III.84 (2587)	CLD II.4, raison 2
raison 3 (ll. 411-447)	SCG III.85 (2600)	CLD II.5, raison 1
	SCG III.85 (2603)	CLD II.5, raison 2c
raison 4 (ll. 448-477)	SCG III.85 (2607a)	not in CLD
	SCG III.85 (2607b)	CLD II.5, raison 3
raison 5 (ll. 478-495)	SCG III.84 (2592)	CLD II.4
	SCG III.84 (2595)	not in CLD

Though in CLD Pignon made a more elaborate use of the chapters from the SCG than in CDE (as the reader may learn from the notes to the edition), it is interesting to see that when he was writing CDE he made a new selection from the old selection of arguments from the SCG that he had made over a decade earlier, rather than writing an entirely new paraphrase. There are two exceptions to this: the paraphrase of SCG III.84 (2595) in which a point is illustrated by Biblical examples, and the paraphrase of SCG III.85 (2607a) in which the idea of celestial determinism is refuted on the basis of the argument that man is a social animal and that radical determinism (if it existed) would destroy all social life. Though these two exceptions show that Pignon used the SCG as he was writing CDE, his earlier treatise still provided him with the selection-criteria for organising his argument. Still, Pignon was careful not to copy his earlier paraphrases verbatim, as a comparison of the following lines may show:

pour neant puniroit on les malfaisans et remerreroit on les bienfaisans (CDE ll. 461-463).

Ainsi par consequent pour nient on puniroit les malfaiteurs et justifieroit on les boins. (CLD II.5)

Frustra etiam adhiberentur poenae et praemia bonis aut malis (SCG III.85 (2607b)).

The similarity between these lines is more of an exception than a rule; on the whole it may be said that similar statements appear in different formulations, which seems to warrant the conclusion that in CDE (ll. 182-495) Pignon produced new paraphrases of earlier selected material. In some instances Pignon even improves on his earlier paraphrases, as, e.g., in his discussion of secondary causes.¹⁸ But in a number of instances he is also guided by his earlier paraphrases. This may be illustrated by the following quotation.

Item, a ceste matiere font les raisons et doctrine et auctoritez qui fait Boece ou .v. livre de *Consolacion* en reprouvant les erreurs d'aucuns anciens philozophes qui par ignorance disoient l'entendement et volenté de creature raisonnable estre subgiez au ciel et aux planettes. La sainte Escripiture, qui est inspiree par le saint Esperit, dit ou .xxxv^e. chappitre du Livre de Job: 'Qui est cellui qui m'a fait et qui a créé et faicte toute melodie et proporcion en ciel et en terre. Qui nous donne doctrine et science outre et pardessus toutes bestes et oyseaux du ciel et de la terre?' C'est Dieu et non aultre qui enseigne l'omme et lui donne science, ainsy que le prophette dit en son Pseaume. Et cecy souffise pour la tierce conclusion; s'ensuit la quarte. (CDE ll. 478-495)

The corresponding passage in CLD reads as follows:

Après ceste opinion vint une autre sette qui se dit Stoiciens, qui disoient que tout ce que nostre entendement cognoit, c'est par ce que nous veons les choses au par dehors, de laquelle vision est representee une figure et similitude en nostre entendement en la forme et maniere que un miroir rechoit la samblance des choses qui sont devant lui et les represente, aucunnement telles quelles sont, ou comme li papier reçoit l'escripiture que on y emprime, et celle escripiture est ou papier representee a chacun. Et tout parrellement recite au pou pres Boèce de *Consolacion*. Selonc l'opinion de ceux chi il semble que nostre entendement reçoit sens moing l'influence et inpression du cours du ciel et que le ciel nous donne tel entendement et telle cognoissance comme nous avons. Et de ce sont venu les erreurs et fauses supersticions, de quoy mencion est faite en ce traité en grant partie. Car, ainsi que Boèce dit, aucuns ont volut dire que l'entendement de creature humaine estoit par le cours du ciel contraint et necessity en toutes ces operations, laquelle opinion, dit Boèce, appert evidamment faute. (CLD II.4)

When we compare this to the Latin original, it should become clear what served in this instance as the source-text of the CDE-passages.

Hinc etiam processit Stoicorum opinio, qui dicebant cognitionem intellectus causari ex hoc quod imagines corporum nostris mentibus imprimuntur, sicut speculum

¹⁸ See CLD II.6, note 312 below.

quoddam, vel sicut pagina recipit litteras impressas, absque hoc quod aliquid agat: ut Boëtius narrat in V de Consolatione. Secundum quorum sententiam sequebatur quod maxime ex impressione corporum caelestium intellectuales notiones nobis imprimerentur. Unde et Stoici fuerunt qui praecipue necessitate quadam fatali hominum vitam duci posuerunt. (SCG III.84 (2592))

Thomas (following Boethius) clearly speaks of intellectual notions impressed on the mind by the heavens, to which Pignon in CLD adds that the mind is constrained and necessitated by the heavens ('mind' is the subject here). In CDE we hear about the mind as subject to the heavens (likewise, 'mind' is subject here). Since in the passage from CDE there is no trace of the idea of impression (which features so prominently in Boethius, *Consolatio* V, metrum 4), but only of the very general idea that the mind is somehow ruled by the heavens, it would seem plausible to conclude that Pignon used his earlier treatise for the paraphrase, instead of the passage from Thomas. This does not mean he did not have the text of SCG at hand, for the second part of the CDE-quote (the reference to the book of Job) is immediately derived from SCG III.84 (2595) and does not appear in CLD.

Other comparisons such as these might be made, but they would add nothing to these conclusions. There is one passage from CDE, finally, that deserves particular attention in relation to CLD, especially since it is the passage on the basis of which authorship of CLD could be established. Pignon speaks of the diviners and their deterministic presuppositions when they claim to be able to predict people's fortunes.

De ceste matiere j'ay aultrefois escript et fait ung petit traittié que je nommayé Contre les divineurs. Car j'ay veu en mon temps gens de petit estat et entendement qui s'avancoyent de baillier libelles et cedulles a grans seigneurs, par lesquelles libelles et cedulles pronostiquoyent des choses qui leur estoit a avenir, mesmement de ce qui est du tout comprins soubz le franc arbitrage et volenté de homme et de (fame). Et oultre ce, par icelles cedulles assignoyent certains heures, jours, momens esquelz ilz failloit soy mouvoir pour partir d'une place en aultre et plusieurs aultres foles ymaginacions en volant, reduire toutes les operacions humaines entierement par neccessité au cours du ciel et des estoiles selon la journee et heure de la nativité d'iceulx seigneurs. (CDE II. 345-363)

The passage recaptures the tone and contents of a similar passage from CLD.

j'ai aperceü visiblement aucuns d'iceus divineurs par maintefois escrire cedules et petis roles, lesquels il donnoient a aucuns notables hommes et de grant estat, ja soice que en telle matiere il soient de simple entendement. Lesquels roles quant a ce qui estoit contenu et escript avoient regart ad ce que telx gent avoient a faire en icely temps donnans en telz roles a entendre que les emprises de cex a cuy il les bailloient estoient perilleuses sens y assigner aucune raison evident en apparent,

esquels roles mesmes donnoient charge perilleuse a aucuns estans en service desdiz ausquelz estoient baillié. (CLD, second prologue)

As a translator, Pignon ranks among the many fourteenth- and fifteenth-century authors who dedicated their intellectual and literary abilities to the vernacularisation of Latin texts. Translation activities reached a peak under the patronage of Charles V when scholars such as Pèlerin de Prusse, Robert Godefroy, Denis Foulechat, Nicole Oresme and Raoul de Presles produced French versions of the works of Ptolemy, John of Salisbury, Aristotle, Augustine and the Bible. These activities decreased during the reign of Charles VI, though Pignon certainly had important contemporaries such as Laurent de Premierfait (who translated Boccaccio's *Decamerone* and Cicero's *De senectute*). Translations blossomed again after the turmoil of the first two decades of the fifteenth century, mainly under Burgundian patronage, to which the names of Jean Miélot, Charles Soillot, Vasque de Lucène, and Jean Duchesne (among many others) are attached.¹⁹ Next to the historical, literary, didactic, religious and pedagogic translations, it is of course the scientific astronomical and astrological vernacularisations, that are of specific interest for an understanding of Pignon's translating activities that resulted in CLD, since these texts made a significant contribution to the spreading interest in astrology. In a general survey, Shore²⁰ lists, among others, Arnoul de Quinquempoix's translation of Albumasar's *Electiones* (produced at the court of Philip IV, early fourteenth century), Robert Godefroy's rendering of the *Livre des neuf anciens juges de astrologie* (court of Charles V), and Pèlerin de Prusse's translation of Alcabitus's *Liber introductorius* (also commissioned under Charles V). Additionally Charles V also sponsored translations of works by Messahalāh and Zael. In Appendix III of the present study other vernacularisations can be found of two popular astrological and divinatory texts. Oresme frequently drew attention to the need for translations since many people knew Latin insufficiently.²¹ It is ironical to find that Pignon not only tries to meet that need in compiling his anti-divinatory treatise for

¹⁹ See general surveys in Peter F. Dembowski, "Learned Latin Treatises in French: Inspiration, Plagiarism, and Translation", in: *Viator* 17 (1986), pp. 261-263; Jacques Monfrin, "Humanisme et traductions au Moyen Age", in: *Journal des Savants* (1963), pp. 174-175, 181-182; Jacques Monfrin, "La connaissance de l'Antiquité et le problème de l'humanisme en langue vulgaire dans la France du XVe siècle", in: G. Verbeke and J. IJsewijn, eds., *The Late Middle Ages and the Dawn of Humanism outside Italy* (Leuven/The Hague 1972), pp. 134 ff.; Doutre-pont, *La littérature française*.

²⁰ Lys Ann Shore, "A Case Study in Medieval Nonliterary Translation: Scientific Texts from Latin to French", in: Jeanette Beer, ed., *Medieval Translators and their Craft* (Kalamazoo 1989), pp. 302-310.

²¹ Monfrin, "Humanisme et traductions au Moyen Age", p. 173.

lay instruction, but also, partly, counters and criticises that need in so far as it caused the dissemination of astrological and prognosticative knowledge in French.

In order to assess Pignon's status as translator his work may be compared with the general typology of vernacularisations that Peter Dembowski developed in an article on learned Latin treatises in French.²² Dembowski points out that the early vernacularisations were adaptations rather than translations, and that the first real translations did not appear until the thirteenth century. He distinguishes two stages²³ in the late medieval history of translation. In the first stage material from Latin authors is borrowed rather than translated; the author is not extolled but remains hidden and the translator is essentially an inspired compiler. The second stage is marked by what Dembowski calls 'service translations', because the translators serve and acknowledge their authors. These translators are more aware of their craft and develop a lively interest in philological problems mostly on the lexical level.²⁴ Ultimately this development results in the mature translator who feels no longer inferior to his Latin *auctor*. For Dembowski Oresme is the typical representative of this final stage.

Though writing almost a generation after Oresme, Pignon never achieved his maturity. In *Contre les devineurs* he shows himself to be a service translator in that he is aware of his role as translator, and self-consciously makes himself subservient to his authorities. Occasionally his philological awareness surfaces when he encounters lexical problems in rendering the names of the *artes magicae*: 'Ne je ne saroie miex translater telz mos en nient commun langage'.²⁵ But on the whole the author of CLD has much more in common with the earlier adaptors. The second part of CLD, which relies almost exclusively on Aquinas, is not a complete translation. There are digressions and elaborations that do not occur in the source text and which Pignon paraphrases rather than translates.²⁶ Surprisingly, though he admits he is following authoritative sources, he never discloses his major source. Though he naturally faces certain philological problems in rendering Aquinas, he also avoids quite a few. Most notable in this evasive approach to Aquinas's

²² Dembowski, "Learned Latin Treatises", pp. 255-269, follows a comparable and more comprehensive survey by Monfrin, "Humanisme et traductions au Moyen Age".

²³ Dembowski, "Learned Latin Treatises", pp. 259-264.

²⁴ Dembowski, "Learned Latin Treatises", pp. 266.

²⁵ CLD I.3, final sentence.

²⁶ It should be noted that also Oresme paraphrases and adds comments occasionally (Shore, "Medieval Nonliterary Translation", p. 315) but contrary to Pignon, he very consciously tries to stay faithful to the original.

text is Pignon's reluctance to render technical scholastic terminology into French.²⁷

Three stylistic features, typical of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century translations must be briefly highlighted in relation to CLD: the *topos humilitatis*, the use of doublets, and Latinisms.²⁸ In the first prologue Pignon clearly shows his humility. He refers to himself as the duke's 'humble et devot subjet' and mentions his 'ynorance', but contrary to many translators he does not link this humility too emphatically to his linguistic capacities. This may be compared to the *topos humilitatis* in Oresme's *Livre de divinacions*.²⁹ Like Pignon, Oresme submits his humble efforts to the proper authorities: 'Toutesvoies, quoique je dy, je le soubmet a la correction de ceulx a cui il appartient' (cf. CLD, first prologue: 'je sumet tout mon ovrage a la correction et amende de ceulx a cui il appartient a jugier'). But Oresme adds: 'et supplie que on me ait pour excuse de la rude maniere de parler, car je n'ay pas aprins de estre acoustume de riens baillier ou escrire en francois'. It is only at the end of CLD that Pignon confesses: 'Et se il y a faute ou en sentence ou en langage ou maniere de parler, je le soumet et met du tout a la correction et chatiement de toute boine personne, en especial de mes segneurs et maistres de ma mere l'université'.³⁰ The sentence is conditional and does not vent any reservations regarding the use of French in a direct way.

The use of doublets, or paired synonyms, is a common phenomenon in fourteenth-century translations and Pignon too makes use of them abundantly.³¹ Latinisms occur less frequently in his text. One way of creating Latinisms is by dropping the Latin case ending,³² which Pignon probably did with the word 'compuns' which, in all likelihood, he derived from *compunctio*. On the other hand, he also clearly strove to avoid latinate forms. The word *effectus*, e.g., is virtually always rendered as 'ovrage'.

It has been pointed out by several authors that the great translation activities of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries despite their philological and (sometimes) classical interests should not be confused with humanism.

²⁷ See CLD II.4 and notes; see also above, p. 215.

²⁸ Dembowski, "Learned Latin Treatises", pp. 264-265; Shore, "Medieval Nonliterary Translation", pp. 313-314.

²⁹ Oresme, *Livre de divinacions*, p. 50.

³⁰ CLD III.10.

³¹ CLD II.1.1, e.g., has the following doublets: 'signorie et auctorité, honneur et reverence, presenter et offrir, adorer et honorer, parlans et disans, pervertir et subvertir, signourie et dominacion, renoient et despitent, publique et manifeste, pugnicion et painne'.

³² Shore, "Medieval Nonliterary Translation", p. 314.

Monfrin³³ stresses the political motives of Charles V's patronage. Dembowski³⁴ points out that it is not so much the nature of the translations as the choice of texts that differentiates these vernacularisations from the labours of Renaissance humanists. The later Burgundian court is especially known for its interest in practical and pedagogical texts whether these were moralistic, technical or historical in nature. Pignon is situated in the middle, between the courts of Charles V and Charles the Bold, and between science and pedagogy. Though caught up in this progressive current of translating activities, Pignon is not an innovator. He shows an interest in natural philosophy but does not grasp the far-reaching implications of contemporary astrological speculation. Pignon chiefly regards his treatise as an elaboration of his preaching, but mainly relies on the discursive models of the past in clinging to the scholastic form of reasoning as deployed in Aquinas's *Summa*. Untouched by the spirit of humanism, Pignon lived up to the ideals of Burgundian pedagogy³⁵ by writing and translating his treatise not from purely scholarly or even esthetic motives, but from practical urgencies. Written under pressure of a civil war, CLD does not merely present itself to the reader as an exercise in philosophy, but mainly as the fruit of personal concerns and annoyance over dubious practices that had the potential of causing grave disasters.

³³ Monfrin, "Humanisme et traductions au Moyen Age", p. 176, speaks of 'la notion d'utilité publique'.

³⁴ Dembowski, "Learned Latin Treatises", p. 262.

³⁵ Doutrepoint, *La littérature française*, pp. 508-509. According to Philip the Good the education of the sovereign is the source of a nation's happiness.

CI COMMENCE LE TRAITIÉ CONTRE LES DIVINEURS

A tres excellent et puissant prince Jehan duc de Borgoigne, conte de Flandres, d'Artois et de Borgogne, son humble et devot sujet et serviteur recommandacion deüe.

Pour tant que selonc la doctrine de saint Pol qu'il escript a Thimotee son disciple,¹ il sera un tamps uquel peu de gent vodront entendre a rechevoir sainte doctrine, ains plusieurs selonc leurs desirs querront docteurs et maistres qui leur ensigneront et diront coses lesquelles leur seront a plaisanche et laisseront la doctrine de verité et se convertiront a oïr fables et folies qui sont contraires a la foy catholique et a bonnes meurs. Et je doubte que celi tamps ne soit advenu, pour tant que j'aperçoy entre plusieurs la doctrine de Sainte Eglise et de la foy estre peu prisié et verité publiquement (amenrie) anuncié estre delessié pour la plaisance mal ordenee, que plusieurs ont a oïr oppinions erronees a nostre foy du tout contraires par maintes supersticions fondees sour les jugemens que aucun disent estre certains par la science d'astronomie. Lesquels jugemens il veulent apliquier et atribuer non pas seulement as coses materielles, temporeles et corporeles, asquelles telle science tant seulement a son regart. Aucoins² les veulent apliquier as operacions humaines et as coses occultes et secretes lesquelles³ sont tant seulement soulx la proveance et disposicion et science de Dieu et du franc arbitrage de la volenté de creature raisonnable. Laquele volenté il disent estre sujete au cours du ciel et des estoelles, tellement que puis que il ont connoissance de l'eure de la nativité d'aucunne persone, il puelent au vrai prenuncier et pronostiquer tous les affaires d'icelle persone, toutes ses fortunes et infortunes qui li sont a avenir. Disent appres et donnent a entendre par leur presumptueuse assercion, que il puelent savoir par la science d'astronomie les traitiés et coses secretes [2'] qui se font en divers lieux et lointain païs. Item, que nulz ne doit encommencier aucun ovrage comme seroit pelerinage, traitier de mariage ou de guerre ou de pais se non par observance d'aucunes journees et heures, donnans par ce a entendre folement as plusieurs de divers estas, qui ont en ceste matiere simple et rude entendement, que il est aucuns jours et aucunes

¹ II Tim. 4:3-4: *erit enim tempus cum sanam doctrinam non sustinebunt sed ad sua desideria coacervabunt sibi magistros prurientes auribus et a veritate quidem auditum avertent ad fabulas autem convertentur.*

² aucoins: *lege* aucuns.

³ lesqueles: *ms* les. A marginal correction adds: *queles*.

heures malvaises a entreprendre ou encommener telz ouvrages. En cecy infament Dieu et sa creature tres horriblement, comme il aperra plus a plain chi apres.⁴

Et ja soiche que telz gens se nomment et disent astronomiens, nientmoins il ne le sont point. Ains sont a nommer miex songeurs et devineurs userpans le nom le quel il se actribuent. Et pour tant que de telles folles oppinions s'en dependent plusieurs grans pechiés et inco(n)veniens par coy nostre foi porroit estre moult abeissié, comme il appara chi apres.⁵

Je, a cuy appartient de mon offisse prechier verité et qui par maintesfois ay puplicquement en vostre presence thocié de ceste matiere, veul sur ce compose(r) un petit traitié ad ce que par ignorance aucun ne pechent encontre nostre foy. Ouquel traitié je ne veul riens dire de mon seul et propre sentement, ains je veul seulement exposer et translater de latin en françois les raisons et auctorités de la sainte escripture et des sains docteurs de l'Eglise (et) la determinacion de Sainte Eglise, en tele maniere a ce que aucun n'aient cause de dire que ce soit oppinion particuliere ou de moi ou d'autre. Quar je proteste ychy que je n'ay entencion de y escrire aucune cose que je n'aye leüe en livres canoniques et approvés de Sainte Eglise. Et se je faisoie aultrement, je sumet⁶ tout mon ovrage a la correccion et amende de ceux a cui il apartient a jugier en telle matiere et veul [3'] et requier que il soit veü et examiné par les clers et par chex de vostre noble conseil. En suppliant humblement a vostre tres noble et puissant signorie, que se vous trovés par le raport des sages et des clers ou de vostre conseil ou autres, que les coses ychi contenues soient veritables, saines et catholiques, que les veulliés accepter et approuver, croire et tenir. Ainsi que boin Crestien et loial champion de la foy, tel que vous devés estre, doit faire, non souffrant en vostre hostel ou service aucun qui soit au contraire, (ou) par aucune maniere vous serviteurs induisant.⁷ Quar il ne souffist pas que un prinche soit boin tant seulement en sa personne. Ains est de necessité qu'il ait boins serviteurs et officiers qui soient bon et catholique. Autrement faire c'est Dieu provosquier, encontre lui soy exposer a grant peril, a dongier, a diffame et a blasme. Ne il ne puet estre que tout homme qui se desnoie de sa bonne creance ne perise et ne viengne a honte et a confucion et deshonneur de toutes ces entencions, comme je le mousterai plus a plain en la fin de ce traitié. Lequel traitié on puet nommer *Contre les devineurs* ou autrement au plaisir de ceux qui i liront.

⁴ Important sections on superstitious observances are CLD I.6, II.3.3, and III.8. Cf. also *Les 12 signes dou firmament* in Appendix III.

⁵ The sinfulness of divination is stressed throughout the treatise, but for a summary list of 'inconveniens', see: CLD II.5 ('tierce raison') and III.6.

⁶ sumet: *ms* sumec.

⁷ *Lege*: not suffering anyone in your house or service who is opposed to this or who in any way induces your servants (to stray from the truth).

Auxquels je prie devotement que mon ynorance veulent supp(or)ter et Dieu de bon cuer prier pour v(ost)re tres noble personne a cuy Dieu veule par sa bonté otrier en ce monde joie, honneur, accomplissement de tous vos bons desirs, et a toute vostre noble lignee et paradis en la fin. Amen.

Explicit le prologe premier. [3^r:23]⁸

[4^r:19] *Qui est la cause et movent de faire ce traité⁹*

Et pour tant que plusieurs se porroient a esmervillier qui est la cause et movent de ce traité faire, m'a esmeü a ce traité cy composer, la cause ad ce moy movent est ce que j'ey veü en mon tem(p)s plusieurs notables et grans segneurs et autres gens de tous estas, lesquels estoient aucunnement enclin a oïr et donner odiance a telz divineurs, cuidans que leurs ovrages et pronosticacions fussent fondees sur bonne et royale scienche. Ainsi que il le donnent a entendre a tous ceux a cui il en parlent dont legierement on les croit, pour tant que on voit a la fois advenir ainsi qu'il ont dit par avant ou auque pres.

Item, ad ce m'a [4^v] esmeü ce que j'ai aperceü visiblement aucuns d'iceus divineurs par maintefois escrire cdules et petis roles,¹⁰ lesquels il donnoient a aucuns notables hommes et de grant estat, ja soice que en telle matiere il soient de simple entendement. Lesquels roles, quant a ce qui estoit contenu

⁸ In the manuscript the first prologue (fol. 2r-3r:23) is immediately followed by a table of contents for the treatise as a whole and a table of contents for book I in particular. After this follows a second prologue (fol. 4r:19-5v:11) in which the author explains his reasons for writing the treatise. There are indications that the sequence of contents and second prologue should be reversed. In the left margin of fol. 4r a barely legible gloss indicates that '(le) second prologue (...) doit estre (...)ppres le premier (s)ens moing', which suggests that the copyist made a mistake in putting the second prologue behind the contents. Immediately after the first prologue we find a similar notice (fol. 3r:23-24) explaining that the 'secont (ms. erroneously reads: lecont) doit estre cy appres sens moim qui est en fuellet ensyvant'. (The word 'moim' should probably be read as 'moins'.) On fol. 5v:11-13, immediately after the second prologue, we find another direction concerning the positioning of the contents: 'Ci appres doit estre la division des livres ensyans et des capitres qui est mise chi devant'. Possibly the scribe in copying the text mistook for a part of the treatise what were in fact directions for the copyist. This seems to suggest that the manuscript is a copy of another text (perhaps of the autograph?), a hypothesis that is borne out by other scribal errors. The present edition follows the directions and places the second prologue before the contents. The beginning and end of these relocated sections were marked by means of folio- and line-numbers.

⁹ *Qui est la cause et movent de faire ce traité: ms Qui est la cause faire de ce traité movent.* This rather garbled line has been straightened out in accordance with a similar formulation in the following sentences. In this passage the word 'movent' occurs three times; twice it is used as a noun (meaning 'motive') and once as a present participle ('ad ce moy movent' meaning 'moving' or 'which moved me to this').

¹⁰ Cf. CDE II. 348-363, p. 154.

e(s)t escript, avoient regart ad ce que telx gent avoient a faire; en icely temps donnans en telz roles a entendre que les emprises de cex a cuy il les bailloient estoient perilleuses sens y assigner aucune raison evident en apparent, esquels roles mesmes donnoient charge perilleuse a aucuns estans en service desdiz ausquelz estoient baillié.¹¹ Et n'est homme ou monde, comme je mousterei cy apres, qui(l) sceüst¹² assigner raison naturele ne autre provant le contenu de telz roles. Et pour tant que c'est cose qui thoche la foy, par coy tout homme puet encorir l'indignacion de Dieu, honte et reproce quant au monde, estre suppert¹³ en la matiere de foy, propose je de en escrire comme j'ai dit par avant. Et pour miex cecy desclarer, j'ai ychi escript le contenu d'ung rolet lequel est venu es mes mains par certaine personne, et lonctemps l'ai gardei, douquel la teneur de mot a mot s'ensiut en termes g(e)neraulx sens specifier personne ne lieu particulièrement.

Doctrine

Monseigneur, pour che que vous devés estre en tel lieu et en tel temps, il y a gens de toutes nacions, et auxi pour ce par especial que on dit que vous devés demain cachier, j'ai regardé se il y a peril et semble que oyl: peril de mort par fer. Et semble que che doivent fere gens qui tuent pour argent. Et semble que aucun de vostre affinité, par femme deceüs, qui sont audesoulx de contes et marchions en soient consentens. Neantmoins il sont de grant cuer ou par amonetement de plusieurs ou de peuple. [5'] Neantmoins se vous volés ne vous nuyra point.¹⁴

¹¹ A rather involved sentence in which the subject changes from 'roles' to 'divineurs'. In the first part it is explained that these 'roles', as far as their contents are concerned, have a bearing on what these 'notables hommes' should do or undertake. At the same time these diviners tell them (the subject of 'donnans ... a entendre' is 'divineurs') that their enterprises are dangerous (for no good reason), and that by means of these 'roles' they even give dangerous orders to some of the servants of these 'notables hommes'.

¹² sceüst: *ms* sceult.

¹³ A word unknown to Godefroy and TL. Possibly related to L. *superus*, *superior* or to 'superne', 'supernel' (*adj.* superior), Godefroy VII, 595c, 596a. The subject of 'estre suppert' is 'je', i.e. Pignon.

¹⁴ This curious piece of soothsayer's advice is probably one of a few (if not the only one) of its kind to survive. The text is somewhat enigmatic, but would seem to suggest the following.

'Sir, since you intend to go somewhere at a certain moment (where) all kinds of people will be present, and also especially since it is said that you intend to go hunting tomorrow, I have looked to see whether there is any danger. And, yes, it seems there is: danger of death by the sword. It seems mercenaries will do this. And it seems that some of your relatives, deceived by a wife (or: a woman), who are inferior to counts and marquises, are in on this. Nevertheless, they are bravehearted at the instigation of a number of people or even through popular incitement. But, if you flee (or: wish), you will come to no harm'.

C'est le contenu de la cedula dont souventefois et presquez cascun jour on compose les parelles. Juge cy tout homme ayant raison se c'est chose sur coy boin Crestien se doit asseürer. Je veul dont cy apres declarer que non.

Item, ad ce m'a esmeü ce que apres ce que on en a prechiét pluseurs fois publiquement il s'ensiut aucune correccion. Ains, dit on, ces precheurs ne le disent que par envie et ont teux astronomiens hayneus. Et ce n'est pas mervelles, disent les autres, quar astronomie n'est point leur science, et pour tant qu'il ne s'i cognoissent, heient il ceux qui en parlent car une science n'a aversaire fors cely qui riens n'en scet et est ynorant.¹⁵ Par ainsi j'ei veü en certain lieu de mon temps que plus en parloit on selonc la verité et equité, plus estoient avancié et auctorisié et mis avant telx songeurs consequamment pour eschever par le conseil de Salomon le(s) conveniens qui puelent advenir de tenir parolle et language aux folx.¹⁶ Appres ce (j'ei veü) que .ii. hommes

If 'volés' is read as 'wish' or 'want' the final line of the 'cedule' is a bit of an anti-climax; its author was apparently very careful not to burn his fingers. Another option might be 'flee' ('voler', fly, flee; cf. TL XI.728-737), but this would make the cedula into a very impertinent and manipulative document, first frightening a lord with the prospect of death and then urging him to flee. It may well be, however, that this is exactly the reason why Pignon incorporated the 'cedule' in his book. One is tempted to associate this lord whose life is threatened by mercenaries with Louis d'Orléans (Pignon explains that he has kept the 'rolet' for a long time, so why not four years) or, for that matter, with John the Fearless himself, who, after the assassination of Louis was constantly protected by bodyguards. The fact, however, that these mercenaries are inferior to counts and marquises and that they take courage from popular incitement, rules out the second option, especially since John was something of a popular hero. It was Louis who was hated by the people because he imposed heavy taxes. When it became known that John had had the duke of Orléans assassinated, popular rumour had it that the duke of Burgundy had taken revenge on Louis (who had a reputation for being a womaniser) for having slept with his wife, Margaret of Bavaria. If this 'cedule' indeed refers to Louis d'Orléans, one may question its authenticity; like the rumour, it may have been created after the event. But the more important question, of course, is why Pignon would insert such a document in his treatise. Obviously, he wants to give an illustration of a soothsayer's prognostication and not remind his lord of some painful event from the past. Since many lords would go hunting from time to time, and many of them were hated by the people and, as one may surmise, deceived by their wives, no definite identification can be made in the absence of any specific names or places.

¹⁵ In his *Livre de divinations*, chapter 4, Oresme notes a similar resistance to his criticism of astrology and divination: 'Aucuns pourroient dire que (...) je en repreuve aucunes parties et aucunes regles, et les autres ars nommez, sans assigner raison aussi comme cil qui les het et riens n'en scet' (Coopland ed., p. 60).

¹⁶ The 'conseil de Salomon' is possibly a reference to Prov. 14:7 (*vade contra virum stultum*); 23:9 (*in auribus insipientium ne loquaris*); 26:4 ff. (*ne respondeas stulto iuxta stultitiam suam*); or Ecclesiastes 10:12-14, texts which advise the reader to eschew all communication with fools. The sentence is somewhat confusing and might be reconstructed as follows: 'Par ainsi j'ei veü en certain lieu de mon temps que plus en parloit on selonc la verité et equité, | consequamment pour eschever par le conseil de Salomon le(s) conveniens qui puelent advenir de tenir parolle et language aux folx, | plus estoient avancié et auctorisié et mis avant telx

clers, en une notable compaignie de gens de Eglise et de nobles et dont pluseurs estoient gradué et bien entendant, disoient a un qui se disoit astronomien: 'Vous faites mal et contre la doctrine de nostre foy et de Sainte Eglise de donner a entendre que ce qui est contenu en vos cedules au regard des choses qui sont <a> avenir soit vrai. Et n'est que tromperie et decepcion'. Il respondi in(j)urieusement: 'Mais vous autres estes mauvaises gent et decevés le monde et les princes et l'université de Paris. Je vous monstrerai¹⁷ bien un de ces jours. Cuidiés vous que je croie celi qui feïst vostre decret? C'estoit un homme qui escrivoit et disoit che que boin li sembloit. La science d'astronomie qui est une des .vii. ars est miex a croire que n'est vostre decret'. Dont falut pour [5'] honneur et pais garder en l'eure et ou lieu que les dis clers se deportassent ainsi injurés, de quoi je puis bien porter tesmoignage comme celi qui estoit present.¹⁸

Toutes ces choses,¹⁹ comme dit est, m'ont esmeü et donné cause de escrire sur ceste matiere ad fin que, puis que predicacion publique n'a aucunement lieu en telle matiere cy pesant et si perilleuse en nostre foy ne privee doctrine n'y puet pourfiter, - car ainsi n'ont point temps ne heure ceux qui volentiers le remonsteroient apart de ce faire -, que escripture, laquelle est de plus longue duree, y puisse valoir et profiter.²⁰ Et c'est quant ad ce qui m'a encliné a ce faire.

Explicit le secont prologue.

songeurs'. The opposition that the sentence tries to emphasise is that 'the more people spoke according to truth and justice, the more these diviners (or: dream-interpreters) were brought to the fore and given authority'. The remainder of the sentence ('to eschew the mishaps that may follow from dealing with fools') only makes sense as a modification of 'parloit on selonc la verité et equité'. This is not the only instance in the treatise in which entire clauses seem to be mislocated. Cf. also CLD I.2, note 34.

¹⁷ monstrerai: *ms* mon(s)treraï?

¹⁸ A similar narrative of envy and princely patronage of astrology occurs in the *Recueil des plus célèbres astrologues* for the year 1419, where Simon de Phares discusses Gerson's anti-astrological writings: 'Cestui Jerson fut bon catholique, mais il eut plusieurs vices, car il fut presumptueux et orgueilleux et appetoit de gouverner princes et aver legacions et ne pavoit souffrir en court autre que lui. Si advint que icelui Dauphin estoit amateur de science et avoit deux medecins, experts astrologiens, lesquieux il ayma moult et plus que lui, pour ce fut il esmeu d'envie et fut qui le meut à escrire, lui sembloit qu'il estoit le plus sage du monde' (*Recueil*, p. 249). Simon de Phares's perspective is the exact opposite of Pignon's. Being favourably disposed towards astrology, he identifies Gerson, whose hostile polemics were apparently still influential at the end of the fifteenth century, with the bishop whose calumnies had ruined him.

¹⁹ ces choses: *ms* coses ces.

²⁰ A long and involved sentence. Its main clause is: 'Toutes ces choses ... m'ont esmeü et donné cause de escrire sur ceste matiere ad fin que ... (que) escripture ... y puisse valoir et profiter'. Pignon resorts to writing, he says, because public preaching is absent and private tutoring insufficient.

DIVISION [5^v:11]

[3^r:24] *En cest present traitié aura trois livres en trois parties.*

- I En la premiere sera veü dont vint le commencement de la sette de telz devineurs et pronosqueurs qui se disent astronomiens et mentent. Item, consequamment en ceste partie seront descriptes et exprimees les supersticions, sortileges [3^v] et autres manieres diverses de divinacions en tant que la chose puet avoir regart a ceux qui sont de simple et ruide entendement en matiere de foy, tochant ce qui est dit au commencement en prologue.²¹
- II En la seconde partie sera traitié la matiere de divinacion par maniere de questions.²² Et par ce appara la verité au plain et les raisons sur quoy se puelent fonder les divineurs ou songeurs qui se nomment astronomiens par usurpacion (se atribuent),²³ seront aleguees et solvés.
- III En la tierce partie sera ceste matiere desclaré par les raisons, auctorités et exemples de sainte²⁴ escripture et des sains canoniziés et approuvés en nostre foy desquelz Sainte Eglise reçoit les dis en decret en condemnant et reprovant les dis divineurs et songeurs et leur supersticieuse doctrine prejudiciable a toute la Crestienté et dampnable et perverse.

²¹ Pignon refers back, not to the first prologue, but to the second one. It is only in the second prologue that he refers to people who in matters concerning the faith are of 'simple entendement'. This shows that in Pignon's original draft of the treatise the second prologue immediately followed the first and preceded this table of contents.

²² Part two largely follows the scholastic method as employed by Thomas Aquinas in the *Summa theologiae*. Each article in the ST starts with a number of objections (1,2,3 etc.) to a general proposition, which is followed by a lengthy *responsio* (R) in which Aquinas argues his case and in which the general proposition is expounded. After the *responsio* he lists the refutations of the objections (r1,r2,r3 etc.). Pignon reverses the order of the *responsio* and the objections, offering first a general discussion in favour of a proposition (i.e. what in the ST is called the *responsio*) and then listing the objections and their refutations.

²³ The construction appears to be a combination of 'qui le nom de astronomiens par usurpacion se atribuent' and 'qui se nomment astronomiens par usurpacion'.

²⁴ sainte: *ms* lainte.

⟨LA PREMIERE PARTIE⟩

Ou premier livre aura .vii⟨i⟩. chapitres.

- I.1 En premier chapitre appara en general dont vint supersticion et divinacion et ou elle regna et quant elle defina et comment en general on puet nommer toute supersticion divinacion. Et le plus souvent, quant je parlerai de divineurs, j'entens des folz qui se nomment astronomiens, donnans²⁵ a entendre que des choses occultes et ⟨a⟩ advenir, subiettes a puissance de Dieu et de homme, il peulent jugier et prenosquier au vrai ainsois qu'elles advienent.
- I.2 Ou second capitre sera desclaré d'astronomie quelle science c'est et comment les songneurs et divineurs se attribuent par abus se nom. Et chi seront illuec tochiés plusieurs manieres de supersticions et de erreurs contraires a la foy.
- I.3 Ou tiers capitre appara comment le deable en toute divinacion se mesle ou comme apellé ad ce ou soy enge(n)rent sens ⟨estre⟩ appellé(r) soutillement.²⁶ Et illuec seront tochiés diverses manieres [4^r] de parler et de faire invocacion.
- I.4 En .iiii^e. capitre sera declaré comment le deable invisiblement et seutilement, comme dit est, se ingere et met avant pour decevoir telz divineurs qui se disent astronomiens. Et ⟨ce⟩ qui est astrologie il appara et sera tochié de l'erreur et de la fole supersticion par quoy divineur(s) jugent des affaires des hommes fortunés ou infortunés selonc l'eure de leur nassanche.
- I.5 Ou .v^e. capitre sera parlé de sortilege et de sors et comment licitement on en use et commen(t) non.
- I.6 Ou .vi^e. de plusieurs manieres de malefices qui se puelent nommer generalment sorcerie et supersticion par quoi le deable dampne et deçoit mainte gent.
- I.7 Ou .vii^e. comment le deable a telle puissance et par quele maniere il puet tellement decevoir plusieurs gens.

²⁵ The subject of 'donnans' is, of course, not 'je' but 'divineurs'.

²⁶ The latter part of this sentence is rather garbled, but means to say that the devil mingles in all divination, either being expressly invoked or not being invoked. The line should preferably be read as follows: 'ou comme apellé ad ce' (i.e. divination) 'ou soy engerent' (present participle) 'soutillement' (i.e. cleverly mingling in some divinatory practice) 'sens estre appellé'.

- I.8 O(u) .viii^e. capitre comment il est aucuns deables qui sont mains mauvais que les autres. Et comment par familiarité que on a a eux il puelent reveler et donner congnoissance a plusieurs gens des choses qui sont <a> advenir, ja soice que sur ce que est en la francise et liberté de l'omme il ne puelent avoir congnoissance aucune fors conjetturele, comme il appara. [4^r:19]

I.1 [5^r:13] *S'ensieut le premier capitre*

Conbien que plusieurs manieres soient de supersticions, c'est a dire observances de malvaise creance contraire a nostre foy par lesquelles le deable a deceü plusieurs et puet cascun jour decevoir, neantmoins en general on puet toutes telles folies nommer divinations. Et par consequent tous ceux qui mettent en ce leur estude et usage sont a nommer devineurs selonc la doctrine de nostre foy et de Sainte Eglise. Et se aucun se atribuent le nom de astronomiens, c'est par usurpacion. Car onques homme n'eût par la science d'astronomie ne d'astrolog(i)e congnoissance des coses qui sont secretes ou qui sont a advenir, au regart de ce qu'elles sont en l'ordenance tant seulement et disposicion de la volenté de Dieu et des hommes, ainsi que tels devineurs disent qu'il ont et puelent avoir, par quoi il deçoivent mainte gent de tous estas.

Dont est assavoir que le premier acteur de toute science supersticieuse et divinatoire a esté le deable, lequel sur toutes coses de quoi il tempte homme [6^r] et fame la souveraine et principale est le boter par mauvaise creanche hor de sa foy, comme il est expressement dit ou livre <de> saint Augustin de *La Cité de Dieu*.²⁷ Telle vanité, dist il, est entree par tout le monde par la tradition et instruction des mauvais anges, donnans²⁸ a entendre aux hommes que des cozes a advenir et qui sont secretes il leur povoient donner certaine congnoissanche par diverses manieres qui cy appres sont desclarees. Dont les premiers senateurs de ceste fauce tradicion furent les Egipcien et les Babiloniens, comme fu Ninus qui fonda Ninivee, et Ismaël filx d'Abraham et de sa chamberiere.²⁹ Appres vint aux Perses et consequamment se

²⁷ *Decretum* II.26.2.7 (PL 187, 1340): *Itaque haec vanitas magicarum artium ex traditione angelorum malorum in toto orbe terrarum plurimis saeculis invaluit per quamdam scientiam futurorum et infernorum, et per inventiones eorum inventa sunt aruspicia, et augurationes, et ipsa, quae dicuntur, oracula, et necromantia* (quoted from Augustine, DCD). Cf. also Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* VIII.9.3.

²⁸ The subject of 'donnans' is 'anges', not 'vanité'.

²⁹ Cf. CLD II.1.3 where Pignon refers to Ninus and Ismael as founding fathers of idolatry (cf. also Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* VIII.11.7-8). For Pignon idolatry and divination are interchangeable concepts. He follows Aquinas in this, who regards divination as a kind of idolatry.

multiplia tant que tous li mondes en fu plains; po de peuple, c'est assavoir les Juis, excepté, qui a tres grant paine s'en sont retrait par la loy que Dieu donna a Moÿse, laquelle en tres grant partie est plaine de cerimonies qui d'autres choses ne servoient fors que pour retraire le dit peuple de ydolatrie. Ainsi a duré ydolatrie par tout le monde et regné jusques au temps de grace que nostre Sires fut nés, laquelle en tres grant partie a esté exterminée par la predicacion de Jhesucrist, des apostres et martirs qui pour nostre foy se sont exposé en destruisant ydolatrie et toute fause supersticion. Et se on veult arguer que voloir avoir cognoissance des cozes a advenir par maintes manieres et par astronomie par especial n'est point mal, car les plus grans du monde en nostre loi et en la loi des Juis s'en sont meslé et n'en sont point repris, comme il appert de Abrahan, Moÿse, Tholomee, Julius Cesar et plusieurs autres, il appara en la seconde partie³⁰ comment eux et autres s'en sont meslé et lecitelement, ce que ne font pas, comme il appara, de plusieurs de maintenant qui ne sont que songeurs et devineurs, gent sens cervelle et sens entendement.

I.2 *Second capistre*

Et pour miex venir a la finable conclusion a quoi je tens, on doit savoir que les docteurs³¹ dient que astronomie est [6^v] prise en .ii. manieres. Une est par laquelle on puet avoir cognoissance du cours naturel du ciel et des

³⁰ That the 'cerimonies' of Mosaic law were intended to ban idolatry is a theme that Pignon dwells on in CLD II.1, which is entirely devoted to idolatry. Cf. also CLD III.1. On the origins of astronomy and astrology in Egypt and Babylonia, and the part that Abraham is supposed to have played in it, see: Isidore, *Etymologiae* III.25.1: *Astronomiam primi Aegyptii invenerunt. Astrologiam vero et nativitatibus observantiam Chaldaei primi docuerunt. Abraham autem instituisse Aegyptios astrologiam Josephus auctor asseverat* (PL 82, 169). Cf. also Simon de Phares, *Recueil*, pp. 26-27.

³¹ A barely legible marginal gloss in the lower right hand corner of the manuscript refers to Thomas Aquinas and Isidore: *th[oma]s in summa / ysidorus ethimo[logiae] / (...) in catho[li]co*. The third line of the gloss is partly illegible. Isidore distinguishes between *astronomia* and *astrologia* (*Etymol.* III.27; PL 82, 170). *Astronomia* applies to the study of the movements of the heavens and the stars. *Astrologia* has a twofold application. In part it is *naturalis*, dealing with the same things as *astronomia*; in part it is *superstitiosa*, practiced by the so-called *mathematici* who cast nativity-horoscopes and predict people's *mores* from the stars. The twofold division of astrology into a legitimate and an illegitimate part was both common and convenient. See esp. Philippe de Mézières, *Songe* II.147, vol. 1, p. 604-605, where Bonne Foy (university of Paris) distinguishes between the study of celestial motion and the study of judgments. In the same allegory 'la vieille Supersticion' (the personification of superstition) carries a book with 'la belle science d'astronomie' written in golden letters and the 'jugemens' written in a 'lectre si obscure et si brune' that for its readers it is 'une horrible chose a veoir' (*Songe* II.141, vol. 1, p. 596). Simon de Phares distinguishes between 'la vraie science de astrologie' and 'des ars superstitieux et divinatoires' (*Recueil*, p. 2).

estailles et par icelle on puet juger des œuvres de nature comprises et subjetas soulz le cours et influence du ciel et des planetes, par laquelle congnoissance on puet eschiever plusieurs inconveniens, ainsi que sont mortalités, famines, maladies, pestilences, tempestes. Et de ce ont congnoissance par doctrine escripte les clers et les simples gens par maintesfois et souventesfois par experience acquise de lonctemps qui fut premierement cause de science. Par ceste congnoissance puet on savoir l'eure de l'eclipse du soleil une fois l'an et de la lune cascun mois. Par ceste science se puelent les gens determiner a faire plusieurs ovrages de nature, c'est assavoir, medecins a donner medecines, labourex a semer, a planter, a enter arbres, a quillir fruis, et ainsi de plusieurs autres ovrages necesseres a la vie corporelle de l'omme et de toutes bestes. Ceste astronomie e(s)t licite et bonne, ja soice que souventesfois, pour causes d'aucunes particulieres circonstances et causes concurrens, il n'est si bon astronome qui ne puisse bien fallir en ces jugemens. Et de telz astronomiens ne vodroie je dire que tout bien, car il sont tres necessaire et la science de soi est une des sept ars qui donnent a homme perfection selonc l'entendement.³² Et est bien cose convenable et honneste que les segneurs ayent en leur service telz astronomiens ayans collacion avec leur phis(i)ciens. Car il puelent mout profiter a la conservacion de leur santé corporele, au bien commun de leur signorie et de leur pays.

Il est une autre maniere d'astronomie qui est supersticieuse et qui n'est point proprement apelee astronomie, mais par abusio. Ne ceulx qui se emploient ne sont point a nommer astronomiens, ains sont proprement divineurs ou songeurs et ceux-cy se sont fondé sur certains livres et traitiés composés par manieres [7'] de tables et de nombres, lesquels livres il apelent les *Jugemens d'astronomie*³³ dont j'en ay veü plusieurs. Mais onques ne trouve

³² *Astronomia* is one of the seven liberal arts and part of the Quadrivium. The *artes liberales* were deemed in the Middle Ages to give perfection to the human intellect. Cf. the remark of the furious astrologer in the second prologue, who exclaimed that 'la science d'astronomie qui est une des .vii. ars est miex a croire que n'est vostre decret'. Also Simon de Phares emphasizes astrology's prominent place among the liberal arts (*Recueil*, pp. 7-8).

³³ The title is a very general name for astrological books (see, e.g., the book of 'la vieille Supersticion' in Philippe de Mézières's vast allegory *Le Songe du Vieil Pelerin* mentioned earlier in note 31). Though the name 'judicial astrology' explicitly refers to the prognostications that were made in relation to people's health and fortunes, based on the positions and influences of celestial bodies, in many cases books with astrological judgments would encompass both of the areas that Pignon has outlined in this chapter. A good contemporary example, though perhaps unknown to Pignon, is *Le livre des .9. anciens juges de astrologie*, originally commissioned by Charles V and translated from Latin into French in 1361. The book consists of two parts: the first is a general introduction to astronomy (which would correspond to Pignon's first 'maniere d'astronomie'); the second deals with 'interrogacions'. Interrogations were questions concerning human affairs and fortunes of which the answers were determined by the planetary positions on the moment of asking the questions. Especially this second part of the book would

homme qui ne seüst rendre raison evident sur quoi telles cozes fussent fondees, seulement il disent que ainsi est. Apres font figures et caracteres et calculent tellement qu'il semble que il n'est estoile ou ciel qu'il ne cognoissent et par nom et par surnom, et par che mettent les gens en admiracion. Ceux-cy ou temps passé par telle folie presumptueuse se sont entremis de jugier de toutes choses qui estoient a advenir a aucune personne, quant il savoient le jour qu'il avoit esté ney et de quel estat il sera et de quele fortune, et comment il vivroit, et comment il fineroit, et mesmes des cozes qui sont occultes, comme coses perdues ou mucees, et generalment de toutes choses qui sont comprises et sujettes a l'ordenance et disposicion de Dieu et a la volenté de raisonnable creature, homme et fame. Laquelle vollenté est tellement franche que il n'est creature ou monde, ne ciel, ne estoelle qui la puisse contraindre de faire ou d'eslire plus tost une cose que une autre. Seulement Dieu la puet esmovoir, au regart duquel, quant raison li offre et presente, elle ne puet refuser qu'elle ne le desire et ayme toutes coses supposees en leur parfait et naturel estre.³⁴ Consequamment telz devineurs et songeurs, par la subjection du deable le quel il servent, ce font fort de savoir les disposicions et ordenances et gouverne(me)nt des segneurs et des païs lointains. Et discans leur emprises, leur volentés, leur consaulz et leur traitiés, disent outre que par voie naturele et science, qu'il ont acquise, il puelent introduire maladie es corps des hommes sens les tochie ne veoir, les puelent garir a leur plaisir par bonne science naturele parellement sens les veoir ne sens tocher, puelent empeschier ou avancier plusieurs ovragés des hommes par les observances d'aucunes heures [7^e] qu'il disent estre fortunés et infortunees. Toutes telles outrecuidiés folies sont causees de deables et nullement du monde n'ont raison naturele sur quoi (ils) soient

have displeased Pignon. (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, ms. 10319; *Librije van Filips de Goede*, no. 106 + plate 13; Doutrepoint, *La littérature française*, p. 296-297.) According to Doutrepoint the book entered the Burgundian library after 1420 but he concedes that he may easily be mistaken in this. Cf. also *Les 12 signes dou firmament* discussed in Appendix III. By Pignon's standards, the self-proclaimed orthodoxy of this short treatise is irreparably compromised by application of stellar influence on matters of marriage, friendship, commerce and travel.

³⁴ A somewhat confusing sentence which should be read as follows: 'Only God can move the will, so that when reason presents to the will all things in their perfect and natural being, the will cannot refuse to love and desire them'. The French sentence might be reconstructed thus: 'quant raison li offre et presente | toutes coses supposees en leur parfait et naturel estre | elle ne puet refuser qu'elle (ne) le(s) desire et ayme'. According to Thomas Aquinas the will acts through a form apprehended by the intellect; it is this form that is the object of the will. Since God is the ultimate Good to which all actions tend, He is also the prime cause of all intellectual forms. In that sense He can be said to move the will of man. This is not a deterministic process since the intellect can apprehend a multitude of forms ('coses supposees en leur parfait et naturel estre') between which the will can choose freely. See: SCG III.73 (2489).

fondees, mais sont erreurs non pas seulement contre la foy, ains contre toute science naturele et morale. Et pour tant telz songeurs et devineurs, selonc ce qu'il appliquent a telles choses par plusieurs manieres, on les nome (de) plusieurs noms, c'est assavoir nigromanciens, geomanciens, ydromanciens, aeromanciens, ciromanciens, augurie, aruspicie, sorciers, songeurs, illuseurs, enchanteurs, maleficiers et plusieurs autres noms leur sont approprié, desquelx je parlerei chy appres, avec lesquelx sont compris le Vaudois, les vielles qui vont de nuit avec les bonnes choses,³⁵ toutes lesquelles sont procedant de la malice et engin des deables, qui par telles erreurs deçoivent les hommes, non pas seulement qui telles choses font, mais ceux qui i croient et ajoystent

³⁵ See also CLD I.6 'les vielles sorcieres qui disent qu'eles vont de nuit avec les bonnes choses'. 'The good women', the *bona socia*, the *bona gens* are more or less common names for (presumed) witches. In the life of St. Germanus, Jacobus de Voragine speaks of 'the good women who wander through the night'; *bonis illis mulieribus, quae de nocte incedunt* (Jacobi a Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, ed. T. Graesse (Osnabrück 1965), p. 449). A recent translator of the Golden Legend misses the point by rendering the phrase as 'some nice women came at night' (Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, transl. W. G. Ryan (Princeton 1993), vol. 2, p. 28). The *Roman de la Rose* also mentions 'good women', the followers of Mistress Habonde, who, in order to undertake journeys in their minds, fall into cataleptic fits. Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. F. Lecoy (Paris 1970), vol. 3, pp. 52-53, ll. 18,395 - 18,430. See esp. ll. 18,407 - 18,409: 'et se partent des cors leur ames / et vont avec les bones dames / par leus forains et par mesons'. In his *Speculum morale*, Vincent of Beauvais comments on the *Canon episcopi* in which the women who worship Diana or Herodias and who periodically embark on illusory voyages are condemned. In his comment he adds to the mother goddess certain 'other persons' whom the hallucinating worshippers with an elusive phrase refer to as *Bonae res* and to whom they dedicate sacrificial offerings. *Ad ludificationem quae sit in somniis pertinet error illarum mulierum, quae dicunt se nocturnis horis cum Dyana, et Herodiade, et aliis personis, quas Bonas res vocant, ambulare, et super quasdam bestias equitare, et multa terrarum spatia transire, et certis noctibus ad Dearum servitium evocari, quae utinam solae in sua perfidia perissent, et non multos secum ad infidelitatem suam pertraxissent*. See: Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum morale* III, Dist. 17, pars 3 (Douai 1624), col. 1114. Cf. also Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum naturale* II, cap. 111 (Douai 1624), and Jehan Taincture's *Contre la Vauderie*, in which the author refers to the women who 'chevauchent en la compagnie de dame Herodias et de Dyane, deesse de payens', Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, ms 11209, fol. 68r. See also chapter 4 in the present study. Carlo Ginzburg interprets these names as referring to an ancient European Dianic cult in which certain privileged women (and men) had access to the world of the dead through ecstatic trances and hallucinations. The purpose of these journeys to the other world was to meet and contend with the dead to ensure prosperity and good harvests. These meetings are the folkloristic basis of the later witches' sabbath and the *Bonae res* or 'bonnes choses' in all likelihood refer to the invisible host of the dead. See Carlo Ginzburg, *Ecstasies: Deciphering the Witches' Sabbath*, transl. R. Rosenthal (London 1990), II.1.10, pp. 100-101. Bernardo Gui also mentioned the *Bonae res* in his inquisitor's manual *Practica* (c. 1320). See Russell, *Witchcraft*, pp. 175-176, 326. Russell suggests *Bonae res* means 'those who give good measure'. Why this should be helpful he does not explain. He associates 'the good folk' with the wild ride and the nightly transvections of witches. Cf. DSO 1, col. 235, 'Bonnes', which, so the article suggests, refers to 'des fées bienveillantes'.

foy, et les favorent et soustiennent et government. Tous sont malvais et desloyax Crestiens comme plus a plain je direi appres en la tierce partie.³⁶

I.3 *Tierc capitre*

Appres ce que il appert en general de diverses manieres de supersticions et divinacionz nommees et specifiees cy devant, est il necessité de icelles particulièrement declarer. Chy veul premierement icy noter ce que disent les docteurs approuvés de Sainte Eglise et est opressement³⁷ annoté en livre autanque qui se intitule *La Somme des Confesseurs* ou tiltre .xi^e. du premier livre.³⁸ Toute divinacion tent³⁹ principalement a avoir congnoissance des coses a advenir et qui sont de leur propre naturele condicion secretes et a Dieu tant seulement congneües. Laquelle chose faire ne se puet aucunnement sans avoir aucune part conseil, aliance et convencion avec le deable, par le moing d'aucun service et homage fait a ycelui en telle invocacion. Laquelle

³⁶ The different forms of divination are dealt with in CLD II, but those who practise these arts along with those who believe and support these practitioners are denounced in CLD III.7.

³⁷ opressement: *lege* opressement.

³⁸ In the absence of modern editions of many of the *Summae confessorum*, it proved impossible to identify this *Somme des Confesseurs* accurately, even though such a handbook must have been of major importance to Pignon who was or would soon be appointed father confessor of Philip, count of Charolais. A *Summa confessorum* was not simply a legalistic text, but, according to the definition forwarded by Broomfield 'a book that offers the reader a systematic exposition of doctrine concerning the sacrament of penance and its administration'. F. Broomfield, ed., *Thomae de Chobham Summa Confessorum* (Louvain 1968), p. XVII. In encyclopedic vein it might offer extensive additional information on a particular topic. The section on sortilege and divination, for instance, in Thomas Chobham's *Summa confessorum* (early thirteenth century; a 'bestseller' in its genre) is a case in point (*op. cit.*, pp. 466-487). The *canones penitentiales* only appear in the eleventh and last *questio*. The ten preceding *questiones* deal with various subjects such as the different kinds of superstition, the knowledge of demons, the ways in which the devil may influence the human mind, spells, the magical use of herbs, and dreams. On the whole the *Summae* rely heavily on the information contained in the *Decretum* II.26 (PL 187, 1335-1372) or on relevant sections in Isidore of Seville and Augustine. The information that Pignon gives in this chapter, however, need not derive from a *Somme des Confesseurs*. Being rather general in nature, it may just as easily be a paraphrase of similar statements from Aquinas's *Summa theologiae*. Cf. ST 2a2ae.95.3(R): *omnis divinatio utitur ad praecognitionem futuri eventus aliquo daemonum consilio et auxilio*; ST 2a2ae.95(r2): *divinatio pertinet ad cultum daemonum, inquantum aliquis utitur quodam pacto tacito vel expresso cum daemonibus*; ST 2a2ae.95.2(R): *omnis autem divinatio ex operatione daemonum provenit: vel quia expresse daemones invocatur ad futura manifestanda; vel quia daemones se ingerunt vanis inquisitionibus futurorum, ut mentes hominum implicent vanitate*. Invocations in which the devil is expressly summoned are dealt with in the present chapter. The other type of invocation in which the devil is not invoked but nevertheless presents himself is dealt with in CLD I.4 and I.5.

³⁹ tent: *ms* tant.

invocation se fait ou par ce que le deable est apelé expressement ou, sens estre appellé, [8^r] soutiement se ingere et presente pour decevoir les hommes par revelacions faites a eux, comme dit est.

Quant a la premiere maniere,⁴⁰ le deable appellé expressement par telle gent jamais ne leur donne response se premierement il ne li font homage, honneur et reverence et offrande et sacrefice d'aucune chose. Et eux tellement appellés,⁴¹ souventefois se moustrent en diverses formes et figures. Non pas que le deable soit ainsi formé ou figuré comme il se moustre, car il est de sa nature propre invisible et sensible, mais aucunefois puet prendre la semblance d'aucune beste tellement que il habite en icelles bestes, oyseaus ou autres creatures et les muet et transporte a son plaisir, ou il fait que les yeux de ceux qui les appellent sont tellement immué et la fantasie changié et inmuée par illusion, que l'ennemy fait que il cuident veoir aucune cose et ne voient riens.

Aucunnefois l'ennemy forme une vois en l'aer, et semble que il parle aux invocateurs, ainsi comme un homme. Et tout cecy le deable puet faire soutiement, invisiblement et soudainement par le transport sodain des choses naturelles, comme sont herbes, pierres, semences, de quoi il a cognoissance et (dont) applicacion (est) faite sur les parties sensibles, comme de la veüe, des oreilles et autres parties corporelles de homme ou de fame, par quoi souventefois sont deceü maintes simple gent qui cuident veoir, oïr, sentir et appercevoir aucunes choses. Et c'est toute illusion et decepcion procuree par le deable par la maniere dessusditte. Par telles illucions ai-je veü de mon temps plusieurs simple gent deceüt, comme vachers, bergers, vielles sorcieres, devins et devineresses, qui reveloient les choses perdues et les secrés de plusieurs gens, par che que l'ennemy en telles illucions [8^v] leur faisoit a savoir quant il l'apeloient pour avoir response, comme dit est. Et ceste

⁴⁰ Thomas (ST 2a2ae.95.3) subdivides this first type of demonic assistance, in which the devil is expressly invoked, as follows: 1. *praestigium*; 2. *divinatio somniorum*; 3. *nigromantia*; 4. *divinatio per pythones*; 5. (*divinatio*) *per aliquas figuras vel signa (...) in rebus inanimatis*, which is further subdivided into: 5a. *geomantia*; 5b. *hydromantia*; 5c. *aeromantia*; 5d. *pyromantia*; 5e. *aruspicium*. In CLD I.3 Pignon follows this list faithfully, with the awkward exception of chiromancy, which he adds between 5d and 5e. Aquinas classifies chiromancy differently, namely under 'augury', one of the two types of divination in which the devil is expressly invoked. See CLD I.4, note 52.

⁴¹ Absolute construction in which the subject changes from singular ('le deable') to plural (deables): 'And they (i.e. the demons) having been invoked in such a way, often show themselves in diverse forms'. In the next sentence the subject changes back to singular ('non pas que le deable soit ...').

maniere de divination qui se fait par telles illusions et immutations des parties sensibles du corps est nommée prestige.⁴²

Aucunnefois en dormant⁴³ le deable se presente en songe a la personne qui l'a apelee et li revele ce qu'elle li a demandé. De ce vient que maintefois les devins ne veulent donner response jusques a tant qu'il aient dormy, et tels sont a nomer proprement songeurs.

Aucunnefois le diable fait semblant de resusciter les mors, ou un ou plusieurs, et fault que ceux, qui veulent avoir response de l'ennemy par les mors resuxiteis, tuer aucunne beste et qu'il espanse le sanc a terre, ou que du sanc de son propre corps par aucunne partie il extraie.⁴⁴ Et adont apres l'invocation faite par tel sanc, le deable se montre par illusion tellement qu'il semble que on voit la personne qui estoit morte, et que on parle a elle et qu'elle respond ad ce que on li demande, et revele ce (qu') on veult savoir. Et tout ce fait le deable par malisieuse soutiveté pour decevoir homme et fame, et est nommée ceste maniere nigromancie.⁴⁵

Aucunnefois le deable respont par la parole d'aucunes personnes vivans, esquelx il est habitant, par lesquelx souventefois on a veü advenir ce qu'il disoient, et trouvé la verité d'aucunes doctes. Et ceste maniere est apelee

⁴² ST 2a2ae.95.3. *Daemones autem expresse invocati solent futura praenuntiare multipliciter. Quandoque quidem praestigiosis quibusdam apparitionibus se aspectui et auditui hominum ingerentes ad praenuntiandum futura. Et haec species vocatur praestigium, ex eo quod oculi hominum praestringuntur.* Dieter Harmening (*Superstitio*, p. 204), expounding this passage from Thomas, considers *praestigium* not as a form of divination referring to a concrete object, but as a 'Reflexionsbegriff' referring to a judgment on some object of divination. This is slightly misleading as Pignon's more elaborate discussion of the concept *praestigium* illustrates. It is true that the object of *praestigium* is in actual fact non-existent and only seems to be present to the ears and eyes of the beholder, but this is because demons have tampered with his senses. These seeming objects are the result of demonic manipulation and not of reflection.

⁴³ Obviously it is not the devil who sleeps but the diviner who has invoked him.

⁴⁴ In the second part of this sentence the subject changes rather confusingly from plural to singular. The idea is that those who wish to consult the dead, must kill an animal and sprinkle its blood, or blood that they extract from their own bodies, on the ground after which the devil appears to them in the guise of a deceased person. The sentence, therefore, should have read: '... et fault que ceux, qui veulent avoir response de l'ennemy par les mors resuxiteis, tuent aucunne beste et qu'il espandent le sanc a terre, ou que du sanc de leurs propres corps par aucunne partie il extraient'.

⁴⁵ ST 2a2ae.95.3(R): *Quandoque vero per mortuorum aliquorum apparitionem vel locutionem. Et haec species vocatur nigromantia: quia, ut Isidorus dicit, 'nigrum' graece mortuus 'mantia' divinatio nuncupatur: quia quibusdam praecantationibus, adhibito sanguine, videntur resuscitati mortui divinare et ad interrogata respondere.* Cf. *Etymol.* VIII.9.11 (PL 82, 312).

phitonique, car le premier qui eût ceste maniere de divineur avoit nom Phiton.⁴⁶ Ainsi que recitent les histoires ansiennes.

Aucunnefois les deables sont apelé par telz devineurs moingnant aucunes figures, comme cercles, quadrans, ou d'autre figure, par caraterres et inpressions faites en terre, en plonc, en fer et autre matiere terrestre. Et ceste maniere est apielee geomance,⁴⁷ par laquelle plusieurs ont esté [9] deceü et repris qui faisoient leur invocacions en lieus desiers en forest et loing de l'abitation des hommes. Car j'ei veü de mon temps en ce roialme gens convainçus et repris de telles invocacions, qui estoient trové apostas de religion et de la foy de garder (et qui estoient) pour ceste cause a Paris adjudés et condempnés comme herités, balliés au bras seculer, executés,⁴⁸ comme telz leurs livres ars, et condempnés publiquement, semblablement en plusieurs lieus de ce Royaume, comme Digon, Sens et plusieurs autres lieus.⁴⁹

Aucunnefois telz devineurs font leur invocacion en eaue ou pres de eaue et se noment ydromanciens.⁵⁰ Aucunnefois toutes telles choses se font en aer et se nome aeromance. Aucunnefois en maintien de feu et se nome piromance. Aucunnefois telz divineurs se vantent de cognoistre les condicions et la volenté d'unne personne par regarder en ces mains et se nome

⁴⁶ According to Greek mythology Python (Πύθων) was a giant serpent or dragon, born from postdiluvian mud and slime, who became the guardian of the Delphic oracle until he was killed by Apollo, who consequently took care of the oracle. The priestesses of the temple were called Pythiai (Πυθίαι); one of them would sit on a tripod over a rift in the earth. Under the influence of certain intoxicating exhalations from the rift she would produce sounds and noises that the other priestesses would interpret. Later, 'Pythons' would be a common designation for spirits that predicted the future or for people possessed of such spirits. Thus the witch of Endor is referred to in the Vulgate as a *mulier habens pythonem* (1 Reg. 28:7). Similar applications of the word can be found in Lev. 20:27 (*mulier in quibus pythonicus*), Deut. 18:11 (*qui pythones consulat*) and Act 16:16 (*puella habens spiritum pythonem*). Isidore of Seville (*Etym.* VIII.9.21) derives the word from the Pythian Apollo, the author of all divinatory arts, and Thomas Aquinas speaks of *divinatio per pythones* in ST 2a2ae.95.3(R). See Harmening, *Superstitio*, pp. 207-214, and Collin de Plancy, *Dictionnaire Infernal* (Bruxelles 1845), p. 429.

⁴⁷ ST 2a2ae.95.3(R): *Quandoque vero futura praenuntiant per aliquas figuras vel signa quae in rebus inanimatis apparent. Quae quidem si appareant in aliquo corpore terrestri, puta in ligno vel ferro aut lapide polito, vocatur geomantia; si autem in aqua, hydromantia; si autem in aëre, aeromantia; si autem in igne, pyromantia; si autem in visceribus animalium immolatorum in aris daemonum, vocatur aruspicium.*

⁴⁸ executés: *ms* executer.

⁴⁹ Of these sorcerers who were active in Dijon among other places, some traces remain in a number of chronicles. See *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys* XVIII.2, XIX.10 and XXIV.13 (vol.2); Juvenal des Ursins, *Histoire*, p. 425. Pignon's references to 'cercles', 'en fer', 'en lieus desiers en forest' recall the sorceries of Poinson and Briquet who practised their sorceries near Dijon in a wood by means of a magic circle made of iron. See chapter 2.4.2 and 2.4.4 and Appendix I.

⁵⁰ ydromanciens: *ms* ydiomanciens.

ciromance.⁵¹ Aucunnefois telz divineurs (font leur invocacion) par sortilege de çou qu'i(l) trouvent es entrailles d'aucunes bestes; puisque il les ont sacrefié au deable, le deable leur donne response de ce qu'il demandent par tel sacrefice, et cecy est appellé aruspice. Ne je ne saroie miex translater telz mos en nïen(t) commun langage.

I.4 *Le quart capitre*

Appres la declaracion des invocacions qui se font expressement des deables qui sont appelé es ovrages des hommes, est a veoir des manieres par lesquelles il se presente et ingere sens estre a telles choses apellee et occultement, et sont .ii. manieres par lesqueles il se ingere a telles choses.⁵²

La premiere est quant l'ennemy voit aucuns estre curieux de savoir les coses secretes ou qui sont a advenir par le cours du ciel et des estoelles, laquelle chose ne se puet faire par vraie et boine science quant ad ce qui touche la disposicion et l'ordenanche des operacions des hommes, de leur condicions vertueusez [9^v] ou vicieuses, de leur fortune ou infortune. Quar Dieu tant seulement et la volenté et franc arbitrage que Dieu a donné a homme en sont cause, et en eux en est de les disposer et ordener tellement qu'il leur plaist. Neantmoins sont pluseurs qui ont telle presumpcion, le

⁵¹ As an aside it may be remarked that 'ciromance' can be something other than palmistry. Deriving from 'cire' (wax), 'ciromance' involved pouring molten wax into cold water. The strange and bizarre shapes of the wax could then be used for interpretation. This form of divination would certainly qualify as a *divinatio per aliquas figuras (...) in rebus inanimantis*, as Aquinas called it. Pignon's reference to the inspection of a person's hands, however, makes it clear that he is talking about palmistry.

⁵² Thomas Aquinas, ST 2a2ae.95.3(R): *Divinatio autem quae fit absque expressa daemonum invocatione in duo genera dividitur. Quorum primum est cum ad praenosendum futura aliquid consideramus in dispositionibus aliquarum rerum*. Thomas first divides divination into two general types, one based on the invocation of demons (generally termed 'necromancy', with which Pignon deals in CLD I.3), and one which does not involve the express invocation of demons. The latter type he further subdivides into one type which involves the observation of other beings (generally termed 'augury', with which Pignon deals in CLD I.4), and another type involving the observation of intentional human actions (generally termed 'sorcery' since it applies to *sortes*, with which Pignon deals in CLD I.5). In the first of these two subtypes Thomas distinguishes the following practices: 1. astrology and the casting of horoscopes; 2. augury, i.e. the inspection of the flights and calls of birds as well as human reflexes such as sneezing; 3. omens; 4. the study of configurations in various parts of the body, which includes chiromancy and spatulomancy. Again Pignon faithfully follows Aquinas's list, with one difference: where Aquinas speaks of omens, Pignon speaks of propitious days, which results in the following list: 1. astrology and horoscopes; 2. observation of birds and human reflexes (sneezing); 3. propitious days; 4. 'dispositions de membres'. Chiromancy, which would logically belong to 4 in this list, is removed by Pignon to a different category altogether. See CLD I.3, note 40.

deable ad ce induisant, disant que par la sciencche d'astrologie⁵³ il puelent de toutes telles choses avoir congnoissance, pourveü⁵⁴ que il sachent la constellacion soulz quoy aucune personne est nee, et puel(en)t, se disent, au vrai de ce juger et prenosquir sens faulte quelconques, tout ainsi que j'ey par avant dit de ceux qui par usurpacion se actribuent le nom d'astronomiens, qui proprement et selonc la verité ne sont que devineurs et songeurs. Et le deable a ce les induit, par ce qu'il tiennent viés livres escripts par nombres designans les habitacions et les regars des planetes selonc diverses opplications des uns as autres par triplicités⁵⁵ et autres relations de nombres, qui leur⁵⁶ actribuent et leur imposent tel nom comme il veulent, sauvages et incongneüs, desquelz livres il n'est aucteur autentique quelconques, et se il les actribuent a aucuns notables philosophes ou astronomiens, c'est faux et menconne, est pour plus legierement decevoir gens qui ont simple entendement. Car il n'est science ou monde, ne onques ne fut, par quoy on peüst au vrai jugier de telles choses. Ceux dont qui en tel usage se appliquent, par abusion et usurpacion se disent astrologiens, inposent blasme a Dieu premierement, (et) au ciel et aux planetes, qui sont creatures de Dieu | donnés, en tant disent que Dieu, |⁵⁷ qui a créé les estoiles et le ciel, a donné a (a) eux vertu et puissance de immüer, changier, ordener et du tout tourner la volenté des hommes a bien faire et a mal faire. Laquelle cose, se vraie estoit, encloroit en soi tant de mauvaises et fauses conclusions et conse(quen)ces⁵⁸ que tout le monde [10'] ne les saroit ne porroit sou(r)dre ne soustenir, ainsi qu'il appara apres en la .iii^e. partie, et tout ceci est fait et procuré par le deable soutillement. Telle gent seduisent ad fin que par eux autre soient seduit et mis hors de bonne voie, de vraie foy et de salut, et (de)

⁵³ The theme of *divinatio per astra* is dealt with by Aquinas in ST 2a2ae.95.5 and by Pignon in CLD II.2.3.

⁵⁴ pourveü: *ms* proparveü.

⁵⁵ The word is difficult to make out in the manuscript. All that can be established with certainty is: '(...)licites'. 'Triplicités' seems a reasonable solution. Pignon's choice of astrological terms is purely illustrative and does not reflect any profound knowledge of the subject. On the contrary, the mention of these 'noms sauvages' is devised to discourage people's interest. For the proper meaning of technical terms such as triplicity or application, see J. C. Eade, *The Forgotten Sky: A Guide to Astrology in English Literature* (Oxford 1984). On 'habitacions' (houses) see: North, *Horoscopes and History*.

⁵⁶ The antecedent of 'qui' is 'livres'; the antecedent of 'leur' is 'planetes'.

⁵⁷ The phrase between the two lines is an interpolation that can be found in the left-hand margin of fol. 9v of the manuscript. A cross-shaped mark in the manuscript indicates the place where the scribe wanted the line to be inserted.

⁵⁸ The word is difficult to make out in the manuscript which gives: 'conse(r?s?...)ces'. Perhaps the copyist made a mistake. A suitable solution has been chosen in the present edition. The negative consequences of stellar determinism are listed in CLD III.6.

tout che (que) plus a plain toche et recite desdis ⟨livres⟩ saint Augustin.⁵⁹ Ou *Decret*⁶⁰ qui est doctrine catholique, la on dit la determinacion de nostre mere Sainte Eglise que tel jugemens fais sur la nativité des hommes, par le regart que on a a la constellation du ciel et des .xii. signes, pour dire un tel homme sera de tel estat, de tel condicion et de telz meurs, de telle fortune ou infortune, vivra tant, morra par telle maniere, sera eurex ou maleurex, comme dit est, verité de sainte doctrine et nostre foy et toute science naturele et morale fondee en raison ⟨a⟩ condempnee et reprovee telz jugemens comme choses fauses, mansongieres et supersticieuses, decevables et dampnables.⁶¹ Et n'est homme catholique qui osast dire ne affermer le contraire estre vray, que tout bon Crestien, tout clergié, ne li doit courir sus et du tout le dechacier de toute bonne plache. Et ne sont point telz devineurs digne de vivre, comme cy appres appara en la .iii^e. partie,⁶² et que j'en ay ja aucunnement tochié au commanchement.

Aucunnefois telz devineurs ont le deable avec eulz, sans ce qu'il l'apellent. Lequel leur fait entendant que par le chant des oysiaus et le mouvement d'aucunes bestes, ⟨qui⟩ soient en terre, en aer, en feu ou en eaue, veüe la disposicion et l'ordenance de telles bestes, il jugent de la disposicion du temps ⟨a⟩ advenir en choses qui sont en la volenté de l'omme. Car des ovragés de nature aucuns puet on bien jugier, comme je dirai chi apres en la .ii^e. partie.⁶³ Disent appres que quant ung homme esternue⁶⁴ ou qu'il se transporte de place en autre par tel es[10^v]starnuement et transport, il puel(en)t juger de che qu'il li avendra le jour. Ou bien tost apres assignent jours et heures certaines auxquelz il fait bon ou mauvais traitier de guerre, ou de pais, ou de mariage, entrepenre veage, entrer en mer, faire marchandise, vestir robe neufve, ale(a)r a la cache, commenchiier maison

⁵⁹ Cf. Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* 2,17,37 (PL 34, 278-279). The authority of Augustine on *operatio spirituum immondorum et seductorum* is quoted by Aquinas in ST 2a2ae.95.5(r2) and by Pignon in CLD II.2.3(r2) *in fine*. The theme, of course, also features prominently in Augustine's *De divinatione daemonum*. Cf. also *Decr.* II.26.3+4.2 (PL 187, 1343-1345).

⁶⁰ Condemnations of astrological judgments appear in various places in *causa* 26 of the *Decretum*. Cf., for instance, *Decr.* II.26.2.8: *Christiana et vera pietas planetarios expellit et damnat*; *Decr.* II.26.5.3: *Elementa colere, lunae aut stellarum cursus in suis operibus Christianis servare non licet*; *Decr.* II.26.5.13: *arioli, aruspices, incantatores, et sortilegi, atque ceteri hujusmodi sectatores ab ecclesia sunt eliminandi* (PL 187, 1340, 1346, 1352 resp.).

⁶¹ The author or scribe clearly lost his way in this long sentence. Its basic structure is as follows: 'Ou decret (...) on dit (...) que tel jugemens (...) verité (...) ⟨a⟩ condempnee et reprovee' (the direct object 'telz jugemens' is then repeated) 'comme choses fauses' (etc.).

⁶² Pignon's inquisitorial zeal surfaces most clearly in CLD III.8.

⁶³ See esp. CLD II.5 and II.6.

⁶⁴ Superstitious beliefs about sneezing seem to be perennial. See: Opie, 'sneezing', pp. 364-366.

neufve et generalment de toutes choses que on puet enprandre de novel.⁶⁵ En tres grant injure et reproche de Dieu et de ses creatures et de nostre foy, contre toute bonne science et jugement de raison naturele, folement et presumptueusement afferment ces erreurs. Quar tesmoing verité et bonne doctrine, tant de païens comme de Crestiens, en toutes telles choses n'a ad(i)viser fors seulement bon conseil et prudent des sages, l'ordenance de Sainte Eglise gardee honnerablement, en toutes choses soy commettre et commender a Dieu qui tant seulement ad puissance de disposer et ordener les ovrages des hommes, eux deüement,⁶⁶ comme dit est, disposés a recevoir et faire ce que Dieu, raison et justice ont disposé et veul(en)t estre fait.⁶⁷ Dire le contraire, c'est si mal fait que on ne puet peis <faire> et <c'est> argument⁶⁸ evident d'ung homme estre tres mauvais Crestien et ydolatre.

En ceste erreur sont ceux qui jugent determineement des affaires des hommes par le regart qu'il ont es mains des personnes, en leur filosomie et disposicions de leur membres, disans que pour che on puet savoir au certain quele vie, quel estat les gens aront et de mort quele il morront. Et ad ce congnoistre estudient en petis livres et traitiés qui sont actribué et intitulé a Aristote⁶⁹ et aux autres sages et bons filosofes naturieux, lesquelx ne les firent onques, comme il appert manifestement, par ce que Aristote et li autre sage philosophe ont escript les livres de naturele philosophie et morale qui sont du tout contraire [11'] a telles folies qui ne sont que songes et divinations pour decevoir gent et mettre en admiration. Combien que il soit vrai que tout homme a aucune inclinacion naturele selonc la complexion qui domine en luy, par quoi il est plus enclin a faire une chose que une autre. Et ad ce mesmes

⁶⁵ This list of enterprises for which astrologers select propitious days should be compared to the items in the treatise *Les 12 signes dou firmament* discussed in Appendix III.

⁶⁶ deüement: *ms* deüemen(t)(s)?

⁶⁷ Problematic sentence: 'n'a ad(i)viser fors seulement bon conseil et prudent des sages ...' can be interpreted in a number of ways. It might be read as 'n'a ad viser fors seulement ...' (= il n'y a à viser que) which means: 'there is not to be reckoned with, except ...' i.e. 'one should only reckon with the good and prudent counsel of the wise'. A second option might be 'n'a a diviser ...' The most likely solution, however, in keeping with the style of the treatise, is '(il) n'(est) a adviser fors seulement ...' i.e. 'one should only recognise the good and prudent counsel ...' As the reader will notice, semantically the options are not far apart. The remainder of the sentence contains two clauses that may be read as exemplifications of the 'bon conseil', namely: 'l'ordenance de Sainte Eglise garder honnerablement' (with 'garder' instead of 'gardee') and 'en toutes choses soy commettre et commender a Dieu (qui ...)'. The subclause 'eux deüement ... disposés a recevoir et faire ce que Dieu, raison et justice ont disposé et veul(en)t estre fait' is a modification of 'hommes'; 'eux ... disposés a recevoir' is an absolute construction that should be read as: 'they (being) disposed to receive ...' i.e. 'who are disposed to receive ...'

⁶⁸ argument: *ms* arguinent.

⁶⁹ It was common that obscure and anonymous treatises on astrology, magic and related subjects were attributed to great authorities such as Aristotle. See: Thorndike, *HMES* II, pp. 246-278 on pseudo-Aristotelian writings, and especially on the *Secret of Secrets*.

puet avoir regart la constellation soulz laquele il est ney ou engendré. Mais ce ne fait point a leur entencion, quar il mettent en tout necessité la ou il a franche volenté et deliberacion de jugement de raison, comme je dirai chi apres.⁷⁰

I.5 .v. chapitre

Appres ychi est a veoir d'une maniere que le deable a pour decevoir gent que nous disons sort. Et cecy se puet faire quant il avient aucune dobte entre gent ou pour deviser, ou pour distribuer, ou pour assigner aucune chose as quellesque personne et on ne puet trover plus seüre maniere ou plus briefve on se met a sors, que on dit en langage commun los. Et est quant on baille aucuns brives entre plusieurs et il sont pareil fors quant ad ce qui est escript dedans, ou buchetes a traire la plus longue, ou geter dés a plus de poins et ainsi de plusieurs autres manieres qui puelent eschoir en maint cas. Dont aucunefois il est chose qui n'est pas mout perileuse et aucunefois il y a peril pour les causes qui s'ensievent. Dont il est a noter selonc la doctrine de Sainte Eglise et des docteurs pour trois causes on seult user de sort.⁷¹

La premiere quant aucune chose est a destribuer ou a conferer a aucun d'ungne compaignie, de laquelle tous sont a ce entendans actendans,⁷² tellement que on ne scet auquel la chose appliquier. On seult adont jeter los, comme dit est, que on nomme sort divisoire.⁷³ Et en tant que telle chose a regart a aucun bien temporel seulement, n'a point peril de conscience, se non que on y fait et commet aucun fraude. [11'] Mais au regart des dignités et bienfices de l'Eglise ou offisse ou service qui toche l'esperituel o(u) fait de l'Eglise, il y aroit peril. Car l'Eglise desfent telle voie et maniere de proceder en ces besongnes. Ains veult que on procede par voie de struture et de eleccionz ou par la voix de Saint Esperit ou de compuns et autres

⁷⁰ See esp. CLD II.5.

⁷¹ In ST 2a2ae.95.8(R) Thomas distinguishes three kinds of lot-casting: (1) *sors divisoria*, which can be used legitimately to divide something among a certain number of people, since it involves only chance; (2) *sors consultoria*, which can be used to decide what ought to be done or which decision ought to be taken; and (3) *sors divinatoria*, which is used to learn the future and which always involves demonic influence. Concerning elections in Church, Thomas explains that casting of lots, *sors divisoria*, is not allowed unless circumstances leave no alternative, in which case this should be undertaken with the greatest possible reverence. Though these distinctions are derived from the ST, some of the examples are not. For drawing lots, throwing dice and drawing straws, see ST 2a2ae.95.3(R). Spinning a top and throwing coins in a pan may derive from Pignon's own experience.

⁷² *Lege*: 'of which (company or group) all are waiting ('actendens') with that in mind' ('a ce' [i.e. the thing to be distributed or conferred] 'entendans').

⁷³ A marginal note in the manuscript provides the Latin term: *sors divisoria*.

pratiquez tochiés en droit canon.⁷⁴ Et se il estoit trové et jugé que par nécessité ou pour le miex il fausist user de tel sort, comme nous lisons de saint Mathié qui fut esleü apostre entre les autres ou lieu de Judas,⁷⁵ on devroit adont faire ainsi que li apostre firent prieres devotes et autres sufrages, comme jeunes et astinenches, pour empetrer de Dieu la grace tellement que le Saint Esperit volsist en telle eleccion par sort inspirer qui seroit le milleur a faire, toutesfois pour le plus seür. Ceste voie n'est point a pratique entre gens d'Eglise.

Il est une autre maniere de sort. Quant aucune gent veult assenbleement faire un ovrage et il ne sont pas sofisaument instruit de la forme d'iceli ovrage et de la maniere du faire, il avisent par sort quelle forme il garderont et quelle maniere. Ainsi adviseront par (par) sort (selonc) les manieres qui estoient en mer que pour venir a port de salut: il geterent Jonas dedans la mer et incontinent la mer cessa.⁷⁶ Ainsi en temps de pestilence ou il convendroit par nécessité que aucun morut ou pluseurs pour garandir et sauver la vie des autres, on porroit par sors licitement adviser ceux qui seroient ad ce a eslire.

La tierce maniere est quant on veult avoir cognoissance d'aucune chose secrete, qui l'a faite, ou de ce qui est a faire ou advenir, et on n'en puet avoir par autre maniere congnoissance, on se prent a faire aucuns sors esquelx le deable se ingere non apelei et invisiblement et soutiement y euvre. Et ceste maniere est dite sort divinatoire. Ainsi font pluseurs mauvaises gent qui font tourner un fuisel et noment ou le tournent [12'] pluseurs personnes, jusques a tant que il vient ad celi qui a fait le cose que on demande, adont le fuisel se tient coy ou il tourne plus fort. Les autres gettent un denier en un bachin

⁷⁴ *Decr.* II.26.5.7 as quoted by Aquinas: *Sortes quibus cuncta vos vestris discriminatis provinciis, quas Patres damnaverunt, nihil aliud quam divinationes et maleficia decernimus. Quamobrem volumus omnino illas damnari, et ultra inter Christianos nolumus nominari: et ne exerceantur, anathematis interdicto prohibemus.* (Cf. PL 187, 1348 where the phrasing is slightly different.)

⁷⁵ *Act.* 1:21-26. Cf. 1:26: *et dederunt sortes eis et cecidit sors super Matthiam et adnumeratus est cum undecim apostolis.* Cf. *Decr.* II.26.2.1-4 in which the examples of Matthias and Jonah, who were both selected through the casting of lots, are discussed. The canons point out that from these singular instances one should not deduce a general rule. Only when no other options are left should one resort to *sortes*. Though perhaps not evil in themselves, these practices should not be customary among believers: *Sic et sortibus nihil mali inesse monstratur, prohibetur tamen fidelibus, ne sub hac specie divinationis ad antiquos idololatriae cultus redirent* (PL 187, 1337-1338).

⁷⁶ *Jona* 1. Cf. 1:7: *et dixit vir ad collegam suam venite et mittamus sortes et sciamus quare hoc malum sit nobis et miserunt sortes et cecidit sors super Ionam.* Also 1:15: *et tulerunt Ionam et miserunt in mare et stetit mare a fervore suo.* The example of Jonah is an exemplification of the 'manieres qui estoient en mer'. Nautical superstitions and practices such as these were common knowledge in the Middle Ages.

ou en une paele plusieurs fois, a cascunne fois nommens aucune des personnes que on a suspectes, ou pour cuy telle cose est faite que on veult congnoistre. Et quant le denier a esté plusieurs fois ainsi getté et ne se bouge du bassin, (s'il n'est) qui ne le reprent, en la fin quant on nomme cely a cuy la chose toche et on gette le denier, incontinent le deable le reboute hors, et semble que le denier de soi isse hors. Et par plusieurs telles manieres puet le deable decevoir plusieurs gens et donner occasions de trop de max. Ceste maniere de sors est desfandue comme mauvaise et perilleuse et contre la foy et contre bonne doctrine et bonnes meurs. Checy, comme dit est, est appelé sort divinatoire, et ceux qui che font sont nommé devins ou devineurs, et de ceste matiere porra estre faite mencion autre part en la seconde partie de cest traité.⁷⁷

I.6 .vi^e. capitre

Consequamment en poursievant la matiere de divinacion il me semble que sortileges, sorceries et telles supersticions, que font plusieurs gens pour nuire a autrui en plusieurs manieres, puelent estre en ce traité inferee. Chi est a veoir premierement quelle chose est sortilege.

Sortilege⁷⁸ est quant on fait sour aucunes personnes, hommes, fames ou bestes certains sinacles ou que on y dit parolles qui n'ont aucune significacion pour maladies garir, ou que on baille a pourter brives et cedulaes au col ou en bras ou autre part sur la creature. Lesquelx brives ont certains signacles et caracteres incongneüs et (sont) de nulle efficence fors la mauvaise foy des baillans et escrivans y ovre. Telz folies sont charmens et enchantemens esquelz le deable pour verité ovre pour decevoir hommes et fames et les traire

⁷⁷ CLD II.2.6.

⁷⁸ Contrary to what the etymology of the word 'sortilege' might suggest, the term is not exclusively used for divinatory practices such as lot-casting or interpreting signs. As is evident from Pignon's definition in this paragraph it may include magical practices as well. Cf. Harmening, *Superstitio*, pp. 196-197. So far, Pignon used the word 'sortilege' more or less as a synonym for 'divinacion'. In the table of contents of CLD I he announces that chapter 5 will deal with 'sortilege' and 'sors', yet in chapter 5 itself he only uses the word 'sors' and not 'sortilege'. He follows Aquinas in this, who in ST 2a2ae.95 speaks of *judicium sortium* and never of *sortilegium*. The *judicium sortium* is a *superstitio divinatoria*, according to Thomas; a kind of soothsaying which he distinguishes from magic (as dealt with in ST 2a2ae.96). The magical practices that Pignon includes in the definition of 'sortilege' in the present chapter (CLD I.6) correspond to the ones he elaborates in CLD II.3 (which is based on ST 2a2ae.96). In question 96 Aquinas deals with these magical practices as belonging to the *superstitiones observantiarum* as distinct from the *superstitio divinatoria*, but again he refrains from using the word *sortilegium*. By superimposing the general term 'sortilege' on one of Aquinas's strict distinctions, Pignon creates the impression that the term displays a systematic rigour that it does not have; not even in Pignon's own discourse.

de pechié en pechié et faire a luy obeïssans et subjes. Et pour tant que en tant de manieres telles sorceries se font, que il n'est homme qui les sceüst reciter, [12^v] nientmoins j'en rechiteré icy aucunes et les plus communes, ad ce que par celles qui seront cy nommees on se retere des autres.

Telz sorciers disent que pour garir aucunes maladies on doit cuillir certaines herbes en tel nombre de fuelles, estre en genoulx en disant la *Patre Nostre* et *Ave Maria* contre soleil levant, quar Dieu, disent il, a mis ses vertus en pierres, en herbes et en paroles.⁷⁹

Item, quant on trebuche au partir de son hostel, c'est signe qu'il mesavandra celle journee a la personne. Item, quant on esternue en soi causant, ou quant on trove sa robe rungié de soris,⁸⁰ ou quant on encontre au matin son haineux, ou un moigne, ou un prestre en alant a la chace, ou quant il veist chemise ou robe neufve a tele heure, ou que on fianche ou espouse, ou on commence aucun proces en jugement contre son adversaire a tel jour ou a tel, ou soy armer et entrer en bataille, aler en pelerinage ou en marchandise a telle journee ou a telle, ou entrer en mer, ou entrer en aucune religion, ou assalir son anemy, ou l'attendre a telle journee et a telle heure, telz songeurs, sortileges, superstitieus⁸¹ et divineurs veulent dire qu'a toutes telles choses a jours et heures perilleux et mauvais. En ceste folie sont compris ceux qui ardent les osselemens des bestes la nuit saint Jehan⁸² et

⁷⁹ The main question underlying Gerson's *De erroribus circa artem magicam* recounts popular beliefs concerning the virtues of herbs, stones and words: *Cur non igitur licebit, inquirunt, istis uti praesertim cum Deus omnipotens non virtutes suas indiderit, ut vulgus loquitur, herbis, gemmis et verbis?* See: Gerson, *Œuvres complètes*, vol. 10, p. 78. Picking herbs whilst reciting prayers is mentioned (and denounced) in the *Decretum* II.26.5.3. John of Salisbury, by contrast, recommends it (*Policraticus* II.1): 'L'oroison nostre Seigneur, c'est a dire la paternostre, dicte en bonne foy sur les herbes quant on les cueilloit ou quant on les donnoit, a donné souventes fois vraie santé as malades' (Foulechat's translation, *Policratique*, p. 134). Pignon is willing to accept the 'magical' use of Biblical texts and prayers, but only if it is done 'en boine devocion' (CLD II.3.4). Why the instances he denounces in the present chapter fail to meet this requirement, he does not explain.

⁸⁰ According to Augustine stumbling at the threshold of one's door, sneezing while putting on one's shoes, finding one's clothes gnawed by mice, were considered bad omens. Augustine, DDC II.20: *limen calcare, cum ante domum suam transit, redire ad lectum, si quis, dum se calciat, sternutauerit; redire domum, si procedens offenderit; cum uestis a soricibus roditur, plus tremere suspicionem futuri mali quam praesens damnum dolere* (CC 32, 55). Cf. also CLD II.3.3 and note; Opie, 'sneezing', p. 366, 'stumbling', p. 380, 'rats and mice', pp. 322-323; *Decr.* II.26.2.6 (PL 187, 1339).

⁸¹ superstitieus: *ms* superstiems.

⁸² Throughout the whole of Europe it was customary to light bonfires around Midsummer, on the eve of St. John's day, to drive away demons and witches and protect cattle from diseases. Especially animal bones were burnt to keep away all evil. In CLD II.3.3 Pignon refers to the dances that took place on such occasions. See: HWDA IV, 'Johannisfeuer', cols. 733-739; DSO 1, 'Feu de la Saint-Jean', col. 612.

autrefois cuidans que leur bestes en valent miex toute l'annee; ceux qui donnent les estrines⁸³ le premier jour de l'an cuidans que tout l'an leur sera melleur; ceux qui gardent les jours Egipcien⁸⁴, signes ou kalendrier contre l'institution⁸⁵ et ordenance de l'Eglise; les vielles sorcieres qui disent qu'elles vont de nuit avec les bonnes choses,⁸⁶ lesquelles vielles le deable deçoit par illusions et alienacions et inmutacions de leur sens et propre ymaginacion; semblablement la sette qui se apelle Vaudois qui sont en certaine contree en Borgoigne es esvechiés de Lion et Besençon, qui sont deceü par [13'] telles illusions et transformacions du deable, lequel par apparence les maine soudainement en lointain païs, et il est vray qu'il ne se meuvent d'une place. En ceste erreur se ingerrent ceux qui par invocacions de deables et leur ovrage transportent⁸⁷ les choses materielles de place en autre sodainement. Comme on a veü maintefois de ceux qui faiso(en)t issir vin d'un arbre pertuise, faisoient sodainement apparel de vins, viandes, soin, aveinne et autrex provisions pour grans segneurs en lieux desers⁸⁸ et tout moingnant l'ayde dou deable non autrement. Car aucuns et bien notables ont

⁸³ Gifts on New Year's day were believed to be good omens for the year to come. Such gifts were also bestowed on spirits in order to appease them. See HWDA VI, cols. 1037-1039; TL III, 1470-1471; DSO 1, 'Etrennes', col. 578.

⁸⁴ Egyptian days (also mentioned in CLD III.8) or *dies aegyptiaci* were believed to be dismal or ill-fated days (two in each month, except for January which has three). Originally these unlucky days may have been relics from the ancient Egyptian calendar, but their more immediate provenance is the Roman calendar. The medieval mind, however, soon identified them as the days on which God brought the plagues over Egypt (though this did leave the discrepancy between 25 days and 10 plagues to be resolved). See: Thorndike, HMES I, pp. 685-688; HWDA I, cols. 223-226.

⁸⁵ institution: *ms* instuticion.

⁸⁶ See also CLD I.2 and note 35. These 'vielles sorcieres' were believed to suffer from hallucinations, brought about by the devil who affected their *imaginatio*; the only part of the mind (bound up with the senses) on which he could exercise a certain influence. The devil has only power over those parts of the human constitution which are naturally susceptible to external influence; i.e. the body and, most importantly, the bodily powers that enable the operation of the intellect. Pignon deals with demonic influence and these bodily powers in CLD I.7 and CLD II.4 resp. The nocturnal journeys that the witches claimed to undertake in spirit were regarded, on the authority of the *Canon episcopi*, as illusions, as is, e.g., borne out by the poet of the *Roman de la Rose* (*op. cit.*) who mockingly points out that if these women were correct in claiming to go out in spirit thrice a week, the whole business of death and resurrection would become trivial by this constant moving of their souls in and out of their bodies. The authority of the *Canon episcopi* would crumble during the great witch-craze of the sixteenth century, when the reality of corporeal transvections would become part of the witch-hunters' creed. For the text of the *Canon episcopi* see: *Decr.* II.26.5.12 (PL 187, 1349-1351) and Robbins, *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology*, pp. 74-77.

⁸⁷ transportent: *ms* transporter.

⁸⁸ desers: *ms* desors.

eü aucunefois un deable privé,⁸⁹ par coy il pooient telles choses procurer et savoir tout ce que on faisoit en estranges contrees. Et tous telz malvais hommes ont donné a entendre, et donnent encore cascun jour, qu'il le font par bonne science et reale et licite atribuans cecy astronomie qui est œuvre de deable procuree par ce qu'il se deportent de la foy catholique et sont malvais apostas d'icelle. Ainsi qu'il appert par la vie et la fin de plusieurs, dont les croniques⁹⁰ font mencion expresse, qui ont esté de grant estat et renommé, tant en l'Eglise comme en l'estat seculer. Et cecy soffisse quant a ceste matiere.

I.7 .viij. capitre

Et pour tant que j'ai cy devant longuement parlé et escript que le deable deçoit mainte gens par les manieres dessusdites, il est a considerer ychi par quelle maniere ou comment le deable puet avoir telle puissance, de quoy saint Augustin⁹¹ dit que nature de deable est de soi esperituelle chose et plus aprochant a la condicion et propriété de l'aer qu'a autre element, pour tant que l'aer est mains materiel. Et sont en l'aer les deables en tres grant nombre, des l'eure que premierement pour leur pechié furent degeté de la compaignie des bons anges. Eux dont estans de telle [13^e] condicion et propriété, plus tost se transportent de lieu et de place en autre que beste quelconque ne oisel ne porroit aler ne voler. Avec ce il ont de leur creacion premiere naturele

⁸⁹ In CLD II.1.2 Pignon speaks of the god of Socrates 'qui estoit un deable privé'. The demon of Socrates (the Greek counterpart of the guardian angel in Christianity) and Apuleius's famous *De deo Socratis* were discussed by Augustine in DCD VIII.14 ff. Cf. also the confession of Jehan de Bar (see Appendix I) who speaks of 'un ou plusieurs (dyables) qui tousjours fussent avec moy'.

⁹⁰ For examples from chronicles, see CLD III.5.

⁹¹ Augustine, *De divinatione daemonum*, 3 (7): *Daemonum ea est natura, ut aerii corporis sensu terrenorum corporum sensum facile praecedant; celeritate etiam propter ejusdem aerii corporis superiorem mobilitatem non solum cursus quorumlibet hominum vel ferarum, verum etiam volatus avium incomparabiliter vincant. Quibus duabus rebus quantum ad aerium corpus attinet praedicti, hoc est, acrimonia sensus et celeritate motus, multa ante cognita praenuntiant vel nuntiant, quae homines pro sensus terreni tarditate mirentur. Accessit etiam daemonibus per tam longum tempus quo eorum vita protenditur, rerum longe major experientia, quam potest hominibus propter breviter vitae provenire* (PL 40, 584). Cf. also *Decretum* II.26.3+4.2 (PL 187, 1343-1345). Pignon's knowledge of Augustine's *De divinatione daemonum*, as it appears from CLD I.7, seems to be limited to the information contained in the excerpts from Augustine's text in the *Decretum*. These excerpts may have been Pignon's main source for this chapter. As the two foremost properties of the aerial bodies of demons Pignon mentions their speed and their 'naturele congnoissance'. This latter concept seems to be his rendering of Augustine's *acrimonia sensus*. In chapter 4 Augustine discusses the miraculous feats that demons can perform: if craftsmen or artisans are sometimes called 'divine' because of their exceptional skills, what then will we think of the superior accomplishments of demons?

congoissance de toutes choses que Dieu a creés, laquelle est plus grant et plus parfaite que ne fut onquez congoissance naturele de homme pur homme.⁹² Avec ceste congoissance ont il eü experiences⁹³ pluseurs - et ainsi que sens nombre et sens fin - des euvres de nature, de l'influence du ciel et des constellacions des planetes. Lesquelles experiences, avec la congoissance naturele qui leur fu donnee au commencement, causent en eulx une tres parfaite et grant science et memore. Et a chechi onquez homme naturellement ne puelit parvenir pour la briefté de la vie humaine. A cause des cosses dessusdites le deable ad puissance et science de savoir et pouvoir sodainnement et inperceptiblement transporter et traismier diverses substances materieleles et corporelles tellement, que ce que nature feroit en lonc temps, il le puet faire en tres peu de heure et sodainnement. Et pour tant que il sont a mal enclin et leur volenté il appliquent du tout a decevoir et destruire creature humaine, et avec ce il sont ministre et executeur de la justice de Dieu, laquelle Dieu exerce en ses creatures. A son plaisir est il advenu et advient souventefois, que quant le deable apperçoit que le temps naturellement est disposé as tempestes, il s'i ingere. Dont nous veons et a on veü en maint lieux grosses roches cheoir, grans arbres arachier et grans edefices rüer par terre, et maint ovrage mervelex, desquels nulz ne saroit assigner raison naturele sofisant.

Semblablement par ce qui est devant dit, puet le diable avoir congoissance de la complexion des corps des hommes [14'] naturele, par ce qu'il congnoist soulz quelle influence et constellacion il sont ney, par coi il cognoit a soi naturellement il seroit en leur vie plus enclin. Dont il puet apparroir que il puelit par ce savoir mout de choses a advenir, a tout le mains par conjettures mout⁹⁴ prochaines, quar il se vent bien et apperçoivent que ung cascun est de commun cours plus enclin et plus volenterin assuïr ses propres natureles passions et desir, que ce que raison juge, et avec ce le deable sens cesser tempte les hommes a pechié et a mal. Et se un resiste a telles inclinacions natureles et temptacions, il sont .c. ou mil qui y condescendent. A cause de toutes ces choses, le deable puet faire mout de mervelles et choses toutes nouvelles autrefois non oïes et non veües, dont les hommes ou temps passé, curieux de savoir les causes et les secrés de nature, ce que il ne pavoient savoir par excitation d'estude et enseignement d'autrui par bonne maniere requis, se sont exposé a le savoir et enquesir par manieres mauvaises, comme invocacions de deables, sortileges, supersticions et telles folies et erreurs.

⁹² A somewhat pleonastic expression: 'pur' is 'por' or 'pour'. Demons or fallen angels have a natural knowledge of all creation which is more perfect than man's natural knowledge ever was for man.

⁹³ experiences: *ms* experientes.

⁹⁴ mout: *ms* mont.

Et le deable, veant aucuns hommes plus curieux assavoir telles choses que n'estoient les autres, c'est ingeré a eux enseigner les choses secretes et les choses a advenir. Dont est venu que plusieurs contre leur bonne loy et contre l'onneur de Dieu s'i sont ahurté et aresté pour estre entre les hommes prisiés et honorés. Neantmoins en la fin sont toudis deceü par leur maistre, quar il est menchonnier, et per(e) de mansonge.⁹⁵

Il est appres a noter que, non obstant les choses dessusdites estre veritables, le deable n'a nulle puissance sur homme ne sur fame, fors ce que Dieu li donne ou sueffre et homme et fame le veult. [14'] Ains est leur puissance limitee et loice, comme dit est. Bien est vray, que Dieu aucunnefois sueffre que le deable travaille aucune bonnes et saintes personnes, comme nous lisons de plusieurs sains de paradis. Nientmoins c'est tout pour esprover leur bonté, leur constance et perseverance en l'amour de Dieu et en vraie foy. Ainsi que on list de saint Pol, de saint Job et mesment de plusieurs grans punicions et vangances d'aucuns pechiés, que Dieu a fait sur plusieurs gens et plusieurs païs, dont nulz ne saroit cause assigner, fors seulement la volenté et plaisir de Dieu, et ce doit sofire.

Item,⁹⁶ de la maniere de diviner par eux est a savoir que, comme dit est, il puelent aucunnefois müer l'aer, faire tempestes ou eux mesler es tempestes qui se font naturellement, et mesment puelent tellement l'aer alterer et corrompre que maladies et plusieurs maulx s'ensievent sur hommes et sur bestes et g(e)neralment sur toutes choses naissans de terre. Et quant le deable veult toutes telles choses faire, et il scet aucune personne estre curiex de savoir la disposicion et ordenance du temps (a) advenir, le deable luy revele et (fait) savoir pour plus le tenir en subjection et servitude. Et telz hommes divineurs le disent et segnefient aux autres, pour acquiesir une grant renommee et pour estre réputé gens entendans et de grant science. Car ainsi que le

⁹⁵ John 8:44, *quia mendax est et pater eius*. An alternative reading for this last phrase in Pignon's text might be 'par de mansonge', but, in view of the text from St. John, 'pere' seems the more likely solution. On the deceitfulness of demons, see also: Augustine, *De divinatione daemonum* 6 (10), (PL 40, 586-587).

⁹⁶ The following two paragraphs are based loosely on *De divinatione daemonum*, 5 (9). Augustine explains that demons sometimes predict the things that they themselves perform: *Accipiunt enim saepe potestatem et morbos immittere, et ipsum aerem vitando morbidum reddere, et perversis atque amatoribus terrenorum commodorum malefacta suadere; de quorum moribus certi sunt quod sint eis talia suadentibus consensuri. Suadent autem miris et invisibilibus modis, per illam subtilitatem suorum corporum corpora hominum non sentientium penetrando, seseque cogitationibus eorum per quaedam imaginaria visa miscendo, sive vigilantium sive dormientium* (PL 40, 586). Next to revealing to people their own actions, demons can also predict the future from signs. Thus the condition of the atmosphere may reveal what the weather will be like, and bodily symptoms may reveal the state of one's health in the same way as physical expressions may reveal what is on a person's mind. *Neque enim quia praevidet medicus quod non praevidet ejus artis ignarus, ideo jam divinus habendus est.*

deable par orguel premierement peccha, ainsi tempte(nt) il plus de ce pechié les hommes que d'autres. Et ainsi que j'ey dit par avant, telz devins font tousjours au deable aucun present par maniere de sacrefice, ainsois qu'il soit si familiers de eux.⁹⁷

Item, pour ce qui est dit ichi devant, appert que le deable puet soutilment immüer la partie ymaginacion [15'] de l'omme en appliquant a aucune chose invisiblement en cele partie.⁹⁸ Et adont l'ymaginacion ainsi inmüee, l'entendement est plus enclin et la volenté ad ce a quoi le deable les veult encliner et mener, pour savoir les choses secretes et qui sont (a) advenir. Et ceste immutacion se puet faire tant en dormant comme en veillant, et ainsi comme je dit ci devant. Aucunefois telz divineurs afferment pour vrai ce que il ont songié et le voit on ainsi (que) le deable puet savoir telz choses par le cours naturel du ciel et par le mouvement du soleil, de la lune et des estoelles et leur influence naturele et par les manieres dessusdites le puet faire savoir a ceux qui sont curieux de telles choses enquesir. Et est de ce ainsi que ung bon medecin, par ce qu'il voit une personne par dehors et son orine, il juge des parties et de la condicion du cors au par dedans, par quoy puet savoir la senté qui est a advenir a tel malade, ou la mort. Ne pour ce on ne dit pas que le medecin soit divin. Ainsi puet le deable savoir des ovraiges de nature plusieurs qui nous sont celey et qui sont (a) advenir, par ce qu'il voit la dispositions du cours du ciel, ce que homme ne sceut onques ne ne pourroit savoir par le cours commun de nature qui est si brief en nous, comme dit est.

Par ceste maniere puel(en)t le deable savoir les fais de plusieurs contrees. Car il se puet sodainement par toutes re(li)gions transporter, puelit consequamment savoir la disposition et ordenance et le gouvernement des royaumes et des seigneurs temporelx, conspiracions, traýsons, traitiés de guerres, quar de telles choses sovent il se mesle, et en⁹⁹ est cause en partie, et toute son entencion n'est a autre chose principalement appliqué. Et par ce le puelent savoir les disciples du deable, [15'] qui sont telz devineurs et songeurs, comme dit est, que leur maistre leur fait savoir, qui en telles matieres, ainsi bien comme en les autres, souventefois les deçoit par

⁹⁷ The following paraphrase of the last few lines may prevent some misunderstandings: 'Diviners pass on to others the prognostications they have received from the devil in order to be highly esteemed. Since the devil first sinned through pride, likewise he now tempts people with this sin, rather than with any other sin. And, as was said earlier, such diviners always offer up some sacrifice to the devil even though he is very familiar with them'. Despite their close connections with him, diviners still have to honour the devil in the way they themselves want to be honoured by credulous people. Thus both the devil and his diviners are entirely overcome by pride.

⁹⁸ Cf. ST 1a.111.3; see also the section on demons in chapter 4 of the present study.

⁹⁹ en: *ms* on.

mansonges et paroles qui ont double entendement. Dont quant il cuident prene le vray, il prengnent le faulx, et se trovent deceü en la fin. Telz devineurs disent que il scevent telles choses par science d'astronomie, mais il mentent. Car (de) telle science ne se puet estandre jusque a la cognoissance de telles choses, qui sont du tout en la disposicion et ordenance de Dieu, subjés a la volenté des hommes lesquels par bonne prudence et conseil ont puissance de ordener a leur plaisirs de leur affaires. Dont appert il que le deable en dit a telle gent ce que il en puelent savoir, liquelx, comme dit est, souventefois fallent a dire vray et a juger selonc verité. Et est a entendre en ceste matiere que le deable, par quelconques puissance qu'il ait, (est) ne puet savoir che que une personne a en volenté.¹⁰⁰ Tant seulement des choses qui sont apparens au par dehors, il puet avoir cognoissance et des choses qui sont (a) advenir, en tant que les ont regart a l'influence du ciel et du commun cours de nature, comme dit est. Dont il s'ensiut que les divineurs qui se disent astronomiens sont pieurs que le deable. Car il osent bien presumptueusement affermer qu'il puelent juger et savoir les entencions des hommes, qui sont a Dieu tant seulement congneües.

I.8 .viii^e. chapitre

Et pour tant que derrainement¹⁰¹ j'ey moustré par quele maniere le deable puet avoir congnoissance des choses occultes et a advenir, il est cy a veoir de la nature et propre condicion d'aucuns deables selonc la doctrine de nostre mere Sainte Eglise et des sains docteurs. Disent ly docteur que il est .ii. manieres de deables,¹⁰² lesquels ont [16^e] communement privee familiarité aux hommes qui sont de malvaie foy enver Dieu. Aucuns se nomment Calcodemines, li autres se nomment Calcodemones.¹⁰³ C'est a dire que

¹⁰⁰ A marginal note reads: *Augustinus in retractacionibus*. In *Retractationes* II.30 Augustine reconsiders a statement he had made in *De divinatione daemonum*: *dixi: Daemones aliquando et hominum dispositiones non solum uoce prolatis uerum etiam cogitatione conceptas, cum signa quaedam ex animo exprimuntur in corpore, tota facilitate perdiscere, rem dixi occultissimam audacioris asseueratione quam debui* (CC 57, 114). Cf. also ST 1a.57.4.

¹⁰¹ derrainement: *ms* derrainement.

¹⁰² A marginal note reads: *Augustinus in multis locis*.

¹⁰³ Speaking about demons in his *De erroribus circa artem magicam*, Gerson mentions *illa famosa inter eos distinctio de cacodaemonibus et calodaemonibus, malis scilicet et bonis spiritibus*. See: Gerson, *Œuvres complètes*, vol. 10, p. 78. The names in Pignon's text are obviously distortions of these words (perhaps resulting from a misreading of their abbreviated forms in a source text). As Augustine pointed out (DCD IX.1-2) many pagan authors distinguished between good and evil demons. Christian doctrine, however, considered all demons evil and the distinction was made redundant (DCD IX.19). Some aspects of the classical distinction, however, survived in the relations between man and demons. There are demons who can inflict serious harm and injury on man (maladies, possessions etc.) and there are demons

aucun se gouvernent avec les hommes plus doucement et plus familierement, les autres plus rigoreusement. Et ainsi, ja soiche que tous soient mauvais et tendent a decepcion, neantmoins en malice aucun sont plus obstiné que li autre et mains mauvais que les autres.

Item, pour tant que aucuns folz outrecuidiés ont aucunefois estey d'oppinion que riens ne se faisoit par puissance de deables, ains disoient que tout che que nous veons advenir en ce monde se fait par puissance de nature et du cours du ciel, est-il a mouter que le contraire est vray, par maintes experiences que on a veü avenir aucunefois, lesquelles ne puelent avoir relacion ne regart ad quelconques influence du ciel ou des estoelles. Sy comme est ce que on a veü souventefois et voit¹⁰⁴ on de jour en jour (que) bons ruides hommes et fames qui parloient latin et divers langages reveloient a ceux qui venoient devant eux che que il avoient fait, la ou il ne les avoient onques veüs ne congneüs. Comment puet on telz ovrages appliquer a puissance naturele du ciel ou des estoelles? Il ne puet estre qui ne faille qu'il i est aucune creature intellectuelle,¹⁰⁵ c'est assavoir le deable qui habite en leur corps.

Item, par maintefois quant on les adjure, respondent et se departent des corps de telle gent, ja soiche que plusieurs fois il se feignent estre contrains d'eulx departir par adjuiracions et signacles fais sur eulz, mais c'est toute fraude et decepcion pour plus longuement tenir en subjection ceux qui les servent et croient en eulx.

Item, voloir soutenir [16'] et dire que le deable d'enfer n'est point de puissance sur home et sur fame quant au corps, et que il n'obeissent point as saintes personnes qui leur commendent en la vertu de nostre foy, c'est destruire toute nostre foy et toute sainte escripture. Et perilleuse chose est de oÿr telz gens et converser avec eulx, sy comme plus a plain sera declaree cy apres en la .iii^e. partie de cest traitié.

Explicit la premiere partie.

who procure benefits and bestow favours on people in order to tempt and seduce them more effectively. For demonology in classical philosophy, see: RAC IX, cols. 640-668. For patristic and scholastic demonology, see: DTC IV, cols. 339-407, esp. cols. 400-407.

¹⁰⁴ voit: *ms* voir.

¹⁰⁵ A rather intricate formulation, which should be read as follows: 'It cannot be but that there is (involved) here some intellectual creature', i.e. 'there must be some intellectual creature'.

CHY COMMENCE LA SECONDE PARTIE DE CEST TREITIÉ

En ceste seconde partie seront tochees .vi. difficultés et selonc ce il y ara .vi. capitres.

- II.1 Ou premier <est> assavoir mon se on puet mesprenre ou service de Dieu par aucunes observances qui ne sont pas commune ordenance de l'Eglise, et se ydolatrie est pechié, et quel pechié c'est.
 - II.2 Ou second sera veü se divinacions est pechié et seront desclarees causes pour quoi ci¹⁰⁶ et les raisons contraires ad ce seront moustrees nulles.
 - II.3 Ou tiers capitre sera veü de l'art notoire, qui est dite de Tolete,¹⁰⁷ <de> immüer et alterer par sortilege diverses natures, de prenoscquer la fortune et infortune des personnes par sorcerie de paroles, signacles, caracteres et contenances supersticieuses que pluseurs font et disent en pluseurs cas.
 - II.4 Ou quart sera veü se l'influence du ciel et des estoelles ont¹⁰⁸ puissance sur l'entendement.
 - II.5 Ou quint sera déclaré se il ont puissance sur la volenté.
 - II.6 Ou .vi^e. se le ciel et son influence fait par necessité advenir es ovrages des hommes ce qu'il font.
-
- II.1 *Pour le premier chapitre seront les conclusions¹⁰⁹ qui s'ensivent:*
 - II.1.1 La premier que ydolatrie est pechié tres mauvais et sur tous le plus grief.
 - II.1.2 La ceconde que idolatrie appartient a supersticion. [17']

¹⁰⁶ ci: *lege* si.

¹⁰⁷ Tolete: *ms* tolcte. Similar references to the 'art de Tolete' and the 'art que on dit (de) Tolete' appear in the opening lines of CLD II.3. In the Middle Ages Toledo had a legendary reputation of being a city of magicians and sorcerers. For further explication, see CLD II.3 and note 239.

¹⁰⁸ The subject 'l'influence' (singular) 'du ciel et des estoelles' would warrant the use of 'a' (singular) instead of 'ont' (plural), but obviously the scribe or the author feels 'ciel et estoelles' to be the subject, which in fact they are in the next sentence: 'il' (i.e. 'ciel et estoelles') ont puissance ...'. In the following sentence 'le ciel et son influence' constitute a couple and would as such require 'font' instead of 'fait'.

¹⁰⁹ Pignon derives his points from Thomas Aquinas. CLD II.1.1 corresponds to ST 2a2ae.94.2-3; CLD II.1.2 corresponds to ST 2a2ae.94.1; CLD II.1.3 corresponds to ST 2a2ae.94.4; CLD II.1.4 corresponds to ST 2a2ae.93.1+2.

- II.1.3 La tierce que ydolatrie par malice de homme fut trovee et par l'ennemy continuee.
- II.1.4 La quarte que on puet ou service de Dieu faire pluseurs choses illicites.

II.1.1 *La premiere conclusion*

La premiere conclusion¹¹⁰ puet estre declaree par .ii. manieres de gent qui ont ou temps passé commis ydolatrie. Aucuns disoient que faire sacrefice a toute creature, qui a aucune noblesce et perfection par desus l'autre, estoit cose licitee et convenable raison, disent il, quar une creature plus noble que l'autre est au regart de l'autre deifiee. Si puet dont licitement celle qui est mains noble a celle qui est plus noble sacrefier et licitement luy adorer. Ceste opinion est erreur, quar ja soice que des creatures que Dieu a faites une soit plus parfaite que l'autre, nientmoins telle (et par telle) reverence on ne doit point faire a creature quelconquez comme a Dieu. Car a Dieu comme a celui qui a souverainne perfection et signorie et auctorité est deüe souveraine honneur et reverence, et telle que a nulle creature ne doit point estre la parelle. Et pour tant l'onneur que on doit a Dieu a cause de la souveraineté et g(e)nerale signorie qu'il a sur toute creature est nommee par non especial, c'est assavoir *latría*.¹¹¹

Les autres ont erré en ceste matiere disans que a Dieu comme au souverain Seigneur on doit sacrefier son cuer et son entencion qui est chose esperituelle et la melleur chose que on ait, et aux autres diex particuliers choses corporeles on doit presenter et offrir. Mais ceste erreur n'est point a accepter. Car ainsi que dist saint Augustin,¹¹² ainsi que nos paroles representent chou que nous avons eü pensee, ainsi nos ovrages parellement doivent représenter l'afection et entencions que nous avons, dou tout en la maniere que il est

¹¹⁰ ST 2a2ae.94.2(R) paraphrased. Pignon, following Thomas, intends to discuss two kinds of idolators: (1) those who think that worshipping lesser beings is legitimate; and (2) those who think that feigned or outer worship is acceptable either as a custom or in case of an emergency. Seemingly Pignon adds a third category of idolators who believe that the supreme God should be worshipped with spiritual offerings and the lesser gods with material sacrifices. This, as is clear from Thomas, is not a separate category, but a subtype of the first category of idolators.

¹¹¹ The word *latría*, from the Greek *λατρεία*, meaning 'service', 'worship', was used, among others, by Augustine in DCD X.1 where he rendered it as *servitus*. Also in the language of Thomas Aquinas *latría* means 'worship' in a general sense, i.e. it is the kind of worship one can have for God, but also for idols. Pignon, unfamiliar with the word, prefers to see it as a special name for the special kind of worship one owes to the supreme God.

¹¹² DCD X.19 (CC 47, 293). Aquinas (ST 2a2ae.94.2(R)) quotes Augustine as follows: *exteriora sacrificia ita sunt signa interiorum sicut verba sonantia signa sunt rerum*. A marginal gloss in the manuscript reads *X de civitate D[e]i* and refers to the just mentioned text from *The City of God*.

quant nous prions Dieu. Car de paroles nous recognoissons sa souverainne segnorie [17^r] ainsi parellement quant nous sacrefions quelconquez chose que che soit, nous devons avoir l'entencion correspondant au sacrefice, et dont par raison le sacrefice par dehors represente le sacrefice au par dedens, qui est l'entencion et l'afection. A cuy dont on fait l'un on doit par raison faire l'autre. Et ja soiche que aucunes creatures soient a nomer, toutefois ce n'est point par telle maniere comme nous devons adorer et honorer Dieu qui est souverain sur tous, ains est une autre maniere (et) que on nomme par un especial non et est la difference telle. Car la bonté que nous recognoissons estre en Dieu est en lui par essence et par plenitude de puissance qui est souverainne. Mais la bonté qui est es creatures est bonté participee¹¹³ et de Dieu distribuee a celles creatures.

Il est aucuns autres en ceste matere parlans et disans que on puet en certains cas, <c'> est a savoir ou pour soy conformer a ceux avec lesquelx on converse, ou pour paour d'encorir en aucun damage de corps ou de biens ou peril de sa vie, adorer par signe au par dehors les ydoles, et tenir en son cuer vraie foy et adorer Dieu. Et semble Seneques avoir esté de ceste oppinion, ce dit saint Augustin,¹¹⁴ mais ceste maniere de dire nullement n'est <a> approuver. Car l'onneur que on doit a Dieu est telle que tout homme, en quelquez estat qu'il soit, se doit moustrer tel en langage et en ovrage comme il est en corage en ce qui toche sa foy et ce qui appartient a l'honneur

¹¹³ Created goodness is described by Thomas as a goodness that participates in divine goodness, by which he means that, since God is the ultimate end of all things, all things strive to become like the first goodness, which is God (cf. SCG III.19). The *participatio*-concept is Platonic in origin and came to Aquinas through the Neoplatonic language of Christian authors such as Augustine. Cf. F. C. Copleston, *Aquinas* (London 1988), pp. 125-126. Though an unfortunate loan, the word *participatio*, as used by Thomas, should not be interpreted as having any pantheistic connotations. Strictly speaking participated goodness is not a part of divine goodness, but something which bears a likeness to divine goodness whilst being on an entirely different ontological level. Created things are completely dependent on God for their being and goodness, or, as Thomas puts it, creation *has* its being, whereas God *is* His being. ST 1a.33.1(R): *Deus est ipsum esse per se subsistens (...) omnia alia a Deo non sint suum esse, sed participant esse*. In ST 2a2ae.94.2 there is no reference to *participatio*. Its appearance here fits in with Pignon's Christian Neoplatonic bent of mind. In CLD II.2.1(r1) we can read that 'toute creature doit ensuir son createur et desire estre assimilé a iceli'. The word 'assimilé' is Pignon's rendering of Thomas's *participatio*. Cf. also CDE II. 763-768, where Pignon explains that God 'qui est cause de donner *estre* a toutes choses, est aussy cause de donner a aucun *bien estre* et a aultres *mieux estre*, a une chascune selonc ce qu'elle est capable et digne de participer <de> sa bonté'. (The passage in CDE, in which these lines occur, is based on SCG III.95 (2703), but these remarks on participation, being, and well-being are Pignon's additions.)

¹¹⁴ Augustine, DCD VI.10. Aquinas draws attention to Augustine's criticism of Seneca who claims it is permissible to worship idols out of custom, even though this worship is at odds with one's convictions. A marginal gloss in the manuscript gives 'vj' but the rest of the reference is lost due to the tight binding of the book.

de Dieu. Pour ce est il dit en la sainte escripture¹¹⁵ des ydoles: Tu ne les adoras, (n') auras point en leur faisant quelconques honneur au par dehors, et si n'auras a eulx quelconques affection au par dedens. Dont sur che conclut la verité de nostre foy que toute ydolatrie est pechié mortel.

Item,¹¹⁶ n'est pas seulement pechié, ains de tous pechiés le plus grief, et cecy se puet declarer par exemple en la policie terrienne. Car cely qui est subgét [18'] a aucun roy et segneur ne puel plus griefment estre punis de pechié qu'il fache, que quant il est repris de traison en soi departant de l'obeissance de son droit et naturel segneur pour servir a autre. Et par especial quant il se tourne a servir l'ennemi mortel et adversaire de son droiturier segneur. Par cecy il donne cause et raison de pervertir et subvertir et destruire toute bonne loy, toute policie et toute bonne ordenance. Parellement fait celi qui par ydolatrie se tourne a servir autre que Dieu, soit en langage ou en ovrage ou de volenté. Car tel fait son pooir de destruire toute l'armonie et bone disposicion et ordenance de tout le monde qui doit a Dieu souverainne obeissance et service en recognoissance de sa souveraine signourie et dominacion.¹¹⁷ Pour tant dit une glose sur la sainte escripture:¹¹⁸ Toute iniquité ordoie l'ame, mais ydolatrie souverainement et surtout pechié. Et c'est quant a ce pechié.

Contre la conclusion

Contre ceste conclusion pourroient aucun chy arguer.

1. Premièrement,¹¹⁹ parmi ce que il est escript que ou tabernacle que Moÿse feïst par le commandement de Dieu avoit plusieurs ymages et parellement a il en l'Eglise lesquelx on adoroit et ador(e) on de present.

¹¹⁵ Ex. 20:5 and Deut. 5:9: *non adorabis ea neque coles*. A marginal gloss in the manuscript gives 'exo' but the rest is lost again due to the binding of the book.

¹¹⁶ This paragraph is an elaboration of the first part of ST 2a2ae.94.3(R). Thomas explains that the gravity of a sin may be measured in two ways; either by looking at the sin itself (Pignon copies the argument in which high treason is compared to idolatry), or by looking at the sinner. A sin committed knowingly, may be deemed worse than a sin committed out of ignorance. Pignon omits this second consideration.

¹¹⁷ dominacion: *ms* doninacion.

¹¹⁸ A marginal gloss reads: 'levi .xv°. c°'. Lev. 15:31. *Glossa* (PL 113, 340): *Omne peccatum immunditia est animae, sed idololatria maxime* (quoted by Thomas).

¹¹⁹ ST 2a2ae.94.2(1) paraphrased: *Nihil enim est peccatum quod vera fides in cultum Dei assumit. Sed vera fides imagines quasdam assumit ad divinum cultum: nam et in tabernaculo erant imagines cherubim, ut legitur Exod.; et in ecclesia quaedam imagines ponuntur quas fideles adorant*. A marginal gloss in the manuscript gives 'exo xxv°'. A description of the images and decorations on the Ark and candlestick can be found in Ex. 25:18-20, 33-34. The images seem to be limited to floral motives and the two cherubim on the Ark. In the corresponding reply Pignon freely elaborates Aquinas's point that images in Church were never intended to be objects of *latría*.

2. Item,¹²⁰ que ce n'est pechié plus grief des autres, il le semble par les pechiés commis contre le Saint Esperit. Ainsi que haïr Dieu, desesperance et finable impenitence par la doctrine de Sainte Eglise sont les pieurs.

3. Item,¹²¹ le pechié par lequel Dieu est plus offensé est le plus mauvais. Mais Dieu est plus offensé, se semble, par ceux qui le renoient et despitent que par ydolatrie. Heresies (et) erreurs parellement semblent estre plus malvais dont, et cetera.

4. Item,¹²² dit saint Pol que ydolatrie fut jadis puni par le pechié contre nature, dont le pechié contre nature vault [18^v] pis que le pechié de idolatrie.

5. Item,¹²³ saint Jerome dit en l'exposicion de l'epitre *ad Galatas* que

¹²⁰ ST 2a2ae.94.3(1) paraphrased. Thomas objects that since interior worship is more important than outer, also the sins against interior worship (*infidelitas, desperatio, et odium Dei*) are graver than those against outer worship (idolatriy). Pignon does not explicitly copy the distinction and identifies the sins against interior worship with the sins against the Holy Spirit. He does the same in the corresponding reply, when Thomas explains that *idololatriapraesupponit interiorem infidelitatem*. Pignon adds that this logically entails the sins against the Holy Spirit. The distinction between inner and outer emerges where he speaks of outward signs and inner will. Outward idol-worship without inner infidelity to God does not diminish the gravity of idolatry; on the contrary, it aids the *culpa falsitatis*.

¹²¹ ST 2a2ae.94.3(2) paraphrased: *tanto aliquod peccatum est gravius quanto magis est contra Deum*. Thomas offers blasphemy as an example of this and Pignon, following qu. 94.3(4), adds heresy. In the corresponding reply Thomas points out that since idolatry deprives God of the reverence which is due to Him, it implies a great blasphemy. By extension, following the line of the reply to the second objection, Pignon makes it include all sins that can be committed against God. Pignon's extensions follow the spirit rather than the letter of the question from the ST.

¹²² ST 2a2ae.94.3(3): *Sed peccatum idololatriae punitum est peccato contra naturam, ut dicitur Rom. Ergo peccatum contra naturam est gravius peccato idololatriae* (Rom. 1:26-27). Pignon omits from this objection the premiss around which the argument revolves: *minora mala maioribus malis puniri videntur*. In the corresponding reply Pignon paraphrases Thomas and explains that the punishment in this case is not a greater evil, but a more manifest one (*magis manifestum*). Rebellion against the larger order of nature (idolatriy) is punished by rebellion against the smaller order of nature (sodomy).

¹²³ ST 2a2ae.94.3(5) paraphrased. The Biblical reference is to Gal. 4:9. Thomas quotes Jerome as follows: *Legis observantia, cui dediti tunc erant, erat peccatum pene par servituti idolorum, cui ante conversionem vacaverant*. (Jerome, *In epistolam ad Galatas*, PL 26, 401.) Pignon erroneously renders *pene* as 'ainsi ... que', correcting it to 'peu pres' in the corresponding reply. His reason for doing so is the fact that he feels Thomas does not produce a very convincing argument here. Thomas's fifth objection to the thesis that idolatry is the most serious of sins, amounts to saying (by word of Jerome) that observance of the law is almost equal to idolatry. In the corresponding reply this 'almost' is seized upon to show that both are not equal. Presented this way, the objection seems rather feeble. Pignon, therefore, corrects Thomas and creates a genuine opposition by suggesting in his version of the objection that both are equal. Aquinas, however, did not want to point out that equality is not the same as near-equality, but that two sins, entirely dissimilar as sins, may be on equal (or near-equal) footing when looking at the mentality of the sinners. ST 2a2ae.94.3(r5): *observatio legis tempore gratiae non est omnino aequalis idololatriae secundum genus peccati*. But what Jerome was made to show is

ceux qui furent premierement converti par le predicacion des apostres a la foy et gardoient les cerimonies de la loi des Juis depuis leur conversion, faisoient ainsi mal que ceux qui estoient ydolatre. Dont ydolatrie n'est point le plus grief pechié.

1. Au premier je di que autrement adorent les ymages li ydolatre, autrement nous et li bon catholique, quar les ydolatres adorent les ydoles en leur atribuant telle perficcion comme a Dieu et sperans que telz ymages ont en elles vertu et puissance telle comme Dieu. Mais li bon catholique n'ont point ce regart, car en adorant les ymages leur principale intencion est en Dieu et es sains qui sont avec Dieu. Desquelz nous veons la representacion en telle figure, si prions les sains qu'il veulent Dieu pour nous prier, et ne prions point les ymages.

2. Ou second je di que idolatrie enclot en soy desloiauté et traïson faite a Dieu. Et ceci enporte tout pechié contre le Saint Esperit. Et qui dit que de boce ou de signe on puet faire un, et de vollenté l'autre, ce ne vaut riens, quar en tel cas la creature est faussaire contre son souverain segneur a cui elle doit tout et cuer et entencion.

3. Au .iii^e. parellement est a dire, quar toute ydolatre fait tous les pechiés qui puelent avoir regart a Dieu en tant qu'il se soutrait de l'obeïssance de son souverain segneur.

4. Au .iiii^e. je di que il ne faut point que le pechié qui est painne d'ung autre soit plus grief que l'autre. Ains soffist que il soit plus publique et manifeste que l'autre. Item, raisonnablement le pechié contre nature estoit pugnicion et painne de idolatrie, quar puis que homme soustrahoit a Dieu [19] obeïssance, raison estoit que il fust puni par rebell(i)on de sa propre sensualité contre l'ordenance de nature et de raison et li qui estoit rebelle encontre son souverain signeur qui trovast rebellion en soi et en sa nature.

5. Au quint je di que garder les cerimonies de la loy de Moÿse ou temps de la loy de grace est contre l'ordenance de Dieu et supersticieuse chose et approchant a ydolatrie. Pour tant dit bien saint Jerome que c'est a peu pres ydolatrie, et c'est vraie.

that the people who sinfully observed Mosaic law did so in almost the same way as they worshipped their idols before their conversion. Both are therefore *pene aequalis, quia utrumque est species pestiferae superstitionis*. Superstition denotes excessive and undue worship on the part of the sinners. Thomas emphasised this distinction between sins and sinners in ST 2a2ae.94.3(R) but Pignnon only copied the remarks regarding sin, thus forcing himself to adjust the fifth objection.

II.1.2 *⟨La seconde conclusion⟩*

La seconde conclusion¹²⁴ puet estre declaree par ce que raconte saint Augustin que Hermes Trimestitus et plusieurs autres de son temps feïrent ymages soulz certaines constellacions esquelles le deable se metoit et parloit par elles, en donnant response a ceux qui les adoroient et requeroient d'aucune chose. Et cuidoiēt telles gent que Dieu fust en telles ymages dont vint en partie ydolatrie. Autres fijés furent apres cex-cy qui ne adoroient pas les ymages mais adoroient Jupiter, Venus, Saturne et ainsi des autres qui estoient figuré et représenté en telz ymages, disans que Jupiter, Venus et les autres avoient esté homme et estoient devenu Dieu. De ce toche saint Pol en l'epître aux Romains et de ceux-cy estoient .iii. oppinions. Le premiers cuidoiēt, comme dit est, que Jupiter et telz ymages eüssent esté homme et puis furent deifiét. Les autres adoroient les parties du monde, comme les estoelles, l'aer, le feu, la terre, l'eaue, cuidant que toutes telles choses eüssent vie en eux, par ce que il reputoiēt tout le monde compris en soy generalment avoir ame ainsi que nous avons. Les autres, comme Platon et ses disciples, disoiēt que les estoilles estoient vivans et qu'elles avoient ame intellectuelle et que les ames des hommes, apres qu'elles se [19^e] partoient de leur corps, estoient reçües avec les intelligences et avoient certaines habitacions, et de ce parla mout soutilment. Nientmoins il fali et erra en maintes choses en ceste matiere, comme en ce qu'il dist que telles creatures estoient a adorer comme Dieu, et en¹²⁵ ce que on lit du dieu de¹²⁶ Socrates qui estoit un deable privé. Par telles folies furent il deceü. Toutes ces choses, ou la plus grant partie, recite saint Augustin¹²⁷ comme fauces et dampnables et supersticieuses.

Item, recite Ysidores¹²⁸ qui est un notable docteur que par telz erreurs

¹²⁴ ST 2a2ae.94.1(R) paraphrased. Thomas gives the following classification of idolatry: (1) worship of idols and images that are believed to be divine; (2) worship of beings that are represented by the images. The latter is subdivided in: (2a) worship of gods that were believed to be deified humans; (2b) worship of the all-pervading and animating world-soul; (2c) worship of all spiritual beings (such as the souls of humans, daemons, stars) that participate in divinity. The references to Augustine (on Hermes) and St. Paul appear in the ST and derive from Augustine, DCD VIII.23 and Rom. 1:23,25, respectively.

¹²⁵ en: *ms* de ce.

¹²⁶ de: *ms* que.

¹²⁷ The text of the ST contains no reference to the god of Socrates. For a discussion of Apuleius's *De deo Socratis*, see DCD VIII.14 and following chapters.

¹²⁸ A marginal four-line gloss reads: (...) *cdo de doc[tri]na / xipiana Ysid. / viij^e ehi[molog]iae / xj cap[itu]lo*. The gloss appears to contain two references. The former may refer to Augustine, DDC II.20, quoted by Thomas: *Superstitiosum est quidquid institutum ab hominibus est ad facienda et colenda idola pertinens, vel ad colendam sicut Deum creaturam partemve ullam creaturae*. The latter refers to Isidore, *Etym.* VIII.11.1 (PL 82, 314): *Quos*

furent seduit ensiennement les Egipcien qui adoroient Ysis, en Crete adoroient Jovis, en Maurienne Juba. Et ainsi de plusieurs autres païs et regions, esquelles ydolatrie est multipliee par tout le monde qui de ce ad esté enpunaisé, jusques au temps de grace de la venue de Jhesucrist, laquelle reprove toutes telles erreurs et les deffent ainsi que l'euvangile, qui est la doctrine de nostre foy, le nous desfent et presche continuellement. Et quiconques veult moult clerement de ce avoir cognoissance, tout au plain lise Ysidoire. La verra il clerement comment ydolatrie est¹²⁹ chose supersticieuse desplaisant a Dieu, et dont le deable est principal et premier acteur et a tousjours estei.

Item, pour soi eslongier de ceste fause secte et de toutes les foles supersticions de quoy j'ey touchié en la premiere partie, doit mout adviser et bien noter en sa memoire la tres grant diligence, la grant painne et le grant labour, que les premiers fondeurs et patrons de nostre foy ont eüe de telle choses extirper, la foy catholique qui est du tout fondee sur (sur) Jhesucrist exaucier, comme il appert et ou livre des apostres, es legendes et vies des sains apostres et mar[20]tirs qui sont a painne sens nombre. Lesquelx pour la verité de nostre foy tesmoignier ont leur propre sanc respandu. Et che sofise¹³⁰ a cause de briefté, car les miracles de nostre foy provent assés toutes les choses dessusdittes estre malvaises et dampnables et menans a perdition.

Contre

Et se tu demandes¹³¹ comment est a entendre la parole de saint Pol qui dit en ses epistres que ydole est nient, et chose sacrefiee et inmoee aux ydoles sont nient, pour quoy il pouroit sembler que idolles ne porroit estre cause de pechié.

Response

Ad ce est a dire que ydol(o)e n'est riens au regart de che que les ydolatres les reputoient estre. Car aucun disoient que les ydoles avoient ame et vie, et estoient rempli de la vertu divine, comme il est dit de Hermes. Les autres

pagani deos asserunt, homines olim fuisse produntur, et pro uniuscujusque vita vel meritis, coli apud suos post mortem coeperunt, ut apud Aegyptum Isis, apud Cretam Jovis, apud Mauros Juba, apud Latinos Faunus, apud Romanos Quirinus. The paragraphs on Isidore and on the apostles and martyrs do not appear in the ST 2a2ae.94.1.

¹²⁹ est: ms en.

¹³⁰ sofise: ms fofise.

¹³¹ ST 2a2ae.94.1(3+r3) paraphrased. On the apparent non-existence of idolatry Thomas quotes St. Paul. I Cor. 8:4: *scimus quia nihil est idolum in mundo*. I Cor. 10:19: *dico quod idolis immolatum sit aliquid aut quod idolum sit aliquid*? As the reply makes clear, the Apostle sought to contradict the idea that idols are somehow alive or that sacrifices made to idols are somehow efficacious.

si comme li païen disoient que ce que on sacrefioit aux ydolles comme bestes, oysiaux et autres choses, purifioit les sacrefians de leur pechiés. Les autres comme aucuns Juis disoient que telz sacrefices ordoient les sacrefians. Toutes telles folles oppinions et erreurs voloit destruire saint Pol, disant que ydole et sacrefice fait a ydole c'est tout nient. Et c'est quant ad ceste seconde conclusion.

II.1.3 *La tierce conclusion*

Quant a la tierce conclusion,¹³² en partie elle est dependant de la seconde et assés provee par icelle. Neantmoins on la puet encore aucunnement declarer par quoy semblablement se continuera la declaracion des choses dessusdites. Car ainsi que disent li docteur idolatrie a en soi deux causes: la premiere est la bestialté et folie des hommes, la seconde, et qui est cause de la continuacion, c'est la mauvetié et la soutiveté dou deable d'enfer.

De la premiere est escript en la sainte escripture¹³³ que il fu un homme, qui avoit un enfant, lequel il amoit tres fort et trop. Cel enfant morut. Le pere le [20^e] plouroit jour et nuit sens pranre repos ne consollacion. E(t) en celle dolleur fist faire l'ymage de son enfant. Et souvent l'adoroit, cuidant que il fust translaté u ciel avec les diex et deifié. Et de ce prirent plusieurs exemple et faisoient parellement, laquelle (laquelle) chose, dist Salomon, tellement s'est multepliee, que l'onneur deüe a Dieu les hommes ont attribué a creature. Une autre raison est pour tant que naturellement homme se delite en choses sensibles et qui li sont visiblement representees. Et pour tant les hommes rudes au commanchement veant les ymages faites de novel qui avoient semblence d'omme cuidoient que il eüssent telle vertu divine en especial quant le veoient et oient parler, c'est a dire le deable en elles, comme dit est. Et de tout ce parle Salomon en son *Livre de Sapience*. Le tiers motif fut

¹³² The contents of this article are derived from ST 2a2ae.94.4(R) where Thomas distinguishes two causes of idolatry: 1. *causa dispositiva ex parte hominum*, subdivided into 1a. *ex inordinatione affectus*; 1b. *propter hoc quod homo naturaliter de representatione delectatur*; 1c. *propter ignorantiam veri Dei*; and 2. *causa consummativa ex parte daemonum*. Pignon's renderings are partly translations, partly paraphrases. Thomas illustrates point 1 by means of examples taken from the Book of Wisdom: 1a is illustrated by Sap. 14:15,21; 1b by Sap. 13:13,17; 1c by Sap. 13:1-2. The second cause, the *causa consummativa*, is rendered by Pignon as a 'cause de la continuacion'. The idea is that what was initiated by man was completed by the devil.

¹³³ A marginal gloss reads: *sapie[ntia] xiiij^o*. Sap. 14:15-16,21: *acerbo enim luctu dolens pater cito sibi filii rapti faciens imaginem illum qui tunc homo mortuus fuerat nunc tamquam deum colere coepit et constituit inter servos suos sacra et sacrificia* (16) *deinde interveniente tempore convalescente iniquia consuetudine hic error tamquam lex custodita est et tyrannorum imperio colebantur figmenta* (21) *et haec fuit vitae humanae deceptio quoniam aut adfectui aut regibus deservientes homines incommunicabile nomen lapidibus et lignis inposuerunt*.

l'ignorance que les hommes eurent au commencement d'ung seul Dieu qui est par dessus tout puissant. Si se mirent a adorer les creatures esqueles il veoient plus grant beauté, c'est assavoir le soleil, la lune, les estoilles, comme Salomon recite ou lieu dessusdit. Et tout che vint de la faute et bestialté qui estoit es hommes.

L'autre principale cause qui a cecy continui c'est le deable, lequel, veant la volenté et plaisance des hommes encliné a telz erreurs, s'est meslé et ingeré dedans telz ydoles, <a> donnei response, revelé les choses secretes et a advenir, comme j'ei dit cy devant. Dont les folz veans souventefois advenir che que le deable avoit dit, estoient plus confermé et plus ahurté a telz erreurs atribuans ce que le deable faisoit.¹³⁴ Ces choses avec celles qui sont dittes par avant, ont mis sus ydolatrie et toutes folles supersticions et mauvaises erreurs. Et che souffisse a prouver la conclusion. *Deo gratias*.

Contre

[21] Contre¹³⁵ la cunclusion devant ditte aucuns veulent arguer que ydolatrie n'est point venue par la faute des hommes. Car se ainsy estoit, il sembleroit que en tout temps des le commenchement du monde ydolatrie eüst esté, dont le contraire est vrai, quar elle fu commenchié ou second aage¹³⁶ que le monde avoit ja duré, puis de .ii. m(il) ans, c'est assavoir quant

¹³⁴ Anacoluthic clause; 'atribuans' does not go with 'a telz erreurs' (which belongs to 'ahurté') but would logically require a phrase such as 'a leurs ydoles'; 'attributing to their idols what (in fact) the devil does'.

¹³⁵ Thomas Aquinas, ST 2a2ae.94.4(2): *Non autem semper fuit idololatria, sed in secunda aetate legitur esse adinventā: vel a Nemrod, qui, ut dicitur, cogeat homines ignem adorare; vel a Nino, qui imaginem patris sui Beli adorari fecit. Apud Graecos autem, ut Isidorus refert, Prometheus primus simulacra hominum de luto finxit. Judaei vero dicunt quod Ismael primus simulacra de luto fecit. Cessavit etiam in sexta aetate idololatria ex magna parte. Ergo idololatria non habuit causam ex parte hominis*. The general proposition of this objection is that if man is the cause of idolatry then idolatry must have existed always. Since this is not the case, man need not be the cause of idolatry. The arguments from the corresponding reply show that this general proposition is not as self-evident as it would appear to be. Man is the cause of idolatry because of his improper affections, his appetites and his ignorance (ST 2a2ae.94.4(R)). In the first age of the world man was not ignorant of God and in the dispensation of Grace (the sixth age) his improper affections and inclinations are for the greater part overruled by Christ. When idolatry occurs, its cause must be looked for in man, but its occurrence depends very much on certain conditions that are not always met.

¹³⁶ In DCD XVI.43 and *Gen. contra Manich.* I.35-41 (PL 34, 190-193) Augustine expounds the doctrine of the *aetates* of the world. The first age from the creation to Noah he refers to as the *infantia* of humanity; the second age from Noah to Abraham is the *pueritia*; the third age from Abraham to David is the *adulescentia* and so on. In all there are seven *aetates*. Since between creation and Augustine's own time nearly 6,000 years were supposed to have elapsed (DCD XII.11) each *aetas* (cf. Ps. 89:4) was usually reckoned a millennium. Augustine himself did not favour literal 1000-year periods (cf. DCD XX.7). See for a full treatment of this theme: *Augustinus-Lexikon*, C. Mayer et al., ed. (Basel 1986), vol. 1, 150-158. Cf. also chapter 3.2.2.

Nambrot faisoit adorer¹³⁷ le feu as hommes, et que Ninus feïst l'ymage de son pere Belus en la cité de Ninivé, qu'il edefia premierement. En Grece Prometheus composa les hommes de terre et les faisoit adorer, Ismaël ou peuple des Juis.¹³⁸ Et depuis, comme dit est, ou temps de grasce par le predicacion nostre Seigneur et des aposteles tout est finey. *Gratias*.¹³⁹

A che on puet dire que le tamps durant que dist est¹⁴⁰ ydolatrie ne fu point ou monde pour cause de la nouvelleté de la cre(a)cion du monde, dont les hommes avoient fresche memore. Et par che adoroient un seul Dieu, duquel il apercevoient la puissance es choses créés. En la fin, c'est ou tamps de grace, elle est censee, comme dit est.¹⁴¹ Mais ou tesmoing qui estoit loins de la connaissance des euvres de Dieu mervileuses, les hommes par leur folie se sont donné a ceste supersticieuse et mauvaise observance et le¹⁴² diable †¹⁴³ les a seduis¹⁴⁴ et maintenus lonc tamps en tels erreurs, comme dit est.

II.1.4 *La quarte conclusion*

La quarte conclusion¹⁴⁵ est que es sacrefices de Sainte Eglise nuls ne doit

¹³⁷ adorer: *ms* odorier.

¹³⁸ Anacoluthic sentence; the idea is that Ismael did the same thing as Prometheus. Pignon (or his copyist) is very imprecise here. Prometheus did not compose people from the earth, but *simulacra hominum*, and according to the Jews (not *amongst* the Jews, as the text suggests) Ismael did the same (cf. Thomas's original in note 135).

¹³⁹ The manuscript gives 'g...', which has been interpreted as *gratias* in conformity with the last word of the previous paragraph.

¹⁴⁰ A phrase that may be confusing, and should be read as: 'que durant le tamps (premier), que dist est, ydolatrie...'.
¹⁴¹ ST 2a2ae.94.4(r2): *in prima aetate non fuit idololatria propter recentem memoriam creationis mundi, ex qua adhuc vigeat cognitio unius Dei in mente hominum. In sexta autem aetate idololatria est exclusa per doctrinam et virtutem Christi, qui de diabolo triumphavit.* Aquinas's statements that *idololatria cessavit* and *idololatria est exclusa per doctrinam Christi* (cf. Pignon's emphatic renderings 'tout est finey' and 'elle est censee') should be understood in a general rather than in an absolute sense. If, in fact, all idolatry had vanished, Aquinas and Pignon would have no reason for writing their treatises. For this reason Pignon adds a comment ('Mais ou tesmoing ...') which is not in the ST, explaining how man was lured into these follies.

¹⁴² le: *ms* de.

¹⁴³ †: *ms* par cec?? The word is difficult to make out in the manuscript, but might be read as 'parcreüs', i.e. 'powerful'.
¹⁴⁴ a seduis: *ms* asedurs.

¹⁴⁵ Essentially this fourth conclusion is based on ST 2a2ae.93.1(R)+2(R). In question 93.1 Thomas makes clear that the outward signs of religious worship should correspond to the inwardly perceived truths; this correspondance can be disturbed, because (1) certain (wrong) signs may misrepresent the truths, or (2) the representation may not be legitimate, because it was not authorised by the proper authorities. Question 93.2 deals with excessive worship (1) *secundum quantitatem absolutam*, in which case the worship aiming at its one and proper goal can never

introduire ne faire chose qui ne soit ordenee, instituee ou aprobee des Sainte Eglise, et qui fait aultrement, il fait mal supersticieusement. La cause est quar faire autrement que l'Eglise n'at ordené, sans garder l'entencion que l'Eglise a et veult que on ait, argue superfluité et supersticion. Neantmoins yci on doit noter que tout ce homme fait a l'honneur de Dieu, considéré tel ouvrage en soi, il puet estre boin. Mais se on a regart a l'entencion de celi qui le fait, il y puet avoir pechié, quar puet estre il n'a point telle entencion quelle i doit avoir, ou il ne tent point [21'] principalement a la fin a quoi il doit tendre, quar ou il fait pour aparoir singuler en devocion et sainteté, ou pour venir a aucune fin supersticieuse et mauvaise. Ainsi font plusieurs lesquels junent, font astinences merueilleuses, vellent en longues orisons, font plusieurs signes de devocion, et toutes ces choses d'elles mesmes sont boines. Mais a cause de la fin et de l'entencion que tels gent ont, elles sont malvaises, quar che puet estre pour aucun sorceries, ou pour invocacions de deables, ou pour deviner et faire aucun malefice ou enchariement, ou pour avoir science par mauvais art, qui sont toutes cozes deffendues et reprovees et dampnables. Par quoy il appert que ou service et sacrefice fait a Dieu, on puet bien commetre pechié, et par quelle maniere laquelle coze estoit a declairier et en ceste maniere, auques pres la declaret les docteurs de Sainte Eglise.

Contre

1. Encontre ceste conclusion on porroit arguer, premierement,¹⁴⁶ par che que l'escripture dit quiconques apelera le non de Dieu, il sera sauvé. Ainsi fait tout homme qui fait aucun service a Dieu pour honorer Dieu, dont n'y a il riens de superfluité en telle chose.

2. Item,¹⁴⁷ Abraham, Noë, Ysaac et Jacob ou tamps de la loy¹⁴⁸

err in its quantitative excess; and (2) *secundum quantitatem proportionis*, in which case excessive worship is wrong because it is not aiming at its proper goal, viz. the glory of God, but adheres to external matters. Pignon does not follow these distinctions, but derives from them the general distinction between external worship and internal intentions. Though the forms of worship themselves may be good, there can still be sin, either because the intention is wrong (93.1) or because it aims at the wrong goal (93.2) such as the appearance of sanctity or superstition. Pignon's reference to the superstitious applications of fasts, abstinences and other signs of devotion may be compared to the seventh point in the confession of Jehan de Bar (or the twelfth article of the *determinatio* issued by the university of Paris in 1398). See Appendix I.

¹⁴⁶ ST 2a2ae.93.1(1) paraphrased. In the corresponding reply Thomas emphasises there should be truth in one's service to God, which Pignon interprets as 'right intention'. A rubric in the manuscript refers to the book of Joel. Joel 2:32: *omnis qui invocaverit nomen Domini salvus erit*. Cf. also Rom. 10:13: *omnis enim quicumque invocaverit nomen Domini salvus erit*.

¹⁴⁷ ST 2a2ae.93.1(2) paraphrased. In the corresponding reply Thomas contrasts the inward inspiration of the dispensation of natural law to the outward Mosaic laws (*quae praeterire pestiferum est*). The latter has superseded the former as a guiding principle in religious worship. Pignon elaborates this point in his reply by arguing the same for the law of Grace.

naturelle furent plaisant a Dieu. Ainsi fu Moÿse et plusieurs du peulle d'Israël, et non pour autre coze fors pour le service qu'il faisoient a Dieu, dont puis que Dieu est amiables, leur service est, se semble, licite et maintenant comme adonques.

3. Item,¹⁴⁹ en Sainte Eglise a mout de manieres de Dieu servir et tant et si diverses, qu'a paines est il .ii. eglises du tout en service parelles. Et tout est a Dieu agreable et de l'Eglise approuvé, dont quelsconques cose qui se face ou service de Dieu ne fait a reprover.

4. Item,¹⁵⁰ Salemon dit que on doit glorefier Dieu tant que on puet. Donques il n'y a riens de superfluité.

1. Au premier je di que l'auctorité du prophete est a prendre en bon [22'] entendement, c'est a dire que on doit Dieu honorer et servir en pure et sainte entencion at ad boine fin.

2. Au secont est a dire que Abraham et Noë et les autres du temps de la loy de nature honnoroient et servoient Dieu en plusieurs et diverses manieres sans avoir aucune forme determinee. Ou temps de la loy Moïse fu donné forme certaine de Dieu servir et par escript, quar adont le pueple se convertisoit a ydolatrie, comme j'ai dit par avant, et pour le retraire de ce pechié Dieu leur bailla loy escripte et commandemens. En la loy de grace n'a rien adjouté sur les autres qui soit contraire aux autres. Ançois elle est la fin et la perfection et l'acomplissement de toutes et consumasion. Chi n'y a point de diversité, ains tout revient aling(é) a bon entendement, ostei les cerimonies¹⁵¹ ensiennes, qui ne servoient a autre coze qu'a retraire le peuple de ydolatrie, et la circoncision et autres observances sacramenteles qui sont representees ou baptesme et es sacremens de nostre foi, se¹⁵² n'y a riens de contrariété, comme il apert, quar le nouvel testament est enclos dedens le viel, ainsi comme une roe dedens une autre est enclose. Et pour tant que Sainte Eglise ad ordonné en cecy forme determinee de Dieu servir, on la doit garder sans riens y adjouter qui soit cause de pechié ou supersticion, comme dit est.

¹⁴⁸ loy: *ms* foi. Cf. the corresponding reply where Pignon explicitly refers to 'la loy de nature'. Thomas also speaks of 'law'. Though 'foi' does not constitute an erroneous reading as such, 'loy' is the better option here, since it is more in keeping with the intended meaning.

¹⁴⁹ ST 2a2ae.93.1(3) paraphrased. Pignon's reply that different liturgical practices are legitimate and binding, provided they are approved by the universal Church, is phrased somewhat more negatively by Thomas who explains that religious worship should never be contrary to the traditions of the Church.

¹⁵⁰ ST 2a2ae.93.2(1) paraphrased. Both Thomas and Pignon answer that worship of God by definition excludes undue excessiveness. A rubric in the manuscript reads: *ecclesiastici xliii^o. Ecclesiasticus 43:32: (Glorificantes Dominum) quantumcumque potueritis supervalebit adhuc et admirabilis magnificentia eius.*

¹⁵¹ cerimonies: *ms* terimonies.

¹⁵² se: *lege* mais.

3. Au .iii^e. je di que toutes particuleres observances et manieres de Dieu prier et servir en particulieres eglises, en tant qu'eles sont appovees et confermees de l'Eglise universele sont a tenir non autrement.

4. Au quart je disoie que Dieu est a loër et glorifier tant comme on puet, et la puissance de creature se puet estendre sauve la maniere et forme deüe et intencion droite de Dieu ordonnee et de Sainte Eglise selonc la doctrine des euvangiles et autres escriptures saintes canoniziees et appovees de l'E[22']glise non autrement. Et cy fine le premier chapitre de ceste seconde partie.

II.2 *Second capitre*

Ou second capitre seront desclairiés les conclusions qui s'ensievent.¹⁵³

- II.2.1 La premiere, que divinacion est pechié mortel et desfandue a tout boin Crestien, laquele ce puet commetre en plusieurs manieres cy desclariés.
- II.2.2 La seconde conclusion, que divinacion qui se fait par art de dyable e(s)t reprovee et dampnable a tout bon catholique.
- II.2.3 La tierce conclusion, que les jugemens que les divineurs font sur les choses (a) advenir et secretes par le cours et influence du ciel et des estoiles, qu'il (attribuent) autrement a la science d'astronomie,¹⁵⁴ sont en la plus grant partie faux.
- II.2.4 La quarte conclusion, que les jugemens desusdis fondés sur visions et songes, sont en tres grant parties faux.
- II.2.5 La quinte, que telx jugemens pris sur le chant des oysiaus, le mouvement et la disposicion d'aucunes bestes en mer et en terre fallent en plusieurs chozes.
- II.2.6 La sisime conclusion, que divinacion faite et jugement des chozes desusdites par sortileges et generalment toute sorcelerie est choze reprovee et defendue.

Et a che que il apere mielx de la verité d'ungne cascunne conclusion, jou proposerai aucunnes i(n)stances et objections comme j'ai fait par avant en l'autre chapitre contre les conclusions et matiere, apres que telles objections n'en font riens a l'encontre.

¹⁵³ Again Pignon relies heavily on Thomas. CLD II.2.1 corresponds to ST 2a2ae.95.1; CLD II.2.2-6 correspond to ST 2a2ae.95.4-8.

¹⁵⁴ astronomie; *ms* ostronomie.

II.2.1 *La premiere conclusion*

La premiere conclusion¹⁵⁵ se puet declarer veü premierement que c'est de divinacion. Divinacion est voloir avoir cognoissance de choze secrete ou qui est <a> advenir par maniere illicite, et icelle cognoissance donner a autre comme science determinee. Ichy dont convient veoir par quelle maniere telle coze se puet savoir. Pour quoi est a noter et considerer que par deux manieres on puet de telle coze avoir congnoissance. La premiere est quant on at parfaite connaissance de la cause et de la propre vertu et puissance, on puet par ce congnoistre quelle choze telle cause puet produire et faire. La seconde est [23'] quant on voit les choses a dire nues, on a cognoissance que par avant elles estoient ad advenir et que il estoit en la disposicion et puissance de tele cause de les produire.

Quant a la premiere maniere est assavoir que les causes natureles qui produisent leur operacions natureles sont en trois disiferences.

La premiere difERENCE est que il est aucuns¹⁵⁶ ovrages naturels, lesquels sont tellement souget aux influences et cours naturel du ciel, que necessairement il faut qu'il adviennent ainsi que il ont acoustumé de avenir par le cours de nature. Et de ceulx-cy puet on avoir cognoissance certaine par ce que le cours naturel du ciel, quant a telles operacions, ne pueit nullement fallir, et quiconques a congnoissance du cours du ciel et de ces influences et revolucions, il puet congnoistre les ovrages qui adviennent par telles revolucions et influences. Exemple de checy par la science d'astronomie qui moustre et donne a entendre du cours du ciel et des revolucions, oppositions, conjunctions et autres disposicions du ciel et du soleil et de la lune: on puet par astronomie assés jugier en quel tamps se doit faire esclipse de soleil ou de lune, en quel temps se fait opposition et conjunction, et en quel signe le soleil est et la lune, par quoi on puet dire et jugier quant il fait bon semer et cueillir et planter, bon extraire sanc de corps humain et donner medecine, par quoi mesmes puet on jugier de la santé ou de le mort d'aucunne personne malade a poi pres, ja soice que en che on puisse bien fallir. Et generalment de toutes coses que on voit advenir sans variacion par

¹⁵⁵ ST 2a2ae.95.1(R) elaborately paraphrased. The framework is derived from Aquinas. Future events can be known: 1. through their causes; 2. in themselves. The causes are threefold: 1a. those that necessarily produce their effect (ergo: the future can be known); 1b. those that produce their effects not necessarily but for the most part (ergo: the future can be conjectured); 1c. those that produce entirely contingent effects (ergo: the future cannot be known). Pignon elaborates on these distinctions and provides many examples.

¹⁵⁶ aucuns: *ms* aucums.

telles influences; les causes existens en parreille disposicion, s'ensieut parreil et semblable ovrage.¹⁵⁷ C'est quant a la premiere difference.

La seconde est d'aucuns ovrages naturels qui se font par le cours du ciel et influence des planetes necessairement.¹⁵⁸ Mais il y a difference de ceux-cy aus premiers, telle que souvente fois on trouve variacion en tels ovrages. Quar non obstant [23^v] que les causes natureles soient telles, quant en elles, qu'elles ne fallent point,¹⁵⁹ toutesfois l'empechement puet advenir et la faute, par che que il y a aucunes particuleres causes et (cir)constances ou la matere en laquelle telz ouvraige se doit faire est tellement disposee que la vertu des premieres et souveraines causes en est enpechié ou retardee. Et

¹⁵⁷ Natural causes produce effects that are somehow like them. Because agents act as they are in *actu*, the forms of their effects will resemble the forms of the agents. See, e.g., SCG II.24 (1004): *Omne agens agit sibi simile. Unde oportet quod secundum hoc agat unumquodque agens secundum quod habet similitudinem sui effectus: sicut ignis calefacit secundum modum sui caloris*; or ST 1a.45.7(R): *Aliquis autem effectus repraesentat causam quantum ad similitudinem formae ejus, sicut ignis generatus ignem generantem*. If one can find traces of the cause in its effect, then, conversely, knowledge of a cause (in the context of Pignon's text: knowledge of celestial bodies and motions) may enable one to predict its effect. Since Aquinas does not elaborate on natural causation in ST 2a2ae.95.1, one must turn elsewhere in his work for a more comprehensive exposition. In SCG II.30 (1077-1078) Aquinas explains that if an effect follows necessarily from its efficient cause, this does not only depend on the agent, but also on the disposition of the recipient. The recipient or patient must be receptive and (if needs be) under the agent's domination. If receptivity is hampered by contrary agents or contrary dispositions, no necessity will follow from the efficient cause. *Si igitur talis dispositio secundum quam de necessitate sequitur effectus, fuerit necessaria absolute et in agente et in patiente, erit necessitas absoluta in causa agente: sicut in his quae agunt ex necessitate et semper* (SCG II.30 (1078a)). This is the first class of natural causes. One may criticise Pignon's enigmatic formulation: 'les causes existens en parreille disposicion' since it is not simply the causes, but both the agents and the recipients of causation that must be in a similar disposition. Another source of confusion is Pignon's reference to this first class of natural causes. His references to eclipses comes directly from the ST (it is Aquinas's only example in 2a2ae.95.1) but the examples of sowing, reaping, blood-letting and medical treatment do not. They would more logically belong to the meteorological and medical examples of the second class, since, like all sublunar and mutable things, they may be lacking in power or have contrary dispositions. As Aquinas puts it in SCG II.30 (1078c): *Si autem non fuerit absolute necessaria sed possibilis removeri, non erit necessitas ex causa agente nisi ex suppositione dispositionis utriusque debitae ad agendum: sicut in his quae impediuntur interdum in sua operatione vel propter defectum virtutis, vel propter violentiam alicuius contrarii; unde non agunt semper et ex necessitate, sed ut in pluribus*. This is the second class of natural causes.

¹⁵⁸ A somewhat unfortunate rendering; Aquinas unambiguously states: *causae producunt suos effectus non ex necessitate et semper* (ST 2a2ae.95.1). Still they produce their effects for the most part and seldom fail (*raro tamen deficiunt*). This is, of course, also what Pignon wants to emphasise. Therefore, he should have modified the word 'necessairement'.

¹⁵⁹ The phrase might be read as follows: 'les causes natureles soient telles, que, | quant en elles, | elles ne fallent point': 'the natural causes are such, that, in themselves, they do not fail'.

en telle matiere ne puet on pas jugier toudis au vray ne au certain, ja soice que on y fault bien pau quant on y met diligent estudie. Exemple de che des inpressions (et) alcançous corrupcions qui se font a l'a(l)er: par l'influence du ciel et des planetes on juge souventefois qu'il doit plouvoir et faire moise et on trove que il fait chaut et sec, ou (...) ¹⁶⁰ de dire que il sera chier tamps et il est fertilité, ou tout aultrement advenir. C'est, comme j'ay dit, pour les particuleres circonstances de l'air, ou de la mer, ou de la terre, qui sont tout aultrement disposé que ne disent ceux qui ainsi jugent. Et par cecy appert que de telz cozes sur le tamps (a) advenir on puet bien aucunesfois mal jugier, jasoiche que un bon astronomen sur la disposicion ¹⁶¹ du tamps et des saisons, un bon phisicien sur le gouvernement du corps d'ung homme quant a mort ou a vie, puellent jugier assés pres de la verité. Par telles sciences puet on jugier se mortalité doit estre, ou famine, quar l'influence du ciel et des planetes qui fait impression en l'air est cause de tels cozes. Par ceste science puet jugier un boin naturien de la nature de la comete que on voit aucunesfois en l'air en la maniere d'une estoile qui at queue, quelle segnefie ou guerre ou mort de prince ou occoison de pueple ou mortalité de gent par pestilence de epydimie ou famine ou chier temps et puet rendre les raisons que Aristote enseigne en ses livres que je laisse a cause de briété. C'est quant a la seconde difference.

La tierce est d'aucunes [24'] causes lesqueles ne sont nullement contraintes a produire leur ovrages. Anchoins sont franchises, aiant ¹⁶² telle liberté en elles que, non obstant quelconques influence ou cours de nature les enclinans a aucune chose, elles puelent ou ad ce elles determiner ou le delaissier, et par ce sont et demeurent entierement franchises et in(de)terminees ad ce faire ou le laissier. Et cecy disent les philosophes estre la volenté de creature qui est raisonnable qui va apres Dieu. (Car il n'est) chose quelconques elle soit qui la puisse contraindre, ne necessiter ¹⁶³ a ces ovrages faire qui sont proprement attribué a elle. Ad cecy sont soubmis tous ovrages appartenans a creature raisonnable desquelz onques creature ne peut avoir congnoissance sur le tamps a advenir. Dieu seulement le scet qui est juge de la volenté d'un cascun. C'est quant a la tierce difference qui est comprise soux la premiere maniere que j'avoie avant proposee de savoir les coses qui sont (a) advenir.

¹⁶⁰ Judging from the two infinitives in the remainder of this sentence ('dire' and 'advenir') one may conclude something has gone missing. The sentence can be straightened out quite easily by substituting 'de dire' by 'on dit' and 'advenir' by 'advient'.

¹⁶¹ disposicion: *ms* dispociun.

¹⁶² aiant: *ms* aianx.

¹⁶³ necessiter: *ms* necessites.

La seconde est toute clere de soi mesmes.¹⁶⁴ Mais oultre ces choses ychi dittes est ad veoir de la nature et condicion d'aucuns aultres ouvraiges que on voit advenir souvent, desquels par avant nulz ne puet jugier ne avoir cognoissance. Et tellez choses li philosophes nomme accidenteles et casueles, qui advient a l'aventure, et sans avoir aucune (chose) cause propre et essenciele¹⁶⁵ a eux atribuee. Exemple: un homme foui en son camp et treve un tresor, ou une personne passe puis d'ung lieu ruinoux et li chiet une pierre sour la tieste, ou au partir de son hostel rencontre son anemy. Qui est homme qui par avant seüst jugier de telles adventures? Il n'en est point se Dieu ne li a revelé ou le deable. Soulz ceste maniere sont enclos tous ovraiges que homme entreprennent a l'aventure. Ainsi comme est enprendre aucun voiage, traitier de mariage ou soi marier, [24'] d'aler a la cache, de entrer en bataille, de faire apointemens assamblees et compaignies pour aucuns traitiés, et generalment toutes telles choses qui n'ont quelconques regart tant soit po au cours du ciel ne a l'influence ne des planetes, mais sont tant seulement en la disposicion et ordenanche de Dieu et des homes qui doivent par bon conseil toutes leur choses encommander, moigner et finer, par prudenche et discrecion les conduire a l'aide de Dieu que on doit requerir devant toute œuvre, sans avoir regart n'a jour, n'a heure, ne a tamps, fors tant seulement entant qu'il toche honeur de Dieu, l'ordenance et commandement de Sainte Eglise. De telles choses vouloir jugier et avoir cognoissance par avant c'est coze impossible par voie naturele ne par science quelconques approuvee. Et ainsi faire est usurper che qui est a Dieu tant seulement appartenant et non a autre, et ch'est que on dist deviner. Quar tel gent sont nommé devin a cause de ce qui se atribuent vertu et science divine qui est cognoistre et jugier de choses secretes et qui sont a advenir. Et telle divinacion est pechié et coze reprovee et dampnee, quar nullement ne se puet faire sans l'ayde de deable expressement apelé par invocacion, ou soi ingerent sans (estre) appelé(r) soutillement pour decevoir humaine creature par ce¹⁶⁶ pechié qui est

¹⁶⁴ In ST 2a2ae.95.1 Aquinas explains that future events can be known *in seipsis*, i.e. when they are present to the beholder. The problem is that once they are present to man they are no longer future events and there is no point in predicting them. Only to God are future events present before they exist, and only He can reveal them to man. (*Sed considerare huiusmodi in seipsis antequam fiant est Dei proprium, qui solus in sua aeternitate videt ea quae futura sunt quasi praesentia.*) This is why divination is sinful: it claims to know what only God can know. Pignon does not discuss the point of God's presence (apparently he trusts his readers will know this) but discusses the two kinds of effects which are not caused by celestial bodies: 1. accidental occurrences that do not have one proper cause but result from many causes; and 2. acts resulting from man's free will and reason. The distinction (including the examples of falling stones and finding buried treasure) he derives from ST 2a2ae.95.5(R).

¹⁶⁵ essenciele: *ms* re?nciele.

¹⁶⁶ ce: *ms* sen.

ydolatrie et apostasie de la foi, comme il appara en apres. Et cecy sofist pour ceste conclusion.

Contre

Contre laquelle on poroit arguer par trois manieres de present.

1. Premièrement,¹⁶⁷ quar savoir les chozes secretes et <a> advenir est perfection en Dieu et toute creature puet licitement voloir ensuir la perfection que est en Dieu, quar a ce tant enclint le desir de toute creature dont n'est ce point peché que de telles cozes enquerir.

2. Item,¹⁶⁸ avoir science est la perfection de l'ente(n)dement de creature [25^r] raisonnable. Ce disent tuit li philosophe, dont voloir savoir par quelconques maniere que ce soit les cozes a advenir est coze licite puis que c'est la perfection humaine.

3. Item,¹⁶⁹ saint Augustin dist: 'Qui veult dire que aucun science soit malvaize?' et apres s'ensuit: 'Par nulle maniere je ne vodroie dire aucune intelligence estre malvaize'. Et <Aristote> dit a ce que il est aucunes sciences divinatives et cecy mesme appartient a aucun intelligence. Il n'y a dont point de pechié.

¹⁶⁷ Pignon follows a hint in ST 2a2ae.95.1(1) where it is stated that the word *divinatio* derives from *divino*; since divination reflects what is divine and holy, it cannot be evil. Pignon does not follow the etymology but simply argues that divination might be deemed a perfection in God which man may strive to imitate. In the corresponding reply (r1) Aquinas points out that divination is not an *ordinata participatio* in God but an *indebita usurpatio* of something divine. Pignon carefully follows the distinction, rendering the *participatio*-concept by the word 'assimilé'. For the participation-concept, see CLD II.1.1, note 113. The *ordinata participatio* ('well-ordered participation') refers to man's capacity to imitate the perfections in God as far as his creaturely existence allows. Divination, i.e. knowing the future, lies beyond the scope of created being, hence it is an undue usurpation (*indebita usurpatio*), since it exceeds the limits God has set to man.

¹⁶⁸ ST 2a2ae.95.1(3) and corresponding reply (r3) paraphrased. Aquinas emphasises in the objection that the urge to foreknow the future is a *naturalis inclinatio*, which in itself cannot be evil. In his reply to the objection he points out that *homo habet naturalem inclinationem ad cognoscendum futura secundum modum humanum: non autem secundum indebitum divinationis modum*.

¹⁶⁹ ST 2a2ae.95.1(2) translated: *Augustinus dicit, Quis audeat dicere disciplinam esse malum? Et iterum, Nullo modo dixerim aliquam intelligentiam malam esse posse. Sed aliquae artes sunt divinativae: ut patet per Philosophum. Videtur etiam ipsa divinatio ad aliquam intelligentiam veritatis pertinere. Ergo videtur quod divinatio non sit peccatum*. The references from Augustine and Aristotle derive from: Augustine, *De libero arbitrio* I.1 (PL 32, 1223); Aristotle, *De memoria* I.449b (Loeb ed., Aristotle vol. 8, p. 289). The text of the manuscript contains a rubric which reads: *tercio de libro ambrosio* which in all likelihood is a garbled reference to Augustine's *De libero arbitrio*. The corresponding reply (r2) was loosely paraphrased.

1. Au premier je di¹⁷⁰ que toute creature doit ensuïr son createur et desirer estre assimilé¹⁷¹ a iceli en tout ce qui toche et appartient a l'estat naturel et a la perfection naturele d'icelle creature. Mais voloir savoir les cozes secretes et <a> avenir par industrie et engin humain, c'est voloir monter plus hault que creature ne doit et userper le droit de Dieu auquel seulement telle coze appartient, non a autre, se Dieu par grace ne li veult reveler et magnifester.

2. Au second je di comme devant que homme desire naturellement a savoir tout ce par quoi son entendement puet estre parfait selonc l'estat de creature, laquele coze il veult excéder, quant il desire et quiert avoir science parelle a Dieu a cui seulement appartient de telles choses avoir cognoissance et est a attribuer a presumption, de quoi le premier homme fu grandement repris.

3. Au tierc en (est) a dire que saint Augustin et Aristote eurent bon et sain entendement. Car les sciences natureles que homme puet pour sa perfection naturele aquester sont licites et n'en est nulles mauvaises, desqueles aucunes Aristote nomme divinatives comme sont celles par lesquelles on a cognoissance des œuvres de nature lesquelles sont sougetes au cours naturel et influence du ciel. Mais leur entencion n'estoit pas de celles qui sont sougetes a la volenté de Dieu et des hommes, auxquelles le cours du ciel ne puet faire impression ne impose(r) (et) nécessité, ne semblablement [25"] a celles qui sont casueles, indifferens et aventureuses,¹⁷² comme je di en declarant ceste conclusion. Tant par che comme par les choses qui seront dites si appres, il appert que eux qui se disent songeurs <sont> et gent sens cervelle et sens entendement.

II.2.2 (La seconde conclusion)

La seconde conclusion,¹⁷³ que dit que deviner par invocacion de deable est coze dampnable et reprovee, par deux raisons puet estre declaree.

La premiere; quar invocacion ne se fait point sans avoir avec le deable paction et convenance qui est coze tres detestable.¹⁷⁴ Car l'escripture sainte dist de telle gent qu'il ont fait paction et confedancion avec la mort.¹⁷⁵ Item, plusieurs en telle invocacion font au deable hommage et sacrefice ou de bestes

¹⁷⁰ di: *ms* vi.

¹⁷¹ assimilé: *ms* assivile.

¹⁷² aventureuses: *ms* aventureases.

¹⁷³ The second article is a paraphrase of ST 2a2ae.95.4(R) where Thomas explains that divination through the aid of demonic powers is wrong, because: 1. it requires a pact with the devil, which is prohibited; and 2. demons cannot be trusted. They only speak the truth in order to deceive people more effectively.

¹⁷⁴ detestable: *ms* decestable.

¹⁷⁵ A marginal rubric reads: *Ysaie xxviiij*. This is a reference to Isaiah 28:15.

ou d'autres choses, et aucuns li donnent leur corps, aucun leur ame, aucun se donnent au diable du tout, pour venir a leur finable entencion, par quoi il se soutraient de l'obeissance qu'il doivent a Dieu et sont apostas de la foi, ydolatres mauvais qui est de tous pecchiés le plus grief, comme dit est, et non pas seulement eulx, mais tous ceulx qui croient en eulx ne ajoustent foy a leur fais et a leur dis, ne qui leur donnent aide, conseil n'en faveur, come il appara ci apres.

L'autre raison est a cause de la malice et iniquité dou deable qui s'efforce tousjours de decevoir et mener a perdicion humaine creature et en especial par telles responses faites par tels invocateurs de deables. Quar ja soice que il dient aucunefois verité, nientmoins ne sont il point a croire quar ce qu'il font et disent, c'est pour plus aisé seduire ceulx qui continuent en leur service. Ainsi est il déclaré par expres en la sainte euvangile d'un demoniaque (et) de nostre Sires Jhesucrist qui fist taire et jeta hors le deable de son corps, dit l'exposicion,¹⁷⁶ ja soice que l'ennemi d(es)ist voir. Toutefois a ce que le peuple ne fut curieux de soi acoustumer a telle [26'] chose en ajoustant foi au dis de tels demoniakés, Jhesucrist le fist taire, quar pour certain quant il ont dit verité a une fois, il mentiront cent pour decevoir et perdre les hommes et fames qui en eulx croient. Et toudis sont leur paroles et langages envelopés¹⁷⁷ de diverses sentences, et souventesfois toutes contraires et opposites.

Item, c'est trop desordenee coze que homme, qui est si noble creature, (est) a le deable a maistre et docteur qui est son aversaire et anemi mortel, et qu'il delaisse la doctrine bonne de Dieu et de Sainte Eglise, par laquelle il se puet sauver et avoir victore de son anemi le deable d'enfer. Chi est la conclusion declaree vraie.

Contre

Contre la conclusion desusdite arguent aucuns par maintes raisons en especial par trois.

1. La premiere¹⁷⁸ quar les ovrages et la doctrine de Jhesucrist sont bon et a ensuïr a tout bon Crestien, et en pluseurs lieux es euvangiles on list que Jhesucrist adunoit les deables et leur faisoit recongnoistre verité de pluseurs cozes secretes, pour quoy il semble que licitement le paret se puet faire.

¹⁷⁶ A marginal rubric reads: *Luce iiij^o ca^o*. This is a reference to Luke 4:33-35. According to Thomas the 'exposicion' that Pignon refers to is by Athanasius: *Prima oratio contra Arianos* (PG 26, 13).

¹⁷⁷ envelopés: *ms* envolepes.

¹⁷⁸ ST 2a2ae.95.4(1) paraphrased. As an example of the 'cozes secretes', in ST *aliquid occultum*, Aquinas refers to Mark 5:9 where a demon in answer to Christ's question reveals his name: Legion. In the corresponding refutation Pignon gives his own reply, following the main point rather than the phrasing of ST 2a2ae.95.4(r1).

2. Item,¹⁷⁹ Saul demanda a une divinerese la fortune d'ungne bataille qu'il avoit a faire. Elle fist par son invocacion que Samuel qui estoit mort se apparut, et li respondi a ce qu'il demandoit. Dou puis que Samuel, qui avoit esté un homme prophete de tres parfaite vie, se monta par telle invocacion, c'est coze licite, se semble, de faire parellement.

3. Item,¹⁸⁰ justice par tels invocacions puet estre gardee en cas que aucunes choses seroient perdues, pour condempner les malvais et justefier¹⁸¹ les bons. On pouroit avoir cognoissance de ceulx qui aroient commis un mauvais fait, pour savoir la se traïson contre un prince ou conspiracion contre une comm(u)nité se faisoit secretement. Le deable le puet reveler et par che on y remede. En [26^v] (en) cecy justice, equité, innocence et verité sont gardees qui sont vertus tres necessaires.

1. Au premier est a dire que Jhesucrist et li apostre ont eü puissance sur les deables et les ont contrains maintesfois a tesmognier la verité de nostre foy. A ce que la doctrine et predicacion de nostre foy fust en plus grant auctorité, quar miex ne puet on prover la verité d'aucune choze que par celui qui est contre et aversaire, quant il la tesmoigne estre bonne (estre bone) et vraie. Et ne s'ensuit pas pour tant que nous puissions ainsi faire; premierement, quar nostre foy est assés provee par les miracles du temps passé. Item, nous ne sommes si dignes ne de si grans merites que Dieu veule pour nous faire miracles. Item, les invocateurs du temps de maintenant se rendent souget au deables, et le deable se rendoit et estoit souget as apostres, dou la raison ne valt riens. (salcit)¹⁸²

2. Au second saint Augustin et les docteurs respondent en pluseurs manieres. La plus commune et plus vraie sentence est, quar Saul qui estoit adonques uns tres mauvais homme ne vit ne ne parla point a Samuel, ainsi ne feïst la divineresse. Mais se moutra le deable a eux en forme de Samuel qui avoit esté un tres parfaitement saint homme, a ce que plus legierement il le peüst decevoir et cecy puet apparoir, par ce que il li dist: 'Demain tu

¹⁷⁹ ST 2a2ae.95.4(2) paraphrased. 'Divinerese' is Pignon's rendering of *mulier habens spiritum pythonis*. The story of the witch of Endor is in I Sam. 28:7 sqq. In the corresponding reply Thomas, quoting Augustine (*De diversis quaestionibus* II.3, PL 40, 142), gives the two possible readings of the story: the first is that it was in fact the prophet Samuel who appeared, not through the witch's magic but through God's hidden dispensation to rebuke Saul. The second is that it was not Samuel but a phantom in his image. Aquinas thus leaves it up to his readers to decide. Pignon opts for the second alternative and quotes I Sam. 28:19 (*cras autem tu et filii tui tecum eritis*) in support of his choice. If *tecum* really meant 'with Samuel', Saul and his sons would be in heaven, Pignon argues (a neutral realm of the dead is apparently no serious option), which cannot be true; hence *me* must refer to the devil.

¹⁸⁰ An elaboration of ST 2a2ae.95.4(3). Thomas does not stress justice, but rather the usefulness of knowledge that may help to solve a crime.

¹⁸¹ justefier: *ms* justifies.

¹⁸² A mysterious word, added in a different script.

seras avec moy, tu et tes enfans', et lendemain Saul fu occis en la bataille, luy et ses enfans et ne fu point avec Samuel, ains fu avec et encore est avec le deable dampné, quar il estoit un tres mauvais homme.

3. Au tiers¹⁸³ je di que pour quelconques profit temporel, pechié mortel n'est a faire, quar nul bien temporel n'est tant boin, comme est mauvaise la destruction dou bien esperituel, qui est le sauvement des ames. Quant a ce qui puet touchier les choses perdues, justice a autres voies et pratiques que par le queste faite par invocacion de deables. Quant a ce qui toche conspiracions et <t>raïsons contre princes ou bien commun, [27'] celles sont seulement pourpensees. Le deables de tout son pooir ne les puet savoir, ne homme qui vive, excepté ceux qui les pensent. Et ainsi pour nient on apele le deable a telle cozes ne homme quicunquez i soit. Celles sont traitiés et pratiquees, le deable adont le puet savoir, mais non pas tuit; si est fort a faire de savo(i)r lesquelz le sevent et liquel non, et pour tant que tuit sont menteur et dechoivent en la fin, est il desfandu que nul aux dis de telx divineurs ne ajousté foi. Item, Dieu a souffissamment proveü a homme en signorie constitué¹⁸⁴ se il fait son devoir enver Dieu et enver ses subgés loialment; quant il ly a donné raison, sens et discrecion naturel. Et (aquis et) avec ce puet avoir gens de bon conseil pour soi gouverner¹⁸⁵ et garder de toulz perilz et inconveniens.¹⁸⁶ Item, l'ung cascun a l'aide de Dieu tout prest et des sains de paradis, se il le veult de bon cuer requerir, que puelent plus que ne fait le deable, et sont plus volent(e)rin de nous aidier qu'il n'est. Item, se c'est en cas de maladie Dieu et nature ont proveü a l'un cascun sofissamment de remede par la science de me(de)cine qui est a ce ordenee avec le bon gouvernement que l'un cascun doit avoir en li selonc son estat. Pour tant ne convient ja user de telles invocacions et divinations, comme dit est en la conclusion. Et cecy soufist quant ad ce.

¹⁸³ An elaboration of ST 2a2ae.95.4(r3). Thomas simply emphasises the harm that may come from demonic invocations. Pignon dwells at length on the provisions God made for man.

¹⁸⁴ 'homme en signorie constitué', i.e. a ruler, king, or prince.

¹⁸⁵ gouverner: *ms* gouvrenier.

¹⁸⁶ The whole passage (from 'quant' to 'inconveniens') should be read as follows: 'Because He (God) has given him (the king) reason, sense and natural discretion; and he (the king) can, with this (i.e. reason, sense, etc.), have good counsellors to govern himself well, and to keep him from all perils and mishaps'.

II.2.3 (*La tierce conclusion*)

La tierche conclusion,¹⁸⁷ que par le cours du ciel et des estoiles on ne puet au certain jugier du temps (a) advenir ne des cozes occultes. Et ceste conclusion est une principale entencion, que j'ai eü pour composer ce traitié, comme je aucunement thocé au commencement, contre ceux qui presumptueusement se disent astronomien qui ne sont que divineurs et songeurs. Car toute la science d'astronomie ne porroit donner a homme cognoissance de ce que je ferai demain, ne ou je iray, et ainsi de toutes operacions appartenans a homme et a faire, comme je l'ay par avant (thoce) touchié en une autre conclusion.¹⁸⁸ Je veul dont ychy declarer ceste conclusion, par ce que les [27^e] divineurs par leur fole assercion disent que quant il scevent en quel signe le soleil et la lune sont et la conjunction qu'il ont aux autres planetes, leur habitacion¹⁸⁹ et leur regart et leur estat la, lesqueles choses il puelent savoir par les livres de astronomie, par certaines calculacions, et par l'instrument de l'astrolabe, et apres ce il sevent soulz quel signe l'une personne est nee, il puelent, se disent, jugier de quel estat il sera et de quele fortune et condicion, combien il vivra et quant il mora et de quelle mort. Veulent apres jugier de choses qui sont (a) advenir et des cozes secretes et de che qui se fait en diverses contrees. Disent que par astronomie il puelent avoir cognoissance certaine. Disent apres que par le cours du ciel e(s)t influence des estoiles, il est aucunes mauvaises journees et heures a esqueles quicunquez encommenche aucun ouvrage, ou pour aler en voiage, ou entrer en mariage, ou en aucune religion, traitier de guerre ou de pais, soy mettre sour les chams pour guerrier son adversaire, que de toutes telles emprises et autres semblables ne puet venir boine issue ne boine conclusion. Ains veulent dire que ceux qui telles chozes enprennent aront enpeccheurs et faudront plainement a leur entencions.

Contre toutes telles fauses et mauvaises oppinions cy je mis ceste conclusion, laquele je veul moustrer estre vraie de present et icelle mesmes

¹⁸⁷ In essence this third point is based on ST 2a2ae.95.5(R). In this article Thomas refutes the argument that the stars signify future events rather than cause them: this he believes to be nonsense, since every sign is either the effect of the thing it signifies, or, together with the signified, one of the effects of a common higher cause. Stars are not the effects of the future events they adumbrate, nor do stars and future events share a common higher cause. Thomas goes on to distinguish two kinds of effects that escape stellar causation: (1) contingent events, because they result from various causes which are not all of them physical; and (2) free acts of man performed through the faculty of will and reason, which, being incorporeal, is exempt from physical causation by celestial bodies. Pignon disregards the former point, but takes the latter distinction between contingent events and human action as a theme for his discussion. Cf. also CLD I.4.

¹⁸⁸ See CLD II.2.1.

¹⁸⁹ habitacion: *ms* hintacion.

je deduiré plus especialment en la tierce partie de cest traité quant a present je argue contre eulx. Car se il estoit vrai ce que telz songeurs par leur mensonge¹⁹⁰ donnent a entendre, comme je di ycy, il convient dont conclure par leur dis que le cours du ciel et l'influence des constellacions¹⁹¹ sont cause de tous nos (a) affaires et ovrages, cause, di je, necessaire et telle que nous ne¹⁹² povons autrement nous conduire ne gouverner que le ciel le donne et telle influence. Le contraire toutesfois appert evidemment [28'] par la sentence de tous philosophes¹⁹³ naturiens et (par) jugement de raison (par). Aristote expreseement en tous ses livres propose certains ovrages, qui n'ont cause quelconques necessaire, ne le cours du chiel, ne estoile, ne influence, ainsi que sont les choses qui se font casuelement et a l'aventure, comme j'ai dit chi devant en un aultre chapitre.¹⁹⁴ Car il n'est science ne ne fut onques certaine par laquele on seüst donner raison satisfiant pour quoi les cozes aventureuses adviennent, dont quant a ce faut leur jugement.

Item, tout philosophes, tout païens comme Crestiens sont d'ungne commune sentence et determinacion que l'ame raisonnable de creature est une substance esperituele, invisible, immortele, laquelle a .iiii. puissances natureles, c'est assavoir: entendement, volenté et memoire, par lesquelles puissances l'omme est en tous ces affaires disposé et ordené, ayant signorie et dominacion de tout ce qui est a lui a faire, auctorité et puissance de eslire en tous ces affaires laquelle partie qu'il veult. A quoi et pour quoi li est donnee discrecion de savoir, cognoistre et discerner qui est bien et qui est mal, prudence et conseil pour eslire ce que est milleur et plus convenable, et tellement que non obstant queconques inpression, constellacion ou influence du ciel et des estoies, creature raisonnable est et demeure en france liberte de toutes ses operacions presens et a advenir. Ne par quelconques autre coze créé, elle ne puet estre contrainte quant a son voloir et eslire. C'est don grant presumption de affermer le contraire et imposer blafeme en Dieu et en sa creature, a viler et deprimer la plus haute creature que Dieu fist onques. Apres les anges c'est homme et fame qu'il veulent mettre subget du tout au ciel et aux estoies, c'est destruire toute science morale et naturele, toute vertu et mout d'autres inconveniens, comme je prove plus clerement en la tierce,¹⁹⁵ dont appert il que la conclusion est a tenir [28'] tant comme vraie et saine. Et pour tant que de ceste matere, j'ey ja tochié cy devant et thoceraï encore cy apres. Je m'en passe de present a tant.

¹⁹⁰ mensonge: *ms* mengnonne.

¹⁹¹ constellacions: *ms* consollacions.

¹⁹² ne: *ms* ire.

¹⁹³ philosophes: *ms* philophoses.

¹⁹⁴ See CLD II.2.1.

¹⁹⁵ See CLD III.6.

(Contre)

Neantmoins pour l'erreur des songeurs on porroit avoir aucunes apparence a l'encontre des choses dessusdittes.

1. Premièrement¹⁹⁶ il disent que cognoistre et savoir la propre nature et condicions des causes natureles et de leur vertu et puissance qu'elles montrent¹⁹⁷ au regart de leur ovragés ainsi comme sont le ciel, les estoiles et leur influences au regart des choses qui sont en ce monde, est coze licite et vertueuse. Car par ceste maniere procede la science de medecine qui donne a cognoistre les secrés de nature es corps humains, par che que on congnoist au par dehors les influences du ciel. Dont puis que le ciel est cause de tout ce qui advient et qui se fait en ce monde. Quiconques puet avoir cognoissance de l'influence du ciel, comme ont ceulx qui se disent astronomiens, il puet avoir cognoissance des ovragés qui s'ensievent a telle influence de necessité.

2. Item,¹⁹⁸ la doctrine commune de Aristote et autres philosophes est que par plusieurs experiences particuleres et cognoissance sensibles on est venu a cognoissance universale et telles choses sont cause de science. Puis dont que on voit souventefois estre advenu che que telz divineurs disent et on(t) dit et voit on par experience estre ainsi qu'il prenosoient par la science d'astronomie, il semble qu'en telle science ne soit point tellement a reprover.

3. Item,¹⁹⁹ la cause principale pour quoi il semble que telle cose soit desfendue, c'est pour tant que le deable souventefois en telles choses est apellé. Puis dont que le deable n'y seroit point apelé et que on use fors seulement des principes de la science d'astronomie par lesquelz il jugent bien souvent ce que on voit advenir, il s'ensiut que telle coze ne soit point [29] a reprover comme dit est.

A cause de ces raisons et autres paretles se veulent arester en leur erreurs plusieurs et croient mainte gent que ce que telz devineurs songent et dient par divinacion que il soit veritable et fondé en vraie science.

1. Au premier appert assés par l'expocicion et probacion de la conclusion que il ne conclut en riens, quar j'ai dit avant que des choses qui adviennent, desqueles le cours du ciel et son influence sont cause necessaire, on puet licitement jugier et prono(s)quier par le cours et influence du ciel. Mais j'ai apres moustré et dit selonc la doctrine commune de tous les philosophes, que il est moult de cozes lesquelles n'ont point regart au cours du ciel ne a

¹⁹⁶ ST 2a2ae.95.5(1) paraphrased. In the corresponding reply, Pignon, like Thomas, refers to arguments already brought forward in the discussion.

¹⁹⁷ montrent: *ms* montient.

¹⁹⁸ ST 2a2ae.95.5(2) paraphrased. Aristotle's doctrine (*scientia humana ex experimentis originem sumit*) can be found in *Metaphys.* I.1 981a1-2, as a rubric in the text, *prohemio meth.*, indicates.

¹⁹⁹ ST 2a2ae.95.5(3) paraphrased.

l'influence d'iceli, et pour tant ne puet on jugier ne pronosquer de telles choses selonc le cours du ciel ne l'influence.

2. Au secon²⁰⁰ je di pour .ii. causes on voit advenir ce que les divineurs prono(s)quent.

La premiere, c'est humaine fragiliteit par laquelle plusieurs sont enclin a suir leur propre volenté et passion naturele sans raison, quar on voit souvent que pour un qui ensiut le jugement de raison contre la plaissance et desir sensuele, il sont plusieurs faisans le contraire, qui ensievent leur propre volenté et delectacion sensible. Et pour tant que telz devineurs puelent aucunnement par le cours de nature cognoistre la complexion naturele d'ungne personne, c'est assavoir se il est colerique, ou melancolique,²⁰¹ ou sanguin, ou flematique, il puelent consequamment savoir a quelle partie telle personne ainsi complexionnee se incline plus legierement et pour tant que, comme dit est, li plusieurs veulent toudis poursuivre et excecuter leur propre plaissance sans raison. De ce vient que telz divineurs sont trové disans voir souventefois quant il disent un telz homme se gouvernera par telle et par telle maniere et ainsi [29^v] des autres chozes. Item, telz songeurs ont pratique de enquerir a quoy les signeurs sont plus enclin, et quant il ont longuement conversé avec eulx, il avisent de leur condicion plus commune et naturele inclinacion et selonc ce que il les voient plus affectionés a une coze que a une autre, il jugent que telle coze et ou telle avenra de leur entreprises et cecy puent il de legieir savoir ainsi feroit un cascun. Item, en fait de guerre il advisent quelle puissance les segneurs ont. Et quant il scevent une des parties estre plus fort que l'autre, ou avoir melleur cause que l'autre, il disent que tel partie gagnera. Aucunnefois sont trové vrai disans, aucunefois faux disans, comme ceux de qui j'ay oï raconter qui disent que en une bataille ceux qui yroient contre le soleil levant perderoient et le contraire advint, ja soiche que en l'art de batallier le soleil en tel cas est moult nuisale et par aventure avoient il se regart. Item, il ont une autre maniere de sauver leur dis, quar il proposent tant de particulieres circonstances en leur pronostications que il n'est homme qui les seüst toutes garder. Quant il advient ensi qu'il disent, il l'attribuent a leur science qui est advenu par la boine industrie et proesse des hommes; quant il advient autrement, il se sauvent disans que on est parti trop tost ou trop tart ou que on a pas tenu le chemin que il avoient consellié et la maniere, et tellement se excuserent ceux qui avoient pronosqué un tamps qui fu d'un voiage fait en Turquie duquel il advint tout le contraire de ce qu'il

²⁰⁰ A lengthy elaboration of ST 2a2ae.95.5(r2). Thomas explains there are two reasons why astrologers' predictions sometimes come true: 1. people follow their emotions, which are subject to celestial influence; 2. people can be influenced by demons.

²⁰¹ melancolique: *ms* incleconlique. An odd distortion. Perhaps, in haste, the copyist did not recognise the word.

avoient dit par avant. Par ainsi jamais ne seroient reprins de avoir mal jugié. Chi appert que c'est toute decepcion et moquerie.

La seconde cause pour quoi il sont trové aucunes fois voir disans, c'est pour les deables qui leur font assavoir les choses <a> advenir. Combien que le deable n'ait pas de tout cognoissance, toutefois il puet mout de choses [30'] savoir, comme ge di chi devant, et aucunes fois le dit au cler, aucunes fois obscurément, comme de la prophesie Mellin²⁰² et d'autres, que le deables a bailliés en langage obscur, lequel on entent point au cler jusques ad ce que on voit les choses advenir. Adont on les atribue a telles escriptures, et cechy n'est fors pour decevoir et perdre les hommes qui s'i ahurent et affient, quar ainsi que dit saint Augustin,²⁰³ non obstant qu'il disent aucunes fois vrai, toutefois nullement on ne doit a leur dis soy arester ne y ajouster ferme creance. Car en la fin il sont tousjours trové menteurs et faux disans pour decevoir ceux qui y croient.

3. Au tiers²⁰⁴ est a dire que non obstant que en telles prono(sti)cacions n'est aucunement invocacion de deable expressement faite, neantmais soutillement le deable s'i puet ingerer et mesler. Item, posé que non; encore

²⁰² Merlin, the great court magician in Arthurian literature, was one of those elusive authorities to whom works on alchemy and books with prophecies were attributed. That these prophecies carried some weight appears from an entry in Simon de Phares's *Recueil* (p. 225) where an English captain, Thomelin de Turgof, is said to have predicted the rise of Bertrand de Guesclin through astrology and from the prophecies of Merlin, because 'c'estoit celui duquel les livres de Merlin faisoient mencion, qui devoit apparoir en ce temps, qui portoit l'aigle à deux testes'. See also: Thorndike, *HMES* III, pp. 586, 629; '*Les Prophecies de Merlin*' edited from ms. 593 in the *Bibliothèque Municipale of Rennes* by Lucy Allen Paton (New York 1966). On the whole Merlin's prophecies were thought to have a political bearing. Froissart, for instance, was very impressed by prophecies that (in 1361) predicted the accession of the House of Lancaster to the English throne. Merlin's reputation among medieval authors wavers between the extremes of acceptance and rejection. Cf., e.g., Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale* XX.30, col. 791: (*Merlinus*) *solet enim spiritus Dei, per quos voluerit mysteria sua loqui, sicut per sibillam, sicut per Balaam caeterosque huiusmodi*, and the *annotatio* at the end of the same chapter: *non eum Spiritu Dei plenum, sed potius malo daemone agitatum scripsisse perhiberem*. See: *Vie de Merlin, attribuée a Geoffroy de Monmouth, suivie des prophéties de ce barde*, eds. F. Michet and T. Wright (Paris 1837), esp. pp. xxii-xlv. Many prophecies attributed to Merlin were inserted in copies of the great Arthurian romances such as *Lancelot*. See, e.g., *Les Prophecies de Merlin (Cod. Bodmer 116)*, ed. Anne Berthelot (Cologny/Genève 1992), which, though the title of the work actually refers to the prophecies, is largely an anthology of Arthurian literature. Cf. also *HWDA* IX, 428-429 where the *Dicta Merlini*, prophetic texts from the Joachimite tradition, are discussed.

²⁰³ Augustine, *De genesi ad litteram*, 2, 17, 37 (PL 34, 278-9). Quoted by Thomas: *Quapropter bono Christiano sive mathematici, sive quilibet impie divinantium, et maxime dicentes vera, cavendi sunt, ne consortio daemoniorum animam deceptam pacto quodam societas irretiant*.

²⁰⁴ In his reply to the third objection, Thomas simply refers to the previous discussion in which he emphasised demonic influence. Pignon adds that even if no demons are involved, the belief that the stars can know what only God can know, still amounts to idolatry.

n'est ce point chose licite de faire telz jugemens, car en telle matiere est faite a Dieu ireverence, quar on veult atribuer a creature ce qui appartient seulement a Dieu, c'est assavoir le cognoissance des cozes *occultes* et qui sont (a) advenir, desquelles nulz par science naturellement acquise ne puet avoir cognoissance certaine. Et ainsi appert que leur raisons sont nulles et que la conclusion est vraie et catholique.

II.2.4 La quarte conclusion.²⁰⁵

Les jugemens pris sur songes et visions qui se font en dormant sont reprové et desfendu en la plus grant partie, pour laquelle matiere entendre est assavoir que la cause de songes est en .ii. diferences: la premiere est occulte, l'autre est manifeste, ou l'ungne vient au par (de)dens, et l'autre au par dehors.

La premiere est en .ii. manieres. Quar aucunefois elle est esperituelle, c'est a dire que l'entendement et la pensee est cause de telz songes. Ainsi comme une personne aroit en veillant tellement pensé a aucune coze [30^v] et tellement l'aroit imprimee en son entendement que quant elle dort il li semble qu'ele voit icelle coze et apres ce †²⁰⁶ qu'elle est revellié applique son songe ad ce qu'elle a a faire. Aucunefois (elle) | est secrete et occulte en²⁰⁷ la dispo(sic)cion naturele du corps. Ainsi comme une personne | qui (est qui)

²⁰⁵ ST 2a2ae.95.6(R) elaborately paraphrased. Among the causes of dreams Thomas identifies two kinds: (1) internal and (2) external. 1. Internal causes can be: a. spiritual (*animalis*), when thoughts and affections that occupy us when we are awake recur in our dreams (in this case the cause of the dream is not the same as the cause of future events, so that the dream cannot be said to be prophetic); b. physical (*corporalis*), when a bodily disposition causes a response in the imagination (*in phantasia*) (in this case dreams reveal something about a person's health). 2. External causes are: a. physical, when the imagination (*imaginatio*) is affected by the air or the impression of celestial bodies; b. spiritual, when dreams are caused either by God *ministerium angelorum*, or, for that matter, by demons. In conclusion Thomas points out that dreams from divine revelation and dreams from natural causes, that can provide us with knowledge (e.g. medical information) within human reach, are to be considered legitimate means of knowing the future. Dreams from demons or dreams that are supposed to foretell the future that lies beyond any natural means of intellectual acquisition, should be shunned, however. Pignon copies Thomas carefully, but makes a few interesting additions, such as (in 2a) the impact that delectable scenes and the fumes caused by the digestive process may have on dreams. Apparently Pignon was not insensitive to the more frivolous sides of life. Also his expositions on the practices of soothsayers who have to eat and drink before they can have prophetic dreams, on the ways in which they deceive people, and on the practices of excessive fasting are original additions.

²⁰⁶ At this point in the text, between 'apres ce' and 'qu'elle est revellié' the copyist placed a line which he later realised was misplaced. He did not correct the error but bracketed the line with two cross-marks ('† est secrete et occulte ... comme une personne †'). The present edition attempts to reconstruct the error by putting the line (placed between two strokes) in its appropriate place in the next sentence.

²⁰⁷ en: *ms* est.

seroit flematique songeroit eaue, un colerique sanc, un sanguin aucune coze joieuse, et ainsi des autre complexions.²⁰⁸ Par telz songnes²⁰⁹ cognoissent les mediciens la complexion naturele d'une personne et la cause des maladies et par ce aucunefois on juge des affaires et des aventures d'aucunes personnes.

La cause qui est foraine et au par dehors puet semblablement estre corporele ou esperituele. Corporele quant l'imaginacion de la personne reçoit aucune inpression et immutacion ou du lieu ouquel elle dort, ou de l'air qui est otour de elle, ou mesme aucune influence du ciel, par quoi plusieurs et diverses visions li puelent estre faites en dormant. Item, a cause de trop boire et mengier ou pour la qualité des viandes et des buvrages puelent estre causei divers songes. Car les fumees qui montent du stomach au cervel tourblent la fantasie d'une personne et font apparoir plusieurs et diverses visions en songes, ausqueles simple gens se ahurtent et veulent leur ovrages ad ce appliquer et eux emploier. Item, avoir veü en son veillant aucune coze plaisant et delitable fait aucunefois en l'imaginacion une inpression telle et si fort, que en son dormant elle se repete,²¹⁰ et de ce puelent venir aucuns conveniens que il n'est ja besoing de ychi les escrire. L'autre cause esperituele foraine est inspiracion faite de Dieu par les boins anges par lesquelz Dieu revele aux sains et au saintes certaines misteres sur ce qui est a faire a l'honneur de Dieu et de la foy au profit et salut du peuple ou d'aucune personne, ainsi que il est contenu en la sainte escripture.²¹¹ Aucunefois telle inspiracion se fait par l'ouvrage du deable a ceux qui ont

²⁰⁸ Aquinas explains how a physical stimulus may cause a corresponding reaction *in phantasia*: a person in whom the *frigidi humores* abound, may dream he is immersed in water or snow. Pignon does not mention this example, but provides a few of his own. A phlegmatic person will dream of water, because the primary qualities cold and moist, that in nature produce water, are constitutive of phlegm in the human body. A sanguine person (hot and moist produce air in nature and blood in the body) is likely to dream of blood and merriment. A choleric person (hot and dry produce fire in nature and phlegm in the body) will dream of fire and dangerous things. Pignon's reference to 'sanc' is somewhat counter-intuitive since one is more inclined to associate dreams of blood with a sanguine complexion. For an elementary survey of the humours, see e.g.: C. S. Lewis, *The Discarded Image: An Introduction to Medieval and Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge 1967), pp. 169-174.

²⁰⁹ songnes: *ms* songues.

²¹⁰ repete: *ms* repute. Impressions one receives when one is awake, reiterate or repeat themselves during sleep. The word 'repute' makes no sense in this context.

²¹¹ A marginal note reads: *in Genese et in Daniele et Actibus apostolorum*. Famous Biblical dreams are: Jacob's dream (Gen. 28:10 ff.), Joseph's dreams (Gen. 37) and the vision of Daniel (Dan. 7). In many dreams angels act as messengers or expositors. An example of this in Acts is ch. 10:22.

a lui aucune paction ou promesse expresse ou [31'] secrete, quant a ce que la conclusion proposé devantdite.²¹²

En tant que visions sont causees par l'inspiracion du Saint Esperit et mi(ni)stere des anges il sont a garder et ensuïr. Item de ceux qui ont aucune cause naturele, tant que²¹³ la vertu de telle cause naturele se puet estaindre, il sont a poursuiir et cecy a regart (a) aux maladies qui puelent advenir (advenir) a plusieurs personnes desquelles on puet jugier par la disposicion dou corps que on set selonc leur complexion congneüe par leur songes, auxquelles maladies on puet remedier et obvier par avant. A autres songes ne visions nulz ne se doit arester, ne determiner, ne faire ou emprendre quelconques coze, quar ainsi le faire seroit supersticion et sorcerie malvaïse en esp(e)cial de cele maniere de songes de laquele le diable puet estre cause et occasion.

Ainsi que par aventure il puet estre d'aucuns songeurs qui devinent des coses qui sont a advenir quant il ont le ventre plain et bien dormy,²¹⁴ et puis apres sur leur songes composent cedulaes et font escriptures thocans les affaires d'aucune gens selonc la disposicion des temps et l'ordenanche de l'estat des personnes, considerans leur affaires et leur inclinacion natureles, et ce ad coy leur volenté plus se tourne. Et donnent a entendre que telle chose doit advenir et que on se doit par telle maniere gouverner et par telle, en atribuant a la science d'astronomie ce que il ont songié et que il scevent bien par les choses desusdites qui puet advenir. Ne jamais ne diront ou escriront en leur cedulaes choses de quoi il n'aient aucune apparance par la complexion et inclinacion naturele des personnes et par le gouvernement d'iceux. Car posé que il fallent en partie, ne puel(en)t il fallir en tout. Ceux-cy mesmes aucunefois, comme je le sai par experience, appres qu'il ont beü et mangié tant qu'il ne demandent que le repos souventefois, on les voit regarder a la lune et es estoiles en leur astrolabes pour amuser gens, et donner a entendre qu'il estudient ou cours du ciel. [31'] Et le jour ensivant presentent les roles plains de telles folies, comme j'en ay proposé au commencement, mesmement pour atraire a eulx ceux qui sont de simple entendement, pronosquant aucunefois de la pluie, ou du chaut temps, ou de tempestes, ou de mortalité par certains signes naturelz que on voit communement advenir, et desquelz les simples labourex par communes et natureles experiences puelent avoir

²¹² *Lege*: 'quant a ce que (a esté) | proposé | (en) la conclusion devantdite. The pact with the devil was dealt with in CLD I.3 and II.2.2.

²¹³ *que*: *ms* qua.

²¹⁴ This vivid picture of dream-interpreters who eat, drink and sleep at the expense of their lords reminds one of the sorcerers Poinson and Briquet who enjoyed an income for seven months from Philip the Bold whilst labouring to cure the mad king, Charles VI. See: *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* XXIV.13 (vol. 2, pp. 114 ff.); Mirot, "Un essai de guérison"; and chapter 2.4.4, above.

congoissance. Et quant on voit advenir telles choses qui adviennent naturellement, ceux qui sont en telle matiere ignorant les croient plus tost en autres matieres desqueles il n'ont, ne ne puent avoir, science quelconque certaine, ains devinent et songent telles cozes, ou parlent au deable qui leur revele par les manieres dessusdittes. De cechi viennent, que on voit peu de tels songeurs qui ne soient maleureux, sens cervelle et sans entendement.

Item, par le deable sont aucunnefois seduit aucune personnes de simple estat qui font penitences et junes indiscretement et de leur propre volenté sans raison aucune. Lesquels,²¹⁵ apres ce qu'il sont tellement affebli et anienti de leur corps qu'il n'ont cervelle ne esperit, le diable par illusions et visions se moustre a eulx aucunnefois en forme d'angeles luisans, aucunnefois en la forme de Dieu ou d'aucuns sains, et par ce li peuple qui croit de legier les honeure et prise. Dont quant le deable les voit ainsi honnorés et prisiés entre le peuple, il leur propose jour et nuit visions, oppinions, erreurs, herisies et maintes fauces choses contre la foy. A ce que par eulx qui sont reputé de sainte vie le deable puisse legierement les bons Crestiens seduire et decevoir, et de telz gens par l'instruction du deable sont aucunnefois venu tant de inconveniens que pour destruire une contree et tout un païs [32'] quant a boine et vraie foy et creance. Sy doit on moult sagement en telles cozes aviser et vellier et enquerir diligemment dont viennent les esperis et leurs revelacions, ce qui est principalement a faire aux prelas, diocesains et inquisiteurs, quar aultrement le deable, qui est sutil et adversaire de la foy, en pau de heure deceveroit trop de gent. De ceste matiere porroit on mout dire et longuement parler, mais il souffisse de present en tant qu'il toche la conclusion devant proposee.

(Contre)

Contre²¹⁶ laquele et les cozes ensivans pluseurs puelent arguer²¹⁷ par auctorités de sainte escripture et raisons apparans.

²¹⁵ The subclause following 'lesquels' ('apres ce qu'il sont tellement affebli ... cervelle ne esperit') possibly made the author lose track of the word 'lesquels', which might have functioned as subject or direct object in the main clause. Instead, he introduced a new subject ('le diable') in the main clause, leaving 'lesquels' without a syntactic function.

²¹⁶ In ST 2a2ae.95.6 Thomas raises the following three points, which Pignon copies: 1. God instructs people through dreams according to Job; 2. Joseph and Daniel interpreted dreams; 3. prophetic dreams are a common experience. After his *responsio* Thomas remarks *Et per hoc patet responsio ad objecta*. Likewise, Pignon does not deal with the points separately but states that the answers can be deduced from his previous discussion.

²¹⁷ arguer: *ms* agreuer.

1. Premièrement, la sainte escripture dist que Di(e)u instruit les creatures en leur lit quant il dorment.²¹⁸

2. Item, plusieurs sains prophetes et patriarches ont prenosqué des cozes a advenir en exposant songes et visions, comme il appert de Josef qui exposa la vision et songe du botellier et panetier²¹⁹ de Pharaon roy d'Egipte en sa prison ou il estoit avec eux, et ainsi qu'il dist il avint, et iceli mesme de son songe qu'il dist a ses freres, lequel fu verefié lonctamps apres lui vivant, ausi qu'il appert en l'escripture. Item, Daniel qui exposa au vrai le songe de Nabugodonosor.

3. Item, argument que puis que on voit a experience telles choses souvent advenir, il ne semble point estre mal soy y asseürer et affermer.²²⁰

Non obstant telles allegacions, il ne fait nul trop s'i asseürer et la cause est assés tochié et la matiere declaree es cozes devant dites, par coy un cascun usant de raison puet savoir comment il se doit en telle cose ordener et gouverner. Tant est assavoir que quiconques tient ne croit que il ne soit aucune science vraie ou doctrine ballié par escript en livre approuvé et canonique par laquelle on puet avoir la significacion et exposicion des songes indifferemment, [32'] ausi que aucun disent d'un livre qui se apele *Les Songes de Daniel*²²¹ ou d'aucuns autres aucteurs, c'est toute folie et supersticion et erreur pour decevoir hommes et fames, pour quoy a telz livres ne doit ajouster foy ne croire.

²¹⁸ A marginal rubric reads: *iob xxxiii^o c[apitulo]*. Job 33:15 sqq: *per somnium in visione nocturna quando inruit sopor super homines et dormiunt in lectulo tunc aperit aures virorum et erudiens eos instruit disciplinam ...*

²¹⁹ Gen. 40. A rubricated note in the margin of the text reads: *Gen xli y^o*, but Pignon only refers to the dreams of Pharaoh's baker and butler, not to the dreams of Pharaoh himself (Gen. 41:1-13). The story of Joseph explaining his dream to his brothers, and the story of Daniel interpreting the dream of Nebuchadnezzar are in Gen. 37:5-11 and Dan. 2 respectively.

²²⁰ A marginal note in the manuscript next to objection 3 reads: 'Solucion. *Daniel secundo c[apitulo]*'. The reference is to Nebuchadnezzar's dream in Dan. 2 and might be seen as an elucidation of objection 2. Its marginal position next to objection 3 and the word 'solucion' may also mean that the note was intended as a reply to objection 3 which argues that prophetic dreams are a common experience. As Daniel 2 shows, the *arioli*, *magi* and *chaldei* were quite incapable of interpreting Nebuchadnezzar's dream (vs. 10) and Daniel explicitly asserts that only God can interpret dreams and communicate their message to man (ch. 2:28-30). John of Salisbury makes a similar point in *Policraticus* II.17.

²²¹ Daniel and Joseph were the two foremost Biblical figures to earn themselves a reputation for interpreting dreams. Dream-books circulating in the Byzantine world were attributed to them (though mostly to Daniel) and from the tenth century onwards the genre was also popular in the Latin West. Such dream-books (with titles such as *Somnia Danielis* or *Interpretationes somniorum Danielis*) mostly provide an alphabetical list of images that would occur in dreams, followed by their interpretations. This type of book and its crude means of interpreting dreams is severely criticised by John of Salisbury in *Policraticus* II.17. Similar criticism also occurs in Gratian's *Decretum*, II.26.7.16. See Thorndike, HMES II, pp. 162, 290-302.

II.2.5 *(La quinte conclusion)*

La quinte conclusion²²² est que divinacion faite par chans de oyseaus ou disposicion d'aucunnes bestes sur ce que est (a) advenir, en l'entencion premierement dite, est folie et supersticion et sorcerie. Ceste conclusion puet estre declaree par ce que il est coze a toux notoire que du²²³ chant des oyseaux ou (de la) disposicion de quelconquez choses on en ha aucune cognoissance, et convient dire que tellez cozes en sont li signe precedent, non pas la cause. Dont il convient assigner autre cause pour laquelle telle coze ou telle si advient, et faut adviser qui est la cause que telz oysiaus ou telles bestes se gouvernent par telle et telle maniere, a quoy s'ensiut que il fera tel temps et tel et autrement en une saison que en autre, veü que il n'ont point d'entendement ne de discrecion par quoy il puissent diserner et connoistre l'ordenance du tamps. Ceste cause n'est autre fors nature qui les a fais et leur a donné certaine congnoissance et industrie naturele, par laquelle toutes bestes ont leur natureles et propres inclinacions a faire ce qui est competant et appartenant a la conservacion de leur nature et espece. Sur ce est a veoir comment par leur ouvrages on puet jugier et savoir l'ordenanche du temps (a) advenir et puet on cy assigner²²⁴ .ii. causes: la premiere corporelle, l'autre esperituelle.

Quant (a) la premiere, cascun doit noter que toute beste mue n'a ame fors sensitive (sentime) laquele est corporelle et vit avec le corps et muert semblablement, pour quoi il convient dire que toute beste mue est subiette en toutes cozes entierement au mouvement [33'] et au cours du ciel et se dispose, ordonne et gouverne selonc le dit mouvement. Item, est a savoir que toute beste reçoit l'influence premiere du lieu qui li est plus prochain et ou elle converse le plus, ainsi que les oysiaus en l'air, poissons en yavee, bestes

²²² ST 2a2ae.95.7(R) elaborately paraphrased. Animal behaviour is not in itself the cause of future events, but because the song and flight of birds and future events may share a common cause, the former may be indicative of the latter. Animal behaviour comes from animal instinct, *instinctus quidam* (which Pignon renders as 'nature qui les a fais et leur a donné certaine congnoissance et industrie naturele'). This instinct has a twofold cause: 1. Physical; animals have an *anima sensitiva* which may receive the influences of the air and the heavenly bodies. Thomas emphasises, and so does Pignon, that (a) predictions should only be concerned with events that are actually influenced by the heavens, and (b) of which animal behaviour may be assumed to be indicative (such as weather changes). 2. Spiritual; in special cases such as Christ's dove, Elijah's raven, and Jonah's whale, God directs animal instinct, but demons may do the same. Thomas provides three objections which Pignon leaves aside.

²²³ du: *ms* le.

²²⁴ assigner: *ms* assignes.

en terre et aucunes en feu.²²⁵ Il convient dont apres dire que toutes bestes se gouvernent et maintiennent selonc l'influence et la nature du lieu ouquel elles sont et ont leur vie. Lequel lieu, comme l'air et la mer et la terre, sont subget au cours naturel du ciel et des estoiles, dont il convient dire que telles bestes reçoivent l'inpression et influences du ciel par le (moing) moien du lieu ou elles sont. Et pour tant ce n'est point de mervelles se les bestes naturelement sentent la mutacion de l'air, ou de l'eau, ou de la terre, laquelle mutacion vient a cause de l'influence et mouvement du ciel. Et pour tant quant les oysiaus sentent l'air corrompu, naturelement il le fuyent; par ce on puet jugier que mortalité s'ensieut. Quant il sentent la pluye ou la tempeste a advenir, il ont maniere d'eux contenir en leur chant ou aultrement, ainsi que nature leur a donnei, par quoi les simples gens arguent le tamps qu'il doit faire. Car comme j'ai dit: par plusieurs exp(er)iences et qui adviennent souvent et semblablement une fois que autre, ont trovei les sages science et (en) cognoissance de la naturelle et propre condicion d'une cascune choze. Ainsi juge on que estey approche par la venue des arondelles, et par leur departement yver. Semblablement on seult jugier dou bel tamps ou de pluye par le chant des choettes, par le vol des arondeaus et autres oysiaus, quant les brebis sentent la tempeste advenir, elles sarrent emsamble. Aucuns poissons de mer et d'autres rivières (font) par(el)lement; et de plusieurs experiences naturelles poroit on (le) dire. [33^v]

Sur coy .ii. cozes sont a considerer en ceste matiere: la premiere que par telles bestes on ne puet savoir ce quy est (a) advenir se non seulement ce qui est compris et soubget souz le cours naturel du ciel ou qui a regart a le vie et conservacion de telles bestes, et par ce puet on bien jugier du temps qui est (a) advenir se il sera chaut ou froit ou sec, et ainsi des autres temps. Item, on puet par ce savoir se il sera habundance ou fault de biens, quar aucunes bestes, par l'industrie telle que nature leur donne, sentent, le tamps disposé a telle fin, que il sera chier tamps ou habondance, yver lonc ou court, et ce appert par experiences que on a de ce que on leur voit faire grans provisions ainsi que font fremis et plusieurs autres petites bestelettes. De telles choses jugier n'est pas mal; de soy ordener et gouverner prudemment par telles prenostications n'est point mal. Car il y a cause naturele: le cours du ciel et l'influence de nature qui est cause de telles choses. Mais voloir par ce jugier de ce qui est (a) advenir ou gouvernement et affaire des hommes, don(t) nulz excepté Dieu et la volenté de homme n'est cause, comme dit est

²²⁵ The universe is teeming with life and each element has its appropriate life-forms. Aristotle reports that in Cyprus certain flies are engendered in the fire. Also salamanders can live in the fire: Aristotle, *Historia animalium* V.19 552b; cf. also Philo, *De gigantibus* 7-8 (Loeb ed., vol. 2, pp. 448-449).

par avant, c'est supersticion et coze reprovee et contre toute raison et entendement.

Item, il y a en telle matiere une autre cause qui est esperituele. Et ceste chi puet estre le Saint Esperit et les bons anges par lesquelz la grace de Dieu puet estre aucunnefois declaree en creature raisonnable, ainsi que l'escripture nous dist du corbel qui repeut le prophete Helie ou desert, la balaine qui garda Jonas le prophete .iii. jours et trois nuys, et le couloun qui s'aparut sur Jhesucrist a son baptisement.²²⁶ Ceste cause esperituele puet aucunnefois estre le mauvais esperit qui tent a decevoir humaine creature par telles bestes, ainsi que [34'] par autres manieres de sorceries, comme dit est et sera cy apres.

II.2.6 La .vi^e. conclusion²²⁷

Toute sorcerie et sortilege et mesme chose qui se fait par sort est illicite coze et desfendue. Quant a la declaracion de ceste matiere doit sofrire ce qui a esté dit par avant en un capitre de la premiere partie. Item, la sainte escripture en mout de lieux (de faut) desfent et reprove telles folies en especial sur la matiere de sortilege²²⁸ qui touche divinacion, a quoy semblablement sont concordant les sains docteurs de l'Eglise, saint Augustin, saint Ambrose et Bede, comme saint Thomas le recite en sa *Somme*, parellement Gracianus en son *Decret*.

(Contre)

Et se on veult arguer contre²²⁹ par les autorit  s de l'escripture sainte,

²²⁶ The story of the raven is found in I Kings 17:14; that of Jonah and the whale in Jona 1:17; and the story of the Holy Spirit appearing as a dove can be read in Matth. 3:16; Mark 1:10; Luke 3:22; and John 1:32.

²²⁷ The subject matter of this 'conclusion' corresponds to ST 2a2ae.95.8(R), but was dealt with, Pignon explains, in an earlier chapter, CLD I.5. He refrains from summarising his previous discussion and briefly refers to some authorities, all of whom appear in qu. 95.8 and all of whom disclaim the use of lots. They are, in order of appearance: Augustine (*Epistola* 55, PL 33, 222) who is not too keen to apply divine oracles to mundane business; Ambrose (*Commentarium super Lucam* I.22, PL 15, 1542); Bede (*Expositio super actus apostolorum*, PL 92, 945), who points out that only before Pentecost lots were used to elect Matthias and not afterwards at the election of the seven deacons; and Gratian (*Decretum*, II.26.5.7) who says: *Sortes quibus cuncta vos vestris discriminatis provinciis, quas Patres damnaverunt, nihil aliud quam divinationes et maleficia decernimus*.

²²⁸ sortilege: *ms* sorcilege.

²²⁹ ST 2a2ae.95.8(1+2) paraphrased. The references are the following. 'Josuel et Achor': Josue 7. For stealing some of the accursed spoils of Jericho, Achan was stoned and his remains burned in a valley henceforth called Achor. With the help of God the culprit was found out, though the text does not specify that this was done by sortilege or the casting of lots. Thomas seems convinced it was done *sorte*, and hence Pignon believes the same. 'Jonas': Jona 1:7. 'Saul

comme de Josuel et Achor, de Jonas, de Saul et Jonatas, de Sacharie pere de saint Jehan baptiste, de saint Mathié ou livre des fais des apostres, de l'exposicion que saint Augustin fait sur ce mot du psaltier *in manibus tuis sortes mee*, en tous lesquelz lieux il semble que l'usage de sors ceux²³⁰ est approuvee et ne soit point desfendu.

On puelit respondre ainsi que il est dit cy par avant, qui y veult diligemment adviser. Car toutes telles cozes se faisoient par l'ordenance et disposicion du Saint Esperit et a bonne fin et quant a ce ne sont point a condempner ne a reprover. Mais quant telles choses se font par humaine industrie et sont fondees sour volenté propre sens raison, le deable n'en est pas loing.

Item,²³¹ en ceste matiere porroient pluseurs arguer pour tant que aucunnefois on a veü que d'aucunes cozes secretes on avoit congnoissance par sors, lesquelles cozes n'estoient point deffendues. Et encore de present on en use ainsi comme il est quant aucuns sont soupesonnés d'aucuns gros crimes, il se purgent par ce que il prennent un fer en leur main, les autres se boutent en eaue boullant, les autres [34^v] se exposent en camp de bataille. Item, en la loy Moïse²³² on faisoit une eaue de laquelle les hommes donnoient a boire a leur fames quant il les avoient pour soupesonnées en cas de mariage et en toutes telles choses se une personne est coupable, son pechié

et Jonatas': I Sam. 14:42: *et ait Saul mittite sortem inter me et inter Jonathan filium meum*. 'Sacharie': Luc. 1:8-9: (...) *secundum consuetudinem sacerdotii sorte exiit ut incensum poneret ingressus in templum Domini*. 'Mathié': Act 1:26: *et dederunt sortes eis et cecidit sors super Mathiam*. 'Augustin': Ps. 30:16 (KJV Ps. 31:16). For Augustine's exposition, see: *Enarrationes in Psalmos* (CC 38, 211). According to Thomas the *Glossa Augustini* reads: *Sors non est aliquid mali, sed res, in humana dubitatione, divinam indicans voluntatem*. ST 2a2a.95.8(1).

²³⁰ The manuscript gives 'l'usage de ceux' with the word 'sors' added as a subscript between 'de' and 'ceux'. The word 'sors' would thus seem to be a correction: 'l'usage de sors ceux est approuvee', 'the use of lots is permitted to them'.

²³¹ ST 2a2ae.95.8(3) paraphrased. Thomas mentions combat and ordeal by fire and water. The test involving holy water mingled with the dust from the floor of the tabernacle (Num. 5) does not appear in the *Summa*. The corresponding reply is also taken from Thomas (including the quotation from the *Decretum* of Pope Stephen) except for the exposition of the ordeal by water from Mosaic law, which gives Pignon occasion to vent a few anti-semitic prejudices.

²³² Num 5:16-28, esp. 23-28: *scribetque sacerdos in libello ista maledicta et delebit ea aquis amarissimis in quas maledicta congessit et dabit ei bibere quas cum exhausserit tollet sacerdos de manu eius sacrificium zelotypiae et elevabit illud coram Domino inponetque illud super altare ita dumtaxat ut prius pugillum sacrificii tollat de eo quod offertur et incendat super altare et sic potum det mulieri aquas amarissimas quas cum biberit si polluta est et contempto viro adulterii rea pertransibunt eam aquae maledictionis et inflato ventre computrescet femur eritque mulier in maledictionem et in exemplum omni populo quod si polluta non fuerit erit innoxia et faciet liberos*.

appert evidentment. Dont puis que on est avisé pour aucun temps et il valoit, il ne semble point que che soit coze a reprover pour le present.²³³

A cechi est a dire que les .iii. premieres cozes, c'est assavoir de feu, de eaue, de champ de bataille, ont esté introduites de l'auctorité et volenté particuliere d'aucuns hommes en tamps passé sanz²³⁴ raison quelconques fors seulement propre volenté et plaisance, et combien que on les dissimule pour aucun temps, toutefois l'Eglise y a mis remede. Quar il est chose deffendue a tout boin catholique a faire telles cozes, ainsi qu'il est expressement dit en un decret:²³⁵ en ceste maniere volloir experier et savoir, par jugement de feu ardent ou d'eaue boullant, la verité et confession d'aucun pechié qui est secretement fait, est par l'auctorité de Sainte Eglise deffendu et reprové. Car on ne doit volloir telles choses savoir, ne d'icelles faire enqueste, se non par la recognoissance des personnes qui les ont faites, ou par tesmognage souffissant d'autrui qui en a cognoissance. Esquelles enquestes on doit sur toutes et devant toutes chozes avoir Dieu devant les yex et iceli douter. Quant des coses secretes, qui sont tellement secretes que il n'est homme qui en puisse avoir cognoissance, elles sont du tout a delaissier et commettre au jugement de Dieu qui cognoist toutes cozes obscures. Sembla(ble)ment est il dit de ceux qui veulent eux justefier en champ de bataille, que c'est coze deffendue et tempter Dieu. Car on a veü souvent advenir les parties coupables estre delivrés et les innocens perirer. Quant a l'eaue, par coy les Juis approvoient leur fames, il est vrai que de ce ne leur [35] fu pas donné commendement, ne Dieu ne le approvoit pas comme bien fait, mais il leur fu souffert et permis ad ce que il ne feüssent pis. Ainsi que il est escript en leur loy que il pooient ballier en un libelle par escript devant les juges les causes de desplaiances qu'il avoient en leur fames et adont le juge les separoit.²³⁶ Item, il leur fu permis et soffert que il pooient prester a usure aux gens de estrange nacion et non point entr'eux.²³⁷ Tout cecy estoit souffert a eulx pour tant que de leur propre condicion il estoient encliné

²³³ Pignon explains here that, since such an ordeal was commanded once, and was valid then, it would seem that it cannot be considered blameworthy now.

²³⁴ sanz: *ms* sonz.

²³⁵ *Decretum*, II.2.5.201. The decree of Pope Stephen is quoted by Thomas as follows: *Ferri candentis vel aquae ferventis examinatione confessionem extorqueri a quolibet, sacri non censent canones: et quod sanctorum Patrum documento sancitum non est, superstitiosa adinventionem non est praesumendum. Spontanea enim confessione vel testium approbatione publicata delicta, habito prae oculis Dei timore, concessa sunt nostro regimini judicare. Occulta vero et incognita illi sunt relinquenda qui "solus novit corda filiorum hominum".*

²³⁶ Deut. 24:1-5, esp.1: *scribet libellum repudii et dabit in manu illius et dimittet eam de domo sua*. That the law on divorce is a concession to human frailty appears from Matth. 19:7-8 and Mark 10:4-5.

²³⁷ Deut. 23:19-20: *non fenerabis fratri tuo ad usuram pecuniam nec fruges nec quamlibet aliam rem sed alieno*.

a homicide et de legier tuoient leur femmes. Item, (en) avarice souverainement il avoient leur estudie et pour tant leur (il) estoit il souffert usure a estrangers, comme dit est. Pour quoy il appert que telles cozes ne sont point a faire, ne a dissimuler entre les Crestiens, qui ont loy douce, gracieuse et amoureuse et toute begnigne. Et cecy sofise pour ceste conclusion.

II.3 (Tiers capitre)

Ou tiers capitre est a veoir se art de Tolete et autres observances introduites pour acquies science, pour savoir la fortune et infortune des hommes, faire immutacions de creatures comme sont illusions, enchantemens, porter a son col briefves et cedules contre aucunes maladies, et plusieurs telles observances, sont licites ou deffendues.²³⁸ Pour laquelle question je meteray les conclusion qui s'ensieut.²³⁹

²³⁸ deffendues: *ms* denfendues.

²³⁹ This third chapter is based on question 96 (*de superstitionibus observantiarum*) of the *Summa*. CLD II.3.1 corresponds to ST 2a2ae.96.1 (*de observantiis ad scientiam acquirendam, quae traduntur in arte notoria*); CLD II.3.2 corresponds to ST 2a2ae.96.2 (*de observantiis quae ordinantur ad aliqua corpora immutanda; utrum observationes ordinatae ad corporum immutationem, puta ad sanitatem vel ad aliquid huiusmodi, sint licitae*); CLD II.3.3 corresponds to ST 2a2ae.96.3 (*de observantiis quae ordinantur ad conjecturas sumendas fortuniorum vel infortuniorum*); CLD II.3.4 corresponds to ST 2a2ae.96.4 (*de suspensionibus sacrorum verborum ad collum*). The *ars notoria* or Notory Art was, according to legend, revealed by God through an angel to Solomon who in a very short time was able to acquire all the liberal and mechanical arts. In the course of the Middle Ages books on magic dealing, amongst other things, with the Notory Art, were attributed to this king with his legendary wisdom. This art 'seeks to gain knowledge from or communion with God by invocation of angels, mystic figures, and magical prayers' (Thorndike, *HMES* II, p. 281) or seeks 'science by inspection of certain figures and forms of words or abstinence of food' (Thorndike, *HMES* III, p. 10). The magical skills and knowledge of Arnaud Guillaume and the two Augustinian monks, discussed in chapter 2.4.2 and 2.4.3, may result from the Notory Art. The use of 'brives, caratteres et paroles frivoles' is also discussed in CLD II.3.2 and II.3.4, but their application is dealt with in these places mainly in relation to health and good fortune. The Notory Art, as singled out by Aquinas, is regarded as solely directed at the acquisition of knowledge. Pignon refers to this art as 'art de Tolete', the 'art of Toledo' (L. *Toletum*). As a centre of learning Toledo had a considerable reputation in the Middle Ages. Apart from the more regular studies in theology and philosophy, its academies also harboured the study of magic, kabbalah, astrology and alchemy. Arabic and Hebrew works in these fields were there translated into Latin. It is this that gave Toledo a reputation for being a city of magicians and sorcerers. Legend has it that the Dominican saint Aegidius († 1265) went there in his youth at the instigation of the devil to study magic. When Rabelais spoke of a 'faculté diabolologique' at Toledo (*Pantagruel* III.23) he was venting a still very common sentiment, and Toledo as a sorcerer's capital is almost a commonplace in the works of the demonologists during the great witch-craze (such as Del Rio and Delancre). See: HWDA IV, 'Hochschulen der Zauberei', cols. 140-148. Cf. also: F. Boll, C. Bezold and W. Gundel, *Stern Glaube und Sterndeutung* (Darmstadt 1977), p. 104: 'In Toledo studierte man neben der Astrologie die Dämonenlehre'. Froissart speaks of 'ingromanceur de Tollete' (TL IV, col. 1391).

- II.3.1 La conclusion premiere, que science acquiesir par art notoire que on dit (de) Tolete est a reprover.
- II.3.2 La seconde conclusion, que voloir garir maladies autrement que par la maniere que Dieu et nature et raison ont ordené, comme seroit par brives, caratteres et paroles frivoles, est coze reprovee et deffendue comme sorcerie et supersticion.
- II.3.3 La tierce conclusion, que les observances par quoy on juge de la fortune ou infortune des personnes, [35^v] comme de trebuchier au matin a l'issue de son hostel, de rencontrer a celle heure son adversaire et soi aler recoucher, sont toutes folies supersticions.
- II.3.4 La quarte: porter a son col parolles escriptes en brives, dire parolles en cuillant herbes, user de choses sacrees et beneites pour garir malades et apliquier a autre usage, quelles ne sont ordenees et par maniere indeüe, est chose a tout Crestien entredite et desfendue.

II.3.1 *La premiere conclusion*

La premiere conclusion²⁴⁰ pour .ii. causes se puet prover. La premiere quar ceux qui usent de tel art, usent de certainnes cozes, lesquelles n'ont nule vertu et nule puissance d'estre cause de science, ainsi qu'est regarder aucunnes figures, pronuncier certaines paroles, lesquelles ne se(gne)fient quelconques

²⁴⁰ ST 2a2ae.96.1(R) paraphrased and one or two lines translated. Thomas explains that the Notary Art is illegitimate and ineffectual. *Illicita quidem est, quia utitur quibusdam ad scientiam acquirendam quae non habent secundum se virtutem causandi scientiam: sicut inspectione quarundam figurarum, et prolatione quorundam ignotorum verborum, et aliis huiusmodi.* Such practices cannot be the cause of science and knowledge, nor can they be signs since they were not divinely instituted. Knowledge is acquired through research and instruction or through divine illumination. Demonic communications may sometimes express the truths of science, but demons cannot enlighten the intellect. Thomas is far less eager than Pignon to regard demonic information as a means of acquiring knowledge. He makes it very clear that no one ever acquired knowledge through demons: *nullus unquam per daemones scientiam acquisivit.* But he does concede that demons can express scientific truths: *possent tamen daemones, verbis hominibus colloquentes, exprimere aliqua scientiarum documenta.* This type of knowledge has nothing to do with the Notary Art: *sed hoc non quaeritur per artem notoriam.* In this way Aquinas minimalises and possibly even annihilates the role of the devil in the cognitive process. Pignon departs from this perspective by distinguishing three ways of acquiring knowledge: 1. through instruction and study; 2. through divine inspiration; and 3. through demonic information. The fact that Pignon lists the devil as a third option (something which Aquinas does not do!) suggests he holds the devil's intellectual powers in some regard. Pignon concedes that the devil cannot illumine the mind: 'le deable n'a point puissance de enluminer l'entendement, ne de donner a homme science par illustracion telle se n'est par invocacion et paction faite avec luy': *unless* someone has made a pact with the devil. For Aquinas such a pact is sinful and inefficacious. Pignon agrees wholeheartedly with the former, but is not so sure about the latter.

chose. Que telz signes ne puel(en)²⁴¹ causer science, il appert, quar (se) par²⁴² telz signes on pooit avoir science, (convient) considerer que il n'e(st) homme du monde qui legierement ne les puisse faire et dire et veoir. Cascun a pou d'occasion seroit grant clerc et saroit en pau de temps che que les plus sages du monde ont mis toute leur vie a savoir. Cecy destruiroit toute boine doctrine et excercitacion vertueuse, et jamais ne seroit besoing que homme fust instruit d'autre, et mout d'autres inconveniens en porroit ensuïr. Dont fault il dire que telz signacles et telles paroles que font et disent ceux-cy segnefient riens. Convient dont veoir par quelle auctorité il sont institué et qui leur a donné telle puissance et telle vertu, d'ore (convient) dire que Dieu estre ne puet. Car se Dieu les avoit institués et ordenés, il seroit mis ou nombre des sacremens, ou dou viés ou dou novel testament, ou a tout [36'] le mains certaine mencion seroit faite dou tamps et de la forme de leur institucion, de quoi toutefois nous ne trouvons ne ne lisons riens. Dont ne sont il point de Dieu institué, ne ordené. Ne telle science par consequent n'est point de Dieu approuvée. Il covient dont dire que le diable a trouvé telles vaines observances et telles folies pour decevoir les hommes, et que c'est l'acteur de telle science. Car onques bon angle ne s'en mesla par la raison dessusdite. Et pour ceste raison dit saint Augustin²⁴³ que toutes telles supersticions sont a reprover et a dampner.

Item, il n'i a ou monde ne n'eut onques que .iii. manieres d'acisir science. Une est par voie commune naturele qui est instruccion de homme a autre et excercitacion d'estude. L'autre est par inspiracion de Dieu, ainsi que Dieu le donna a Salomon, Jhesucrist a ces disciples. 'Je vous donne', dist il, 'parole et science auxquelz ne porront contredire toux vos adversaires'.²⁴⁴ Ceste maniere de science acquerre n'est pas commune a tous et si n'i fait on ne figures, ne caracteres, ne dit on parrolles supersticieuses, mais tant seulement selonc le parler du Saint Esperit elle est donnée, ainsi que dit saint Pol l'apostre.²⁴⁵ L'autre est que par mauvais esperis telle coze se face, ore est il ainsi que le deable n'a point puissance de enluminer l'entendement, ne de donner a homme science par illustration telle se n'est par invocacion et paction faite avec luy, comme dit est par avant, et comment par nécessité que le deable parle a telle gent ou que il parle par eux, qui est une tres horrible et detestable abhominacion. Car finalement il en sont deceu et perdu et dampné perdurablement, pour quoi appert que la conclusion est vraie.

²⁴¹ The manuscript gives 'puelent' with '-en-' crossed through.

²⁴² par: *ms* pour.

²⁴³ Augustine, DDC II.20 (PL 34, 50), quoted by Thomas. Augustine explains that magic involves a pact with demons and should therefore be avoided.

²⁴⁴ Luc. 21:15 (quoted by Thomas): *ego enim dabo vobis os et sapientiam cui non poterunt resistere et contradicere omnes adversarii vestri.*

²⁴⁵ I Cor. 12:8: ... *per Spiritum datur sermo sapientiae.*

(Contre)

Encontre²⁴⁶ laquele on puet arguer: [36^v]

1. Premièrement; quar jeuner, Dieu prier, vellier et autres abstinences faire sont ovrage bons et vertueux d'eux mesmes, et par telz ovrages acquiert on la science que dite est, dont est elle licite.

2. Item, les jounes enfans qui estoient a la court du roy Nabugodonosor en Babilonne par jeunes et astinences acquisent science. Et leur fu donnee si grant *(science)* que che fut grant mervelles, ainsi que la sainte escripture tesmoigne,²⁴⁷ dont semble il que telles observances sont licites a garder pour science aquerir.

3. Item,²⁴⁸ le deable a plus cler entendement et plus parfaite cognoissanche de toutes cozes qui puelent appartenir a science naturele que n'eut onquez homme naturellement. Et pour quoy dont ne puet on recevoir de luy doctrine et science, puis que telle coze n'est pas pour savoir les cozes qui sont *(a)* advenir desqueles il a bien peu de cognoissance?

1. Au premier je di que, combien que jeuner et faire abstinences et prieres soient choses boines et vertueuses d'elles mesmes, et science boine de soy, et desirer avoir science soit bon desir, nientmoins vouloir acquerir science par maniere ilicite comme est avoir paction et convencion avec le deable par figures et caracteres et paroles qui riens ne segnefient, c'est abhominacion et coze detestable et repreee.

2. Au secont je dy que les enfans jeunoient non pas adfin que leur jeune leur donnast science et que il eüssent par se moing comme font ceux de cui est cy parole, mais pour obeïr a Dieu. Car il ne voloient point mangier des viandes des païens qui leur estoient desfendues en leur loy, et pour icelle obeïssance qu'il faisoient a Dieu leur fu donnee science par inspiration, ainsi que aux autres prophettes.

3. Au tiers je dy comme au premier, que seulement pour la convencion et paction faite avec le deable telle maniere d'acquesir science est illicite et desfendue.

²⁴⁶ The following three objections and their corresponding replies are paraphrases of ST 2a2ae.96.1(1-3).

²⁴⁷ Daniel 1:16-17.

²⁴⁸ In ST 2a2ae.96.2(3) Aquinas explains that demons know nothing of the future, but that due to their sharper minds they can have scientific knowledge that excels the knowledge of most people, though in principle it does not go beyond the scope of human knowledge. Pignon exaggerates when he says that it is a knowledge that no man ever had ('que n'eut onquez homme naturellement').

II.3.2 *(La seconde conclusion)*

La seconde conclusion²⁴⁹ puet estre decla[37]ree par ce que saint Augustin dist que les deables prennent plaisir en aucuns signes fais des creatures que Dieu a faites. Et en telz signes se delitent non pas ainsi que une beste se delite en sa viande, mais ainsi que les esperis se delitent en signes. Le deable se delite en ce qu'il voit que les hommes usent de pierres, de herbes, de vois d'aucunes bestes, d'enchanterie et d'autres diverses manieres et signes que gardent et font ceux qui sont a telles folies ahurté. N'est pas par ce l'entencion dudit docteur (de dire) que la ou nature puet ovrer par les remedes que on applique a garir les malades que che ne soit chose licite de ce faire. Mais il veult dire que les signes et enchantemens, charais et sorceries que plusieurs font qui n'ont raison quelconque naturele sont illicites et reprovees.

(Contre)

1. Il porroit sembler a aucuns que saint Augustin se contredit,²⁵⁰ car il dist en ce mesme lieu que les secrés de nature en mout de choses sont telz et si grant que il n'est homme tant soit soutilz qui en puisse avoir parfaite cognoissance ne rendre raison souffissant, ainsi que de la pierre d'aymant qui atrait le fer et de plusieurs autres cozes secretes en nature. Parellement porroit on dire que a garir maladies plusieurs on puet appliquer plusieurs herbes ou pierres qui ont vertu secrete et que on ne scet pas.

2. Item,²⁵¹ les cozes materieles de ce monde reçoivent certaines inpressions du ciel par laquelle elles ont aucunes vertus et puissance natureles a eux apropiées. Pour quoy donques semblablement ne puet il estre des coses artificieles comme est une ymage, laquelle puet estre faite en telle heure et desoulz telle constellation, qu'elle ara propriété et vertu naturele d'aucun ovrage faire, que n'ont pas autres ymages? Dont semble il que en tel cas user de telles ymages ou de certaines figures escriptes pour garir maladies est coze assés licite et convenable. [37']

²⁴⁹ ST 2a2ae.96.2(R) paraphrased. Thomas quotes Augustine, DCD XXI.6: *Illiciuntur daemones per creaturas, quas non ipsi, sed Deus condidit, delectabilibus pro sua diversitate diversis, non ut animalia cibis, sed ut spiritus signis, quae cujusque delectationi congruunt, per varia genera lapidum, herbarum, lignorum, animalium, carminum, rituum*. These things cannot be the natural causes of cures; they are signs that are part of a pact made with demonic powers.

²⁵⁰ ST 2a2ae.96.2(1) paraphrased. In the *Summa* objection and reply are not in opposition. Therefore Pignon places a strong emphasis on the apparent contradiction in Augustine, who in DCD XXI.5 and 7 speaks of the hidden natural virtues of bodies. As the corresponding reply makes clear, the use of these hidden virtues is not a problem. Problems arise when one wishes to procure effects that are in no way naturally appropriated to the means one employs, such as magic charms, cyphers or strange words.

²⁵¹ ST 2a2ae.96.2(2) paraphrased.

3. Item,²⁵² li deables n'a poissance ne vertu fors seullement celle que Dieu luy a donnee, ainsi que nous disons de toutes cozes que Dieu a faites et creés. Donques se on dit que licitement on puet user de toutes cozes que Dieu a faites et creés au profit de homme, pour quoy ne puet on user en cas de necessité de la science et puissance (que) du deable que Dieu li a donnee?

1. Au premier est a dire que quant on applique les vertus natureles aux ymages ou autres choses artificieles, c'est mal fait, car Dieu et nature ne leur a point donné telle vertu ne telle puissance. Mais quant on aplique les cozes natureles ad ce a quoi nature les a ordenees, ainsi que l'aymant par sa vertu naturele atrait a lui le fer, il n'y a point de mal. Voloir dont dire que figures et caracteres escrips e(s)t pris en papier, ou paroles de gret, ou de hebrieu non cogneü ayent puissance et vertu de garir maladies est folie. Et penson que ainsi se face, c'est par l'operacion du deable qui soutillement invisiblement œuvre en telz so(r)ceries et y prent plaisance et s'i delite, pour ce qu'il voit que les hommes sont curieux a telz choses et moignant la mauvaie foy que les gens y ont, advient souvent que les gens en sont gari, tant hommes comme bestes. Chy est tres mauvaie choze, car c'est le commencement de errer en la foy.

2. Au second²⁵³ qui touche une matiere sur quoi aucun folement ou tamps passé se sont fondé est a declarer aucunnement la verité. Dont est a noter diligemment que es ovrages que Dieu et nature si font, il leur donnent propre et certaine forme, ainsi que nous veons en la distinction et difference de toutes coses que une cascunne coze, par la forme et naturele proprieté que

²⁵² ST 2a2ae.96.2(3) paraphrased.

²⁵³ ST 2a2ae.96.2(r2) paraphrased. Thomas explains that the natural virtues of things are caused by their *formae substantiales* which proceed from the influence of the heavens (*ex impressione caelestium corporum*). The *formae* of artifacts proceed *ex conceptione artificis*, so that artifacts do not receive any virtues from celestial influence. In fact, as far as they are *compositio, ordo et figura*, they have no natural virtues other than the virtues that inhere in the substantial forms of the material they were made from. The distinction that Thomas makes (and that Pignon copies) is essentially one between substantial and accidental forms. A lump of wax fashioned by a magician to represent a particular person has undergone an accidental and not a substantial change. The virtues it possesses derive from its 'wax-ness' and not from the accidental form or structure imposed on it. Pignon, unfortunately, did not use concepts such as 'substantial form' or 'accidental form' and consequently (when he tries to elaborate the point) errs when he explains that 'une cascunne coze, par la forme et naturele proprieté que Dieu et nature li ont donnees, est differant de toutes autres coses en son espece'. According to Aquinas the members of a species posses similar substantial forms and differ from one another mainly through their matter. Quantified matter is the *principium individuationis* within a species and not the 'forme et naturele proprieté'. The whole problem of individuation has no bearing on the topic of ST 2a2ae.96.2(r2) and it is not clear why Pignon introduced it. Possibly he mixed up the problem of variation (which deals with the variety of forms) with the problem of individuation (which deals with the individuality of things that share the same form). Cf. Copleston, *Aquinas*, pp. 95-96.

Dieu et nature li ont donnees, est differant de toutes autres choses en son espece. Et par celle propriété que Dieu et nature donne a une chascune chose, elle a sa propre vertu et puissance naturele, par quoy elle [38] est disposee a faire certains ovrages et operacions a luy actribuees. Et tout ce vient par l'influence et mouvement du ciel qui est le cours de nature. Autrement est des ovrages que les hommes font par artifice, comme sont ymages et autres choses. Car toute la vertu et puissance et la propre forme qui les fait estre vient seulement de l'entencion de l'ovrier qui les fait, quar telle forme qu'il a pensee par avant il leur baille. Cy est chose evident et notoire que en telz ymages n'a fors composicion et disposicion les parties ainsi figurees, lesquelles cozes selonc la sentence d'Aristote²⁵⁴ n'ont quelconques puissance ne vertu de pro(d)uire aucune operacion. Et cecy puet estre assés notoire a tout boin entendement.

A ce propos parle monseur saint Augustin en reprenant Porphyre.²⁵⁵ Lequel Porphyre disoit que, par la vertu de certaines herbes et pierres et bestes moignant aucunes paroles et voix et figuracions faites soulx certaine constellation et influence des estoiles, on puet forger aucuns ymages qui aroient puissance et vertu de faire certaines operacions, et voloit par checy dire que les illusions qui se font par enchanterie et art de deable se pooient faire naturellement. Mais tout ce est faux, quar quant on voit telles choses advenir, on doit tenir pour vray que c'est tout par l'engin du deable qui par telles illusions dechoit les hommes et mainne a perdicion, et que ainsi soit saint Augustin le prove. Car en la composicion de telles ymages sont faites figuracions, caracteres et impressions par certains languages qui ne sont de quelconques vertu et riens ne segnefient, ne ne porroient avoir vertu pour donner vie a telles ymages.

²⁵⁴ Aristotle, *Physics* I.5 188b15-21 (referred to by Thomas): artifacts have only *compositio*, *ordo* et *figura* and no natural acting force. (See Loeb ed., Aristotle vol. 4, p. 55.)

²⁵⁵ Augustine, DCD X.11 (quoted by Thomas): *Falsum est ergo quod Porphyrio videbatur, ut Augustinus dicit, "herbis et lapidibus et animantibus, et sonis certis quibusdam ac vocibus, et figurationibus atque figmentis quibusdam etiam observatis in caeli conversione motibus siderum, fabricari in terra ab hominibus potestates idoneas siderum variis effectibus exequendis": quasi effectus magicarum artium ex virtute caelestium corporum provenirent.*

Item,²⁵⁶ il a difference des ymages que font les astronomiens a celle que font li nigromancien, quar es premieres le deable œuvre sotilement sans invocacion, et (es) autres il œuvre notoirement par invocacions, combien que tous ont avec le deable au[38]cune (c)onvencion et familiarité. Ou nombre de telz gens sont ceux qui, par mauvaise conspiracions qu'il ont et hayne encontre aucunes personnes, aucunefois bien grans signeurs, forgent et font ymages, ou font faire par (n)igromanciens ou autres sortileges. Lesquelles ymages sont de cire, aucunefois de bois, et quant on frappe telles ymages en aucune partie de leur corps, les personnes contre cui elles sont faites sensiblement souffrent douleur en leur propre corps en la partie ou est touché telle ymage. Et de cecy ont eue experience moult de gens. Dont grant pugnicion on devoit faire de telz faux Crestiens qui pour nuire autrui se rendent si soubjet au deable. Et cecy est quant a la response de l'instance et argument qui estoit fait par avant contre la conclusion, laquelle demeure en sa verité comme il appert. Quar en toutes telles choses le deable se mele et vise pour decevoir les creatures qui a che sont enclin.

3. Au tiers²⁵⁷ est a dire que a Dieu seulement appartient commander et user de la puissance et vertu des deables. A homme appartient par l'ordenance de Dieu user des coizes naturelles et non point de la puissance du deable. Car homme de soi est fait pour avoir guerre au deable, et non point le painne en son aide par invocacions ou autres promesses. Item, homme qui est tant noble creature doit avoir horreur d'estre instruit par le deable, qui ne puet bien faire ne bien vouloir, et qui tant tent cont(i)nuelement a le decevoir.

II.3.3 (La tierce conclusion)

La tierce conclusion²⁵⁸ puet estre declaree par le dit saint Augustin que la

²⁵⁶ ST 2a2ae.96.2(r2) paraphrased. Thomas distinguishes between *imagines astronomicae*, artifacts with inscribed signs and characters and with no natural efficacy, that only work through stealthy demonic influence, and *imagines nigromanticae* which are made and employed under express invocations of demons. A similar distinction is made by Albertus Magnus in his *Speculum astronomiae*, cap. 11. Albertus discusses the images and their application and lists many medieval treatises that deal with these matters. See: Thorndike, "Traditional Medieval Tracts concerning engraved Astrological Images", in: *Mélanges Auguste Pelzer* (Louvain 1947), pp. 217-273. Pignon's reference to the wax images and the 'grant pugnicion' (which do not appear in Thomas) may be reminiscent of the confession of Jehan de Bar (see App. 1, *Confession* item 13).

²⁵⁷ ST 2a2ae.96.2(r3) paraphrased. Only God can command demons, Aquinas explains. Man is commanded to wage war against them. Pignon adds that man 'doit avoir horreur d'estre instruit par le deable' thus reintroducing the theme of demonic information as a means of acquiring knowledge (see CLD II.3.1).

²⁵⁸ ST 2a2ae.96.3(R) paraphrased. Thomas concludes that superstitious observances are neither the causes nor the God-given signs of future events, but rather the remains of idolatry. The examples of singing and dancing around bonfires are Pignon's and do not appear in the

folie des hommes et le malice des deables, par quoy il les dechoit, ont songié mille manieres de supersticieuses observances qui ne sont que sorceries et cozes sans raison quelconques. Et en propose par exemple aucunes: comme est, quant une [39^e] personne sent soudainement commocion en son corps ou en aucune partie, il dit que tele ou telle coze li avendra, ou quant .ii. personnes sont joint ensemble en alant et il passe entre aucune beste, ou que il chiet entre eux pierre ou bos, il ont sur ce oppinion d'aucune coze a advenir, ou de rencontrer le matin la personne que on het, ou que on trebuche au partir de son ostel, ou que on esternue en soi chausant,²⁵⁹ et tant de telles folies que c'est sans nombre, lesquelles sont toutes so(r)ceries. Car tout homme qui a raison et entendement, se il en vult user, puet assés savoir que telles cozes ne puelent estre cause ne signe certain des choses qui sont (a) advenir. Car je demande a ceulx qui y croient, qui a telles choses inposees, a segnefier ce que il disent ou Dieu, ou homme, ou deable. Non pas Dieu, car en toutes le(s) escriptures qui onques furent faites, mencion n'est de ce faite. Non pas homme qui ait en usage de raison et d'entendement. Il faut don(t) dire en conclusion que le deable en est le docteur et premier instituteur par le fole creance des hommes qui sont sans raison et se sont a ce encliné et ahurté, par quoi le deable les amene(s) et fait cheir en ydolatrie et payennerie. A cecy apartiennent les foles coustumes que les Crestiens gardent encore de present aux journees des brandons, et en autre temps en especial sur le nouvel tamps que les gens font dances et disent canchons et ont contenance parelles aux païens, environnent les feux, et sallient, et font telles follies,²⁶⁰ cuidans en leur fole erreur que l'annee ne leur seroit pas propice

Summa. The reference to Augustine is from DDC II.20.31 and is quoted by Thomas: *Augustinus dicit quod "ad pacta cum daemonibus inita pertinent millia inanum observationum: puta si membrum aliquod salierit, si junctim ambulantis amicus lapis aut canis aut puer medius intervenerit; limen calcare cum ante domum suam aliquis transit; redire ad lectum si quis, dum se calceat, sternutaverit; redire domum si procedens offenderit; cum vestis a soribus roditur, plus timere superstitionem mali futuri quam praesens damnum dolere"*. Augustine's treatment of superstition is markedly different from that of his medieval readers. Where someone like Pignon is wholly preoccupied with his own indignation, Augustine indulges in witty ridicule. Dogs and children, he observes, are sometimes struck for running between two people; *Sed bellum est, quod aliquando pueri uindicantur a canibus; nam plerumque tam superstitiosi sunt quidam, ut etiam canem, qui medius interuenerit, ferire audeant, non impune; namque a uano remedio cito ille interdum percussorem suum ad uerum medicum mittit* (CC 32, 54-55).

²⁵⁹ See CLD I.6 and note 80.

²⁶⁰ Cf. also the remarks on St. John's fires in CLD I.6 and note 82. Apart from bonfires also torch-processions were customary to ward off evil and to secure good harvests. Festivities around the bonfires included dancing round and leaping through the flames in order to procure good health for the year to come. See: Collin de Plancy, *Dictionnaire Infernal*, 'Feu de la Saint-Jean', 228-229; HWDA IV, 733-739; Opie, 'Fire -protects cattle and crops', pp. 154-155.

se ainsi ne faisoient. Et de toutes telles folies se doit tout bon Crestien mettre arriere. C'est quant a ceste conclusion.

(Contre)

1. Contre²⁶¹ laquelle on (ne) puet arguer quar on puet licitement jugier de maladie²⁶² a advenir a aucune personne par les signes [39^v] que on voit et app(er)çoit par avant en elle. Dont puet on bien jugier des fortunes autres et infortunes des hommes par aucuns signes que on voit en eulx, comme est la philosomie et di(s)posicion corporeles des hommes.

2. Item,²⁶³ on a veü mout de fois advenir par experience ce que on avoit pronosqué par telz signes precedans et voit on encore bien souvent ensi advenir, par quoi il semble que on s'i puet bien aseürer.

3. Item,²⁶⁴ le fais de nos pre(de)cesseurs nous sont donné comme signes et exemples de ce que nous avons a faire. Puis que dont nos pre(de)cesseurs ont trové verité en telz prenostications, il semble que nous i poöns bien ajoüster foy.

1. Au premier est a dire que les signes que on aperchoit d'aucunes maladies donnent cognoissance des causes naturelles d'icelles maladies. Et par che cognoissent les phisiciens bien experts en leur sciences les maladies

²⁶¹ ST 2a2ae.96.3(1) paraphrased. Aquinas speaks of the legitimacy of observing the signs of good or bad fortune in general and gives the observation of the symptoms of an imminent disease as a concrete example. This is a logically correct step, since he explicitly states that symptoms of a disease are a subset of signs of bad fortune (*inter alia enim infortunia hominum sunt etiam infirmitates*). If it is legitimate to observe signs, then it is also legitimate to observe symptoms. In his reply Aquinas questions the premiss that subordinates symptoms to signs by stressing that the relation between symptoms and diseases differs fundamentally from the relation between signs and fortunes: physical symptoms and diseases have a common cause (in us); physical signs and someone's fortunes have not. In *his* version of the objection, Pignon turns the argument around; since it is legitimate to predict a disease from its symptoms, *therefore* it is legitimate to predict someone's fortunes from certain signs. Logically this is not entirely correct, since Pignon does not clarify the relation between signs and symptoms. He turns Aquinas's deductive argument into an inductive one. In the corresponding reply, Pignon affirms the legitimacy of predicting diseases from symptoms, since the latter may reveal the natural causes of the former. This does not hold good, he states, for other signs of good or bad fortune; but unfortunately, he does not clearly explain why.

²⁶² maladie: *ms* lamadie.

²⁶³ ST 2a2ae.96.3(2) paraphrased. Idem for the corresponding reply.

²⁶⁴ ST 2a2ae.96.3(3) somewhat confusingly summarised. Thomas argues that the things that happened to the fathers may be signs for the present generation (I Cor. 10:6,11). Hence preceding events may be signs of subsequent events. In his reply he refutes this argument by pointing out that the fact that *some* events are prophetic signs does not mean that *all* events are prophetic signs. Still, it is legitimate to imitate the deeds of the fathers in so far as they are God-given signs. Pignon confuses matters by suggesting that the deeds of the fathers (which God has given *us* as signs) occurred to the fathers themselves as some kind of prognostication. This is not what Thomas says.

{a) advenir, ce que on ne puet dire des autres signes que on voit sour une personne au regart de che qui li est {a) advenir.

2. Au secont je di que quant premierement on usa de telles cozes, tout ce qui est a venir c'estoit a l'aventure. Mais quant le deable a veü que les gens estoient en cecy curieux, il s'est meslé en telles cozes pour enveloper²⁶⁵ les hommes plus en erreurs.

3. Au tierc je dy que un cascun doit ensuyr ses predecesseurs en tout ce qui touche et appartient a boine doctrine et a bonne meurs, non autrement.

II.3.4 (*La quarte conclusion*)

La quarte et derrainne conclusion²⁶⁶ de ce capistre qui fait mencion de porter a son col ou autre part brives contenans paroles saintes, et celle coze est a declairer par .ii. manieres:

Premierement, que telles escriptures ne soient cose appartenans ou approchans a invocacions de deables. Item, qu'il n'y ait aucunes parolles ou escriptures de mos incogneüs, et qui ne sont point [40'] en commun usage. Car sould ces²⁶⁷ mos et escriptures est toudis contenu aucun mal, dont un docteur dist que plusieurs sont de present a l'exemple des Pharisiens qui faisoient tous leur ovrage pour estre magnifié et prisié devant les hommes. Et ce font ceux qui escrivent nons estranges d'ang(e)les (et) de hebreu ou de gret²⁶⁸ que nous n'avons point en commun usage, et les lient sur les gens

²⁶⁵ enveloper: *ms* envoleper.

²⁶⁶ ST 2a2ae.96.4(R) paraphrased. Concerning the *suspendere divini verba ad collum* Thomas makes two cautioning remarks: 1: Written words should not contain doctrinal errors or imply invocations of demons. One should take special heed of strange and unknown words since *Phariseorum magnificentium fimbrias suas exemplo, nunc multi aliqua nomina hebraica angelorum confingunt et scribunt et alligant, quae non intelligentibus metuenda videntur* (*Opus imperfectum in Math.* 43 (PG 56, 878-9), quoted by Thomas as a work by Chrysostom ['un docteur' according to Pignon] though now no longer attributed to him). 2: One should not put faith in vain emblems and signs, a particular style of writing or a certain fashion of wearing amulets, which would be superstitious. Otherwise the application of words and signs (the *Credo*, the Lord's Prayer, the sign of the cross) is perfectly legitimate, as long as it is done with the right intentions. Pignon elaborates this final point, adding some examples. He omits Thomas's objections and replies.

²⁶⁷ ces: *ms* tes.

²⁶⁸ The reference to Greek names is Pignon's addition. It is unlikely that Pignon misread *nomina hebraica angelorum* as 'nons estranges d'angles et de hebreu' (hence the addition of (e)), though his knowledge of English may have been as scant as his knowledge of Greek. Pignon also referred to 'paroles de hebreu non cogneüs' earlier: see CLD II.3.2(r1) above. In his chapter on astrological images and amulets, Albertus (*Speculum astronomiae*, 11) mentions, among others, highly elusive Greek authors such as Hermes and Toz Grecus and a legendary Hebrew one, called Raziel. Raziel ('Secret of God') was the name of an angel who gave a book of 'all celestial and earthly knowledge', called the *Sefer Raziel*, to Adam. The book (attributed

pour acquerir un grant nom et ad ce que il soient dobté et prisié. Ainsi disent ceux qui portent sur eux les nons des .iii. rois²⁶⁹ et ne say quelz autres choses qui sont toutes folies et sorceries. Item, est a adviser en telles escriptures, qu'elles ne contiennent aucune fauce sentence ou erreur. Car Dieu en telles cozes ne puet moustrer ses vertus.

La seconde et principale coze que on doit en cecy adviser est que avec telles escriptures n'ait aucunes coses vaines qui sont caracteres et signes et figures escriptes, qui n'ont ne ne puelent avoir vertu ne forche quelconques se n'est le signe de la croix, et que on ne ajouste foy et creance en certaine forme d'escripre ou de lire l'escripture ou en nombre déterminé ou en quelconquez autre supersticion qui ne fait en riens a l'honneur et reverence de Dieu et de la foy. En autres coze, comme seroit dire *Pater Noster* ou *Credo in Deum* ou aucune autre orison devotte laquelle on puet entendre, porter le signe de la croix en boine devocion, porter l'euvangile saint Jehan ou autre en vraye et bonne foy, mettre telz coses sur malades,²⁷⁰ est bien

to Eleazer of Worms, thirteenth century) contained among other things a long list of names of amulet angels. See: G. Davidson, *A Dictionary of Angels* (New York 1971), pp. 242-3, esp. p. 346 for a list of seventy 'nons estranges'. In both Christian and Jewish circles written amulets were very popular. Mostly they contained texts from Scripture (e.g. Psalms) but also amulets with the names of angels were believed to be efficacious. For examples of such written amulets, see: Joshua Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, pp. 139-143. Also Latin Christianity had its books of magic replete with names of angels and spells. See, e.g., Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, "Survivance de la magie antique", in: *La transmission des textes philosophiques et scientifiques au Moyen Age* (Aldershot 1994), pp. 158-160, who published and discussed the text of a few amulets; and Thorndike, HMES II, pp. 283-289, where the *Liber sacratus* or *Liber juratus* (the *Sworn-Book of Honorius*) is discussed; a book that pretends to hold the key to all knowledge and that is, as such, the Christian counterpart of *Raziel*. Cf. also ch. 2.4.3 above.

²⁶⁹ The remark on the names of the three kings is an addition by Pignon. The three Magi, Caspar, Melchior and Balthasar, were venerated as the patrons of travellers and their names were invoked as a protection against disease and misfortune. Amulets with their pictures were supposed to ward off epilepsy, fever, rabies and sudden death. See: HWDA II, cols. 453, 455. Also amulets with their initials or with their names as part of a spell or verse, were very common. See: HWDA II, cols. 459-462, where some examples of these medieval spells are listed. Henry of Gorcum (Gorichem) also denounces the alleged curative powers of such amulets in his *Tractatus de superstitionibus* (c. 1425), but he does not regard wearing these amulets as illicit as long as this is done with the proper reverence to God (Hansen, *Quellen*, p. 87, item 5; Thorndike, HMES IV, p. 306).

²⁷⁰ The Gospel of St. John was often used for magical purposes. The identification in the opening chapter of Christ with the Logos, the 'Word' (John 1:1-2), was supposed to give the words of the text a special potency. So much so that the Gospel was used as an amulet, to be worn round the neck or to be applied to the sick for healing. Augustine is the first to mention the application of the Gospel, which was to be placed on the head of the sick, as a cure for fever. HWDA IV, 'Johannisevangelium', cols. 731-733; cf. John of Salisbury, *Policraticus* II.1, who also recommends the medicinal use of St. John's Gospel, the *Credo*, the Lord's Prayer and sundry New Testament passages.

fait, car qui²⁷¹ fait telles choses en bonne entencion et en ferme foy enver Dieu, telles choses puelent bien profiter et aidier ceux qui sont grevé de maladies, puis que on a en toutes telles choses Dieu en son cuer et devant les yex [40°] de l'entendement sans quelconquez observance supersticieuse et que la creature qui ainsi prie Dieu soit en tel estat de conscience, qu'elle soit digne d'estre oÿe et exauchié devant Dieu en ces prieres et que pechié ne li soit nuisant et enpeschant se qu'elle requiert a Dieu. Item, nulz ne doit en toutes telles choses tant presumer de son propre sens que il ne face par le conseil des sages et des preux hommes toutes telles choses quant on les veult faire²⁷² et ainsi n'y aura cause d'estre repris. Grant partie de ces choses est escripte en la doctrine de Sainte Eglise en decret,²⁷³ et tous arguemens que on poroit faire contre les choses ychi tochiés on puet destruire par les circonstances chi devant declarees. Et tout bon catholique pour telz arguemens ne se doit esmouvoir.

II.4 (*Quart capitre*)

Le quart capitre²⁷⁴ est a declarer que le mouvement du ciel ne l'influence des estoiles ne puelent estre cause de nostre entendement, tellement que par leur influence et vertu l'entendement d'unne personne soit plus cler et plus soutif que d'unne autre. Pour declarer ceste conclusion et icelle prover, est a savoir que les ansiens et premiers philosophes,²⁷⁵ comme estoient Democritus, Empedocles, Anaxagoras²⁷⁶ et leur disciples, estoient de ceste oppinion que l'entendement humain est de condicion et nature corporele,

²⁷¹ qui: *lege* si on.

²⁷² *Lege*: 'In all these matters no one should presume on his own judgment, but, when one wants to do them, one should do them only on the advice of wise and prudent men'.

²⁷³ See: *Decretum* II.26.5.3 sqq. (PL 187, 1346 ff.) where a number of superstitious observances are denounced, but where likewise certain ritual practices, namely the recitation of the prayers mentioned by Pignon, are condoned. Aquinas quotes the relevant passage: *Nec in collectionibus herbarum quae medicinales sunt aliquas observationes aut incantationes liceat attendere, nisi tantum cum symbolo divino, aut oratione Dominica; ut tantum Creator omnium et Deus honoretur.*

²⁷⁴ This fourth chapter is based on SCG III.84: *Quod corpora caelestia non imprimant in intellectus nostros*. The eight paragraphs of the chapter (except for paragraph 6) correspond to subsections of chapter 84 in the SCG, as identified and marked in the Marietti-edition of the Leonine text. In the following concordance the numbers between square brackets indicate the paragraphs of CLD II.4 to which the matching sections of the SCG have been added: [1] SCG III.84 (2591); [2] SCG III.84 (2592); [3] SCG III.84 (2593); [4] SCG III.84 (2583); [5] SCG III.84 (2587); [6] various arguments; [7] SCG III.84 (2596 a); [8] SCG III.84 (2596 b+c).

²⁷⁵ SCG III.84 (2591) paraphrased. *Antiqui enim philosophi Naturales, ut Democritus, Empedocles, et huiusmodi, posuerunt quod intellectus non differt a sensu*. Intellection and sensation being the same, the former will be as susceptible to celestial influence as the latter.

²⁷⁶ Anaxagoras: *ms* inaxagoras.

composé comme le corps, et tout un avec le sentement naturel du corps, ainsi que rechite Aristote.²⁷⁷ Dont faloit par cechi dire, que l'entendement estoit cose corruptible, et consequamment convenoit dire que par les operacions natureles dou cours du ciel l'entendement estoit transmuable et alterable et cangable d'un estat en un autre, tout ainsi que nous veons estre le corps naturel de homme qui est soubget a toutes telles choses par l'inspression [41'] naturele du mouvement du ciel. Et ad ce propos rechite saint Augustin²⁷⁸ ce que Omerus disoit que tel entendement (que) les diex et les hommes si ont, le pere des diex, c'est le soleil ou Jupiter, leur a donné. Par Jupiter entendoit le souverain dieu qui estoit selonc leur estimacion tout le ciel.

Après ceste opinion vint une autre sette qui se dit Stoiciens,²⁷⁹ qui disoient que tout ce que nostre entendement cognoit, c'est par ce que nous veons les choses au par dehors, de laquelle vision est representee une figure et similitude en nostre entendement en la forme et maniere que un miroir rechoit la samblanche des cozes qui sont devant lui et les represente, aucunnement telles qu'elles sont, ou comme li papier reçoit l'escripture que on y emprime, et celle escripture est ou papier representee a cascun. Et tout parrellement recite au pou pres Boëce de *Consolacion*. Selonc l'opinion de ceux-chi il semble que nostre entendement reçoit sens moing l'influence et inspression du cours du ciel et que le ciel nous donne tel entendement et telle cognoissance comme nous avons. Et de che sont venu les erreurs et fauses supersticions, de quoy mencion est faite en che traitié en grant partie. Car, ainsi que Boëse dit, aucuns ont volut dire que l'entendement de creature humaine estoit par le cours du ciel contraint et necessity en toutes ces

²⁷⁷ Aristotle, *Metaphys.* IV.5 1009b12-33; *De anima* III.427a17-29 (referred to by Aquinas.)

²⁷⁸ Augustine, DCD IV.11 referred to by Thomas: *Et propter hoc dixerunt quod, cum transmutatio inferiorum corporum sequatur transmutationem corporum superiorum, intellectualis operatio sequatur corporum caelestium motus: secundum illud Homeri: "Talis est intellectus in diis et hominibus terrenis qualem in die ducit Pater virorum deorumque": id est sol; vel magis Iupiter, quem dicebant summum deum, intelligentes per ipsum totum caelum, ut patet per Augustinum, in libro de Civitate Dei.* The reference from Homer is in *Odyssey* 18.136 ff.

²⁷⁹ SCG III.84 (2592) paraphrased. *Hinc etiam processit Stoicorum opinio, qui dicebant cognitionem intellectus causari ex hoc quod imagines corporum nostris mentibus imprimuntur, sicut speculum quoddam, vel sicut pagina recipit litteras impressas, absque hoc quod aliquid agat: ut Boëtius narrat in V de Consolatione. Secundum quorum sententiam sequebatur quod maxime ex impressione corporum caelestium intellectuales notiones nobis imprimerentur.* The reference to Boethius is from *De consolazione philosophiae* V, metrum 4. Thomas goes on to explain that according to Boethius the intellect can combine and separate, and can know *universalis et simplices formas, quae in corporibus non inveniuntur*. Pignon contents himself by stating that the intellect has operations and capacities that can in no way have been caused by the heavens. He refrains from mentioning the mind's capacity to apprehend universal forms, even though it is the crux of the argument against the Stoics in this paragraph. Perhaps he felt the concept could not be adequately rendered into contemporary fifteenth-century French without elaborate philosophical explanations that he feared would elude his non-academic readers.

operacions, laquelle oppinion, dit Boëce, appert evidamment faute. Car l'entendement a telles operacions et telle vertu que nullement le ciel n'en puet estre cause principale et totale sans moing, ainsi que un cascun puet assés apercevoir en soy meismes et que il appara.

Et pour tant tuit li autre philosophe²⁸⁰ par une commune sentence ont escript que l'entendement est differant et separé de la sensualité et de toute matiere [41^v] corporele et composee. Et est une cose esperituele et incorruptible, qui n'est point comprise en lieu materiel ne corporel en la maniere que nous veons d'autres choses et de toutes lesquelles sont composees et subgetes a corrupcion selonc le cours de nature, ja soice que lesdis philosophes aient eü plusieurs et diverses manieres de parler en ceste matiere, comme Platon, Aristote son desciple ainteuve et leur successeurs. Selonc l'oppinion desquelx le mouvement et influence du ciel ne des estoiles n'a puissance aucune ne vertu de faire impressio(n) directement et sens moien en nostre entendement, laquelle cose propose et dit la conclusion tochié en cest capitre, a laquele prover et declarer seront chy aucunes raisons et auctorités introduites.

La premiere²⁸¹ est quar des choses que Dieu a creés les mains parfaites et mains nobles ne puelent avoir evidence ne vertu aucune sus les plus nobles; nulz aiant raison droit l'opposite. Or est il vrai que l'ame de creature raisonnable, qui est substance esperituele, incorruptible, immortele, est sans raison²⁸² trop plus noble et plus parfaite que n'est le ciel, duquel nous parlons en ceste matiere, ne quelconque planete ou estoile qui sont choses corporelles et materieles. Dont ne puet pas estre que elle soit subgete a la vertu ou influence ne des estoelles, quar ce seroit trop a viller la noblesse de l'ame raisonnable.

Item,²⁸³ toute cose qui a naturele puissance de faire inpression et exercer son operacion sur l'autre est de necessité participan (de) la nature d'icelle, et convient necessairement que toutes deux soient en aucune choses semblables, quar aultrement jamais l'operacion de l'ungne ne se appliqueroit

²⁸⁰ SCG III.84 (2593) paraphrased. Again Pignon avoids a direct rendering of the references to Plato and Aristotle. *Plato posuit causam nostrae scientiae esse ideas; Aristoteles autem intellectum agentem.*

²⁸¹ SCG III.84 (2583) paraphrased: *Divinae providentiae ordo est ut per superiora regantur inferiora et moveantur. Intellectus autem naturae ordine omnia corpora excedit.*

²⁸² sans raison: *lege* par raison. The phrase may be a contamination of 'sans doute' and 'par raison'.

²⁸³ SCG III.84 (2587) paraphrased. Thomas explains that the proper operation of a thing follows from its nature, which, in turn, results from a *generans*, a generating agent or mover. Since the intellect is not caused or generated by celestial bodies, its operation cannot be subject to the stars. Pignon's suggestion that it would be more appropriate to say that the mind has power over the stars than *vice versa* does not appear in Thomas.

a l'autre, comme il puet apparoir en tout ovrage na[42']turel et artificiel. Or est vrai que l'entendement de creature raisonnable et le ciel n'ont ensemble quecunquez similitude ne ne participent en quelcunques cose (de) la nature l'un de l'autre, comme il est ja dit en la premiere raison. Il convient dont conclure que nulle operacion ne puet estre de l'un sur l'autre, et se ainsi estoit, on devroit miex dire que l'entendement aroit puissance sur le ciel que ce que les estoilles eüssent puissance sur l'entendement. Par ce appert que scienche ne pue(t) aucunnement estre causee en nostre entendement par vertu quelconques naturele du ciel ne des estoilles. Ainsi que dit ceste conclusion.

Item,²⁸⁴ toute cose sur laquelle le ciel a dominacion et inpression est sougette a mutacion et au temps, c'est a dire qu'elle est de sa propre condicion naturele par necessité inconstant, muable, alterable et n'est ja en un mesme estat. Cecy ne doit aucun nyer qui a usage de raison. Or est il ainsi que l'entendement de creature est tant noble que de toutes telles choses il est estrange et franc, car il n'a point 'estre' par voie de generacion. En son 'estre' n'a alteracion, ains demeure toudis en un estat. Il ne default point par voie de corrupcion, car il est perpetuel; et le contraire est veritable de toutes choses qui sont comprises et subgetes au mouvement du ciel et a son influence, dont semble a dire que le ciel n'a aucune activité ne force sur nostre entendement. Et en ceste conclusion sont conclusant (et) concordant toulz filosofes naturelz et tous autres qui de ceste matiere ont escript et traité. Et dire aultrement ou le contraire est pervertir²⁸⁵ et destruire toute bonne et saine doctrine, ainsy que font no(u)s fols devineurs qui jugent selonc la constellation de la naissance des hommes de quel entendement il seront, en quelle science il se appliqueront en donnant sur ce certain jugement et déterminé.

Non pour quant il est a noter²⁸⁶ [42'] en ceste matiere que, non obstant

²⁸⁴ This paragraph appears to be a combination of statements and commonplaces from various sections of the SCG, rather than the paraphrase of a particular article. The idea that all things that are subject to the heavens are mutable and temporal appears from SCG III.84 (2588). That the intellect, on the contrary, did not come into being through generation recalls SCG III.84 (2587); that it is immutable, incorruptible and perpetual can be learned from SCG II.79, III.84 (2584) and other places.

²⁸⁵ pervertir: *ms* pervertu.

²⁸⁶ SCG III.84 (2596a) paraphrased. Celestial bodies may affect our minds indirectly. *Licet enim intellectus non sit virtus corporea, tamen in nobis operatio intellectus compleri non potest sine operatione virtutum corporearum, quae sunt imaginatio et vis memorativa et cogitativa. (...) Et inde est quod, impeditus harum virtutum operationibus propter aliquam corporis indispositionem, impeditur operatio intellectus: sicut patet in phreneticis et lethargicis, et aliis huiusmodi.* Pignon probably derived his discussion of the tripartite material basis of the human intellect from other places in the SCG, e.g.: SCG II.60 (1370) where the cogitative power (the passive intellect) is located in the middle cell of the head; SCG II.74 (1543) where memory is located in the sensitive part of the soul; or SCG II.67 (1444,1446) where Aquinas explains that

coses dessusdites, l'influence du ciel et la constellation puet bien estre cause aucunnement pour quoy une personne est de plus vif et cler entendement que n'est l'autre. Car ja soiche, comme dis²⁸⁷ est, que l'entendement ne soit point cose corporele, toutesfois lui estant conjoint au corps ne puet excercer son operacion se non par les vertus de sens corporelz, ainsi que Aristote dit, que ou chief de homme a .iii. parties: celle qui est devant, celle qui est moienne, et la derrienne. En la premiere l'entendement reçoit che que nous veons et que nous oïns et est nommee la partie apprehensure. En la seconde l'entendement fait son jugement et discerne et advise de ce qui ly a esté representee en la premiere et eslit et conclut le melleur selonc son jugement. En la tierce, qui est nommee la memore, il met ainsi comme en un depot tout ce que les .ii. autres ont fait par avant. Et pour tant que ces .iii. parties cy sont natureles et corporeles et l'entendement par icelles exerce ces operacions, est il vray que par default de nature en aucune d'icelles parties, comme nous veons en gent qui sont en frenesie (qui) ont en souffrir aucun empeschement (et) qui sont maladies et passions natureles, (naturelz) l'entendement puet bien soffrir aucun empeschement.

Item,²⁸⁸ selonc la dispocicion et complexion naturele du corps puet on bien aucunefois jugier l'ung homme estre de plus cler ou de plus rude entendement; ainsi que Aristote²⁸⁹ dit que les hommes qui sont de cavre charnure²⁹⁰ sont de legiere apprehension, et (de) bon entendement (et) par

the imagination is caused by sensation.

²⁸⁷ dis: *ms* dif.

²⁸⁸ SCG III.84 (2596 a, b + c) paraphrased and partly translated. *Et propter hoc etiam bonitas dispositionis corporis humani facit aptum ad bene intelligendum, inquantum ex hoc praedictae vires fortiores existunt: unde dicitur in II de Anima quod molles carne bene aptos mente videmus.* The reference is to Aristotle, *De anima* II.9 (421a 26). The idea is that corpulence suggests a well-fed and well taken care of physique that, as a consequence, will not cause any impediments. Perhaps Thomas found this idea comforting, since in his youth he was nicknamed 'the Dumb Ox.' *Dispositio autem corporis humani subiacet caelestibus motibus. Dicit enim Augustinus, in V de Civitate Dei, quod non usquequaque absurde dici potest ad solas corporum differentias afflatus quosdam valere sidereos.* (Augustine, DCD V.6) (...) *Et sic, sicut medici possunt iudicare de bonitate intellectus ex corporis complexione sicut ex dispositione proxima, ita astrologus ex motibus caelestibus sicut ex causa remota talis dispositionis. Et per hunc modum potest verificari quod Ptolomaeus in Centilogio dicit: Cum fuerit Mercurius in nativitate alicuius in aliqua domorum Saturni, et ipse fortis in esse suo, dat bonitatem intelligentiae medullitis in rebus.* Ptolemy, *Centiloquium*, verbum 38, quoted by Thomas. On the influence of Mercury on the mind, see also: *Tetrabiblos* III.13 (Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, ed. F. E. Robbins, Loeb edition (Cambridge, Mass./London 1980), pp. 333 ff., esp. pp. 359-361). The concluding remarks of the paragraph, immediately following the quotation from Ptolemy, do not appear in Thomas.

²⁸⁹ Aristote: *ms* Azite.

²⁹⁰ 'cavre charnure', i.e. 'lean, meagre physique'. I was unable to find the word 'cavre' or 'caure', but it may be related to L. *cavus*, hollow. Cf. a similar passage in CDE II. 1434-1438 (p. 177): 'Pour ce dit Aristote que par commune experience fondee sur raison naturelle, nous

le contraire ceux qui sont de rude corpulence. Sy dist saint Augustin que che n'est pas de mervelle se l'entendement d'une personne est plus cler que d'un autre consideré que le ciel a influence et impression sur le corps de l'homme, par quoi il convient que il ayme²⁹¹ tous ces ovragés. Et pour tant tout ainsi que un bien expert en la science de medecine puet jugier selonc la complexion du corps de la perfection naturele de son entendement, ainsi un [43'] bon astrologien puet assoir son jugement, veüe l'eure de la nativité d'un homme, se il sera de cler ou de rude entendement. Ainsi que Tholomee, qui est le souverain d'iceux, dit que quant Mercure est en aucune des maisons de Saturne et il est fort en son estre, se il naist aucun a telle heure, il sera ingenieux et soultiz. Nientmoins pour ce ne dit il point a quele science ou a quel art il soi appliquera, ains dit ce qu'il dist en termes generalz. Ne autre cose n'en puet onques savoir homme se Dieu ne luy a revelé. Sy appert dont la fole outrecuidance de no(u)s devineurs qui songent et determinent de l'entendement de homme a quoy il se appliquera, volans²⁹² par ce le contraindre et rendre subget au cours du ciel et que la, ou les soutiex en ceste matiere ont dit que il y puet avoir aucune inclinacion et en terme generalz, ces folx outrecuidiés veulent dire que il y a contrainte et necessité en descendent a termes particuliers, dont souventefois sont de mensongne repris. Et se il avient ce qu'il dient, c'est tout a l'aventure, comme il a apparu et cy appres appara.

II.5 *Le quint capitre*

Le quint capitre²⁹³ est a declairier ceste conclusion laquele au commencement est dependent de la quarte, c'est assavoir que la volenté de creature raisonnable n'est point subgete au cours du ciel, ne a l'influence et constellation d'icely. Ceste conclusion est droitement contre l'erreur des folz divineurs qui se disent astrologiens et veulent leur jugemens asseir sur les choses qui sont (a) advenir, lesqueles sont du tout en la disposition et ordenanche de Dieu et du franc arbitrage et volenté de l'homme.

Laquele conclusion puet par maintes raisons estre declaree.

veons ceulx qui ont molle charnure et tendre estre de plus parfait entendement que ceulx qui sont rudez et de dure charnure'.

²⁹¹ ayme: *ms* eymee. 'que il ayme tous ces ovragés'; i.e. 'that he (man) loves (or accepts) all these effects (from heaven, i.e., the differences in intelligence)'.

²⁹² volans: *ms* volons.

²⁹³ This chapter is based on SCG III.85: *Quod corpora caelestia non sunt causae voluntatum et electionum nostrarum*.

Premierement,²⁹⁴ car tout ce qui se fait par influence et constellation du ciel il se fait naturellement et necessairement, dont convient il dire que se nostre volenté est en ces operacions du tout reglee et ordenee par l'influence du ciel et constellation, comme disent telz divineurs, que tout ce que nous vodriens [43^v] et eslirens, que ce seroit par nececitey et par contrainte. Pour laquele coze faudroit dire que des hommes au bestes n'aroit point de difference et par cechi aparroit que toute science morale et naturele seroi(en)t sans aucun fondement. Car toute philosophie tesmoigne et aferme qu'il est deux principes sur lesquelz sont fondees toutes operacions naturelles: l'un est nature qui en toutes coses a une mesme forme de produire ces ovrages, l'autre est france volenté qui puet eslire de tout ce qui li en presente, ce qui miex li plaist en poursivant le jugement de l'entendement. La premiere appartient a toutes bestes mues, l'autre a homme et a fame.

La seconde raison²⁹⁵ est car toutes coses qui se font selonc le cours naturel du ciel ont .iii. condicions, lesquelles nullement ne puelent estre appliquiés aux coses lesquelle(s) se font (par) eleccion²⁹⁶ de franche volenté.

²⁹⁴ SCG III.85 (2600) paraphrased. Thomas explains that the events caused by celestial bodies in lower bodies happen *naturaliter*. Pignon stresses they occur 'naturelement *et necessairement*' (italics mine, J.V.). The point Thomas makes is that if choices are brought about by celestial influences, they have to be natural; this conflicts, Aquinas explains, with Aristotle's view (*Physics* II.5 196b 19) that there are two active principles in the world, namely choice and nature. Aquinas thus emphasises that choices are not made *naturaliter*, whereas Pignon wants to add they are not made of necessity. The point of necessity, therefore, is squeezed in by Pignon to attack the alleged determinism of the diviners, even though in the next chapter he has to concede (following SCG III.86) that lower bodies do not receive celestial impressions by way of necessity. Hence, in his haste to contradict diviners, Pignon contradicts himself. Also in the last line of the paragraph Pignon is too hasty. Though it is true that the actions of 'toutes bestes mues' are natural, and that the operations of the free will pertain only to humans, it does not follow that all natural actions belong to animals, for also humans have operations that should properly be considered natural (such as, e.g., sneezing).

²⁹⁵ The three conditions under which natural operations take place, are condensations of the three points raised by Thomas in SCG III.85 (2601, 2602 and 2603) resp. (2601): *Ea quae naturaliter fiunt, determinatis mediis perducuntur ad finem, unde semper eodem modo contingunt: natura enim determinata est ad unum*. That natural operations always happen in the same way does not mean they happen necessarily. The point Thomas makes is that choices are not made according to nature since man can reach his aim through various means. (2602): *Ea quae naturaliter fiunt, ut plurimum recte fiunt: natura enim non deficit nisi in paucioribus*. If man's choices were to follow from nature, he would likewise be (nearly) unable to err. (2603): *Ea quae sunt eiusdem speciei, non diversificantur in operationibus naturalibus quae naturam speciei consequuntur: unde omnis hirundo similiter facit nidum, et omnis homo similiter intelligit prima principia, quae sunt naturaliter nota*. Pignon omits this second example of a natural operation of man. If choice were to occur naturally, all humans would choose in the same way, *quod pater esse falsum, tam in moralibus quam in artificialibus*. Pignon elaborates this point, stressing man's free will and his choice of means and ends.

²⁹⁶ eleccion: *ms* elacion.

C'est assavoir premierement, car nature en tous ses ovragez tent a une fin determinee et par moiens determineus, comme (par) experience enseigne a un cascun. Secondement, nature en ces ovrages ne fait point de fault ne erreur se non tres pou. Tiercement, les choses qui sont d'une espece naturele et condicion parelle produisent tous leurs ovrages parellement. Comme on voit des arondeles qui viennent toutes en une saison s'en retournent parellement et font tout leur ouvrage semblable, et ainsi de toutes autres bestes et oysiaus. Tout le contraire est des operations humaines desqueles la volenté est dame et maistresse. Car nostre volenté tent a plusieurs fins et par divers moiens. Sovantefois fait faute et chiet en erreur par defect de jugement d'entendement, ainsi qu'il appert, quar plusieurs sont qui eslisent le mal plus que le bien. Ne toutes les volentés des hommes n'ont pas une semblable maniere de eslire [44^r] et conseiller, comme savoir chascun le puet. Dont ne puet estre que par naturele influence et constellation du ciel la volenté humaine soit a quelconques coze necessairement determinee, ains demeure franche pour eslire et soi determiner a lequelle partie qu'elle veult de tout che qui li est offert et présenté par l'entendement.

La tierce raison²⁹⁷ est quar se par le cours du ciel et constellation la volenté des hommes estoit determinee en ces ovrages, jamais on ne deveroit louer, ne blasmer, honnerer, ne vituperer homme de chose qu'i(l) fesist, puis que nature a ce faire l'enclinerait par necessité. Ainsi par consequent pour nient on puniroit les malfaiteurs et justifieroit on les boins, pour neant seroit fait les livres doctrinables et toute sainte escripture et philosophie, pour nient seroit fait a Dieu sacrefice, orisons, prieres, jeunes, almosnes et autres abstinences, les sacremens de nostre foy a riens ne pourfiteroit, toute loy et justice cesseroit, qui sont²⁹⁸ grant et horribles inconveniens, comme cascun usant de raison puet savoir. Et nientmoins tout ce advendroit, se ainsi estoit que nostre volenté fust subgete au cours du ciel naturel. Pour quoy est a dire qu'elle doit demourer franch(e) dame et maistresse de tous les ovrages que homme a a faire sans estre contrainte ne determinee par quelconques influence²⁹⁹ naturele plus a une partie que a une autre.

Pour les causes chy thocées est reprovee l'opinion et l'erreur³⁰⁰

²⁹⁷ This argument is an elaboration of SCG III.85 (2607 b): *Frustra etiam darentur leges et praecepta vivendi, si homo suarum electionum dominus non esset. Frustra etiam adhiberentur poenae et praemia bonis aut malis, ex quo non est in nobis haec vel illa eligere. His autem desinentibus, statim socialis vita corrumpitur.*

²⁹⁸ The subject of 'sont' is the long list of 'inconveniens' that precedes it.

²⁹⁹ influence: *ms* *infruenta*.

³⁰⁰ SCG III.85 (2614 a,b+c) paraphrased. *Per haec autem excluditur positio Stoicorum, qui ponebant omnes actus nostros, et etiam electiones nostras, secundum corpora caelestia disponi. Quae etiam fuisse dicitur positio antiqua Pharisaeorum apud Iudaeos. Priscillianistae etiam huius erroris rei fuerunt, ut dicitur in libro de Haeresibus.* The reference to Augustine

d'aucuns anciens philosophes dis Stoiciens³⁰¹ et d'aucuns Pharisiens et Juifs, desquelz li principal fut nommé Priscilla, disans que tous les ouvrages et fais de homme estoient du tout subget au mouvement du cours du ciel et que selonc ycelz [44^v] cours toutes nos operations adviennent³⁰² non autrement. Et en ceste erreur se sont bouté les faus et mauvais Crestiens sortileges et divineurs qui se disent et nomment astronomiens. Et cechi recite saint Augustin.

Toutesfois pour la declaracion de ceste matiere³⁰³ est a entendre que non obstant les raisons dessusdites qui sont vraies, nientmoins en .ii. manieres le cours du ciel puet estre cause pour quoy la volenté s'encline plus tost a eslire une chose que une autre.

La premiere est la disposicion du tamps qui puet estre telle selonc l'impression et influence du ciel que pour la necesité dou corps naturele la volenté se termine a une chose plus tost que a une autre. Ainsi que nous veons que raison et entendement juge a l'un cascun³⁰⁴ qui se doit proveoir contre le froit, contre le chaut, contre toute autre pestilence, laquelle puet advenir naturellement par le cours du ciel, et a ce faire la volenté se condescent pour la necessité naturele du cors, comme dit est.

La seconde est quant le corps d'aucune personne est naturellement disposé a aucune maladie ou que il participe plus d'ungne complexion que d'une

is from *De haeresibus* 70 (PL 42, 44). Thomas discussed the fatalism of the Stoics in SCG III.84 (2592), and Pignon in CLD II.4. The predestinarian tendencies among the Pharisees appear from: Flavius Josephus, *Antiquities*, XIII.5.9 and XVIII.1.3 (Loeb ed., Josephus vol. 7, pp. 311-313; vol. 9, pp. 11-13), where Pharisee notions of the supremacy of fate and man's freedom of choice are juxtaposed. The Pharisees held that 'everything in the world was ordained by God, but that man had it in his power to choose between good and evil' (EJ 13, col. 365). Cf. also *Jewish War* II.8.14 (Loeb ed., vol. 2, pp. 385-387). Priscillian was the founder of a religious movement in Spain in the fourth century AD. His doctrines were apparently an original mixture of Gnostic, Manichean and orthodox Christian beliefs. He was the first Christian to be sentenced to death for heresy and was decapitated at Trier in 385. Adherents of the movement were anathematised in 563 by the Council of Braga. The anathema included the doctrine that the soul of man (which had emanated from God, but through sinning had fallen to earth) as well as his body (which was created by demons) were both subject to the influence of the stars. Orosius and Gregory the Great accuse the Priscillianists of astrological fatalism. See: Orosius, *Commonitorium de errore priscillianistarum et origenistarum* (PL 31, 1213 ff.); Gregory, *Homiliae in evangelia* X.4 (PL 76, 1111-1112); Henry Chadwick, *Priscillian of Avila: The Occult and the Charismatic in the Early Church* (Oxford 1997); Fontaine, "Isidore de Séville et l'astrologie", pp. 278-279; G. Bardy, 'Priscillien' in: DTC XIII, cols. 391-400; Flint, *The Rise of Magic*, p. 94.

³⁰¹ Stoiciens: *ms* sorciens.

³⁰² advient: *ms* advientont.

³⁰³ SCG III.85 (2615 a,b+c) paraphrased. The heavenly bodies can affect our wills indirectly: 1. by affecting external bodies, such as the atmosphere (hot or cold weather may incline our wills to follow a certain course of action); and 2. by affecting our bodies, and thus raising passions or ailments that incline the will in a certain way. In this and the following two paragraphs Pignon follows Thomas carefully.

³⁰⁴ juge a l'un cascun: *lege* (reason) decides, determines for everyone (what to do).

autre et par ce est enclin a aucune passions et maladies naturelles, ou a courouc, ou a liesse, laquelle coze on puet legierement savoir ou par la nature de la constellacion ou par la pratique³⁰⁵ de medecine, en tel cas la volenté se puet determiner a recevoir et pranre aucuns remedes ou medecines pour obvier as perillx qui puelent eschoir contre la santé et pro(p)spirité du corps. Mais cechi ne argue point que (pour ce que) la volenté soit subjete au cours du ciel, ne que influence quelconques la puisse co(n)straindre.

Item,³⁰⁶ on voit aucuns qui sont blechié ou cervel pour aucuns accidens naturelz, lesquelz ont perdu a cause de ce sens et usage de raison et ne puelent pas bien discerner antre bien et mal. Les autres sont qui ensievent leur propre passion et vollenté na[45]turele qui est selonc le commun cours plus tost encliné a mal et a pechié qu'a bien ne que avertu. Et pour tant que on puet avoir de telles choses aucunnefois conjecture et cognoissance, tant par la science d'astronomie comme par la science de medecine, les songeurs et devineurs veulent cecy apliquier et a leur jugemens et sur cecy determiner de tout ce qui est <a> advenir a une personne. Et pour tant que on voit aucunes choses qu'il ont dites advenir, on les croit folement en toutes autres, en especial gens qui sont en telles folies curiex et supersticieux. Ad ce propos dit P(t)holomeus que le sage homme qui use de raison est par dessus tout le cours du ciel et des estoiles, et que l'astrologien ne puet donner jugement selonc les estoilles se il ne cognoist la vertu de l'ame, c'est assavoir de l'entendement et de la volenté, et que il ne doit point jugier de quelconques coze a avenir determineement et particulièrement, mais g(e)neralment et soulz condicion en disant: Telle cose ou telle puet advenir par telle constellacion ou cas que on ne resisterat a l'inclinacion naturele qu'ele donne, par le

³⁰⁵ pratique: *ms* patrique.

³⁰⁶ SCG III.85 (2616) paraphrased. Thomas elaborates the point that the heavenly bodies can move our wills indirectly by affecting our bodies, and explains that people who are deprived of their use of reason through some bodily indisposition cannot, strictly speaking, be said to perform an act of choice. People who do have command over their reason always act from their own free will and can, if they want, resist natural inclinations. Therefore, celestial influence can never be the necessary cause of choice (*causa necessaria electionis*, a concept Pignon will discuss in the next chapter) even though many people follow natural impulses. *Et propter hoc dicit Ptolomeus in Centilogio quod anima sapiens adiuvat opus stellarum; et quod non poterit astrologus dare iudicia secundum stellas nisi vim animae et complexionem naturalem bene cognoverit; et quod astrologus non debet dicere rem specialiter, sed universaliter: quia scilicet impressio stellarum in pluribus sortitur effectum, qui non resistunt inclinationi quae est ex corpore; non autem semper in hoc vel in illo, qui forte per rationem naturali inclinationi resistit.* References are to Ptolemy, *Centiloquium*, sent. 8,7,1 resp. Pignon's rendering of *adiuvat opus stellarum* by 'est par dessus tout le cours du ciel' is interesting: prudently 'aiding' the work of the stars still implies that one is swayed by celestial influence - a suggestion Pignon cares to avoid. Consequently he makes Ptolemy voice a more unambiguous and orthodox opinion. In CDE II. 1526-1527 (p. 178) Pignon renders this line more faithfully as: 'l'omme prudent ayde l'ouvrage des estoilles'.

jugement de raison, ou que il n'y aroit autre empecchement particulier, ou que Dieu ne vodroit autrement le cours de nature innaner qui est par dessus toute nature. Aultrement ne doit estre fait jugement quelconques selonc la sentence dudit Tholomee qui est le souverain en ceste science.

II.6 .vi^e.

Ou .vi^e. capitre³⁰⁷ est a declarer ceste conclusion que l'influence du ciel et de estoilles, au regart des ovrages qui se font en ce monde materiel, quant aux choses corporeles, ne sont point cause necessaire, c'est a entendre que de quelconques chose que nous veons advenir, on ne doit point dire que telle ou telle constellation en soit cause totale et naturele ne contraire.³⁰⁸ Ceste conclusion est aucun(e)ment dependant [45^v] et ensyevant des precedens et semblablement est opposite³⁰⁹ et contraire a la supersticieuse oppinion et erreur des folz devineurs et songeurs, qui disent que par astrologie il puelent savoir entierement toute la disposicion et ordenance du temps (a) advenir. Et ja soice, comme j'ay dit par avant, que on en puet bien avoir aucune conjecturele conoissance, toutefois n'est il homme ne ne fu onques qui peüst a ce avoir par science naturele et reale certaine et infallible science. Ainsi veul je ceste conclusion estre entendue, laquelle je veul prouver par aucunes raisons.

Premierement,³¹⁰ quar toute la puissance et activit   de l'influence du cours du ciel et des planetes au regart des choses temporeles et materielles de ce monde est faite selonc ce que la matiere est disposee a telle inpression recevoir. Exemple: on voit a experience que l'empreinte et la forme d'un seel

³⁰⁷ The sixth chapter is based on SCG III.86: *Quod corporales effectus in istis inferioribus non sequuntur ex necessitate a corporibus caelestibus*. Pignon only paraphrases a handful of the arguments forwarded by Thomas. The bulk of chapter 86, which consists in an intricate discussion of possibility, necessity and contingency, he leaves out.

³⁰⁸ It cannot be said that a certain constellation is the total, natural and necessary cause of an event; 'ne contraire', i.e. nor can it be argued to the contrary that a constellation is in no way causally linked to a given event. Things are usually caught between necessity and contingency. Cf. also the reference to Ptolemy in the final paragraph of this chapter, who is quoted as saying that astrological judgments are between possibility and impossibility, 'en un moien estat'.

³⁰⁹ opposite: *ms* composite.

³¹⁰ SCG III.86 (2617 b) paraphrased: *Impressiones enim causarum universalium recipiuntur in effectibus secundum recipientium modum. Haec autem inferiora sunt fluxibilia et non semper eodem modo se habentia: propter materiam, quae est in potentia ad plures formas; et propter contrarietatem formarum et virtutum. Non igitur impressiones corporum caelestium recipiuntur in istis inferioribus per modum necessitatis*. The example of the seal and the wax does not appear in Thomas. Pignon makes use of the same passage in his later treatise CDE (II. 235-262) where he supplies the example of a craftsman shaping gold, silver, stone or wood.

ne puet estre enprimee se non en matiere disposee a telle forme recevoir, comme est cire ou autre matiere amolie. Or est il ainsi que toute coze materiele et corporele³¹¹ qui est subgete a mouvement et mutacion de tamps est cose fluxible, instable et qui n'est ja en nul estat a cause des contrarietés et alteracions qui sont en elle selonc la propriété des qualités et elemens, dont s'ensiut il que l'impression de la vertu naturele du ciel au regart des choses materielles n'est point cause necessaire.

Item,³¹² toutes ces choses corporelles et materielles de ce monde cy bas ont regart et necessaire dependance de .iii. causes naturelles: est assavoir du ciel et des estoilles, qui sont cause souveraine et premiere; des secondes causes qui sont moiennes, c'est assavoir le quarte elemens †³¹³ [46'] que nous disons le feu, l'air, l'eau et la terre; et la cause prochaine, qui est la matere

³¹¹ corporele: *ms* corperole.

³¹² Essentially based on SCG III.86 (2618): *A causa remota non sequitur effectus de necessitate nisi etiam sit causa media necessaria: sicut et in syllogismis ex maiori de necesse et minori de contingenti non sequitur conclusio de necesse. Corpora autem caelestia sunt causae remotae: proximae autem causae inferiorum effectuum sunt virtutes activae et passivae in istis inferioribus, quae non sunt causae necessariae, sed contingentes; possunt enim deficere ut in paucioribus. Non ergo ex corporibus caelestibus sequuntur in istis inferioribus corporibus effectus de necessitate.* Effects in lower bodies do not necessarily follow from celestial causes, due to the contingency of the proximate causes. Thomas mentions only two causes: the remote and the proximate ones. Pignon distinguishes three: the sovereign (heavens), the middle (four elements) and the proximate ones ('la matere corporele composee des quatre calités contraires'). This corporeal matter composed of the four qualities refers to the *prima materia*, the prime matter, that, according to Aristotle, does not exist uninformed. In his later treatise CDE (II. 263-280) Pignon uses the same passage from the SCG and paraphrases it more carefully, distinguishing between the primary, and hence necessary causes on the one hand and the proximate, secondary or possible causes on the other hand. These secondary causes include 'la vertu des .iiij. elemens, des qualites contraires qui incessamment en leur operacion recoivent contrarietez et variacions plusieurs' (CDE II. 274-277). Though the four elements are to be distinguished from the four primary qualities (hot, cold, dry, moist) that inform the *prima materia* (and through this information create the four elements), there seems to be no reason for treating them as two separate categories of causes (as does Pignon in CLD). The four elements are as mutable and as proximate as the four contrarieties. It may be that in CLD Pignon saw 'le feu, l'air, l'eau et la terre' as the whole of the atmosphere and environment in which man lives, but since man's body is also made up of the elements and since the elements of the atmosphere also contain contrarieties, the distinction Pignon wants to make between elements and contrarieties remains problematic. In CDE Pignon has adjusted his earlier formulations, and he treats the words 'secondary', 'middle' and 'proximate' more or less as synonyms, or at least as causes belonging to the same category: cf., e.g. CDE II. 759-763: '(Dieu) a ordonné que sa providence et ordonnance (...) soient par les secondes, moyennes, derraines et prouchaines causes mise a effait'. In CLD Pignon leaves out the example of the syllogism, but he was to use and expound it in CDE (II. 280-293).

³¹³ †: *ms* qui est la matiere corpo[46r]le composee des autres quartes qualités contraires. The entire line was deleted by the scribe ('autres' doubly so, because it was a misspelling of 'quartes'), but reappears in a following sentence.

corporele composee des quatre calités contraires, laquelle (matere) maïennement les vertus actives et passives des qualités dessusdites est disposee a recevoir telle certaine forme determinee. Or est il ainsi que telle forme et telle operacion est plus a atribuer a la cause prochaine - que (est) en la vertu des qualités dessusdite - que (lle n'est) au causes moiennes (ou) qu'a la souveraine (cause).³¹⁴ Dont n'est point a atribuer a la vertu du ciel (ou) a quelconques constellation che que nous veons advenir es choses mondaines et temporeles, tellement que on dise que le ciel et les estoilles en soient totale et necessaire cause et que autrement ne puist estre, ne que il appert qu'il sera par le jugement de telle constellation.

Item,³¹⁵ la vertu et influence du ciel naturele delle³¹⁶ commencement du monde a esté, est et sera invariable et vivement procedent en tous ces ovrages, ne il n'i a alteracion, ne corrupcion, ne mutacion ainsi comme on voit estre en toutes autres choses qui sont encloses desoulz le ciel. Se le ciel donques est cause necessaire de toutes choses qui advienent en ce monde, il convient dire que toutes mondaines et temporeles (choses) doivent advenir parellement une fois qu'autre, autrement le ciel n'en seroit pas cause. Et nientmoins on voit tout le contraire, quar par experience il appert que on ne verra ja une annee, ne une journee, ne une heure parelle a l'autre. Mesmes en tous les ovrages de nature on voit diversités telles et si grans que il ne soit³¹⁷ homme tant soit soutil qui sceüst rendre raison ne cause de telle diversités, et se aucune raison est ad ce, il faut dire que c'est la fluxibilité [46^v] de la matiere disposee plus a telle forme qu'a telle, laquelle disposicion est secrete en nature. Dont apert il que telles diversités comme nous veons es ovrages de nature ne sont point a atribuer au cours naturel du ciel tant comme aux autres causes sodaines et plus prochaines, pour quoy je conclus que (ce que) le ciel n'a point de puissance totale et necessere au regart des

³¹⁴ A muddled sentence; the most likely meaning seems to be that effects ('operacion' and the receiving of 'forme') in lower bodies should be attributed to the proximate causes, rather than to the middle or sovereign causes.

³¹⁵ SCG III.86 (2619) paraphrased. *Motus caelestium corporum semper est eodem modo. Si igitur effectus caelestium corporum in istis inferioribus ex necessitate proveniret, semper eodem modo se haberent quae in inferioribus sunt. Non autem semper eodem modo se habent, sed ut in pluribus. Non ergo ex necessitate proveniunt.* Pignon's assertion that heaven knows no 'mutacion' is unfortunate. Heaven is incorruptible, but mutable (celestial bodies move). He means, of course, that heaven is not mutable in the way that things in the sublunar world are mutable, but since he mentions 'corrupcion' and 'mutacion' in the same breath, it would seem as if heaven is both corruptible and mutable, but in a different way from the things in this world, which is absurd. Pignon should have phrased more carefully. The remainder of the paragraph recapitulates some earlier conclusions concerning the fluxibility of matter and the influence of proximate causes.

³¹⁶ delle: *lege* 'dès le', i.e. 'ever since the (beginning of the world)'.

³¹⁷ soit: *ms* sont.

œuvres de nature en ce monde. Comme il appert sans comparaison, il en a mains au regart des ovrages qui sont fondé sur le franc arbitrage et volenté de l'omme,³¹⁸ contre les folz devineurs et supersticieus qui veulent dire que on puet par la science d'astronomie de tout ce qui est (a) advenir avoir certaine congnoissance.

A ce propos³¹⁹ dit leur docteur (parl) Ptholomee que nous ne devons point croire que l'influence du ciel impose necessité sur les cozes mondaines ainsi que font la promission et ordenanche de Dieu sur toutes choses qui sont créés. Et dit yceli docteur apres: 'Les jugemens que je te donne et enseigne d'astronomie ne sont du tout necessaire, ne du tout impossible ou possible, ains sont en un moien estat'. Cechi est tans et est ce m'est advis a entendre que il n'est jugement quelconques tant certain a nous fait par la constellacion du ciel qui ne puisse bien falir et advenir aultrement pour les circunstances et causes particuleres, desquelles onques homme n'eut naturellement parfaite ne certaine congnoissance. Dont sont fol ceux qui devinent et songent telles choses, eux glorefians de la science d'astronomie laquele de leur folles erreurs ne se mesle en riens. Plus fol sont ceux qui les croient et favorent; et de tant que plus grant sont en estat, office ou dignité, de tant est plus aparant leur folie et plus a re[47]prendre. Et grant peril et deshonneur est en nostre foi se ceux qui la doivent deffendre et entretenir, comme sont gent d'Eglise et de chevalerie, par telles erreurs la lessent corrompre et destruire ce que Dieu ne vuelle par sa grace souffrir. Amen.

Explicit la seconde partie de cest treitié. S'ensiut la tierce et derraine partie.

³¹⁸ A somewhat opaquely formulated passage. The following rendering may be helpful: 'The diversity that we perceive in the works of nature is not to be attributed to the course of heaven as they *are* (to be attributed) to the *proximae causae*, wherefore I conclude that heaven has no complete and necessary power over the works of nature in this world; it (i.e. heaven) has even less (power) over the works that are founded in man's free will and choice'.

³¹⁹ SCG III.86 (2630 b+c) paraphrased: *Ptolomaeus etiam, in Quadripartito, dicit: Rursus, nec aestimare debemus quod superiora procedant inevitabiliter, ut ea quae divina dispositione contingunt et quae nullatenus sunt vitanda, necnon quae veraciter et ex necessitate proveniunt. In Centilogio etiam dicit: Haec iudicia quae tibi trado, sunt media inter necessarium et possibile.* The references are to: *Opus quadripartitum* I.3, see: Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, pp. 22-23, and to: *Centiloquium*, verbum 1, cf. a similar statement in *Tetrabiblos* I.3, pp. 26-27.

TERCE ET DERRAINE PARTIE

Appres che que j'ai a l'aide de Dieu desclairié la matere de supersticion, en specifiant les manieres diverses de sortilege et de divinacion en la premiere partie de ce present treitié, et consequamment par conclusions certaines, vraies et catholiques en raison mesme naturele fondees cy moutré telles supersticions estre occasion d'erreur, en destruisant toutes operacions et couleurs de verité dont telles supersticions puelent estre soustenues en la seconde partie, il est en ceste tierche et derraine partie a declarer et moustrer par auctorités de sainte escripture, des docteurs (et) catholiques et des philosophes, et par exemples tant de sainte escripture comme³²⁰ de croniquez approuvees, et mesmes par la determinacion et sentence de Sainte Eglise en droit canon touchié semblablement par droit civil, et pluseurs autres raisons evidens et notoires, que toute divinacion et sortilege sont a reprover et condempner. Et par especial je veul a mon povoir tendre sur celle qui se colore de la science d'astronomie, par laquelle aucuns, comme dit est, par presumpcion et outrecuidanche, se veulent avanchier a prenosquier et jugier des chozes qui sont a avenir appartenans et ayans regart a l'estat, gouvernement et ordenance du franc arbitrage de raisonnable creature. Laquelle ne puet aucunnement estre contrainte en ces ovrages, ains est en sa puissance de eslire et soy tourner [47^v] a quelconquez partie qu'elle veult de toutes cozes qui a elle sont presentees. Et sera ceste partie declaree par certains capitres, ainsi que les .ii. autres precedens, et aura .x. capitres.

- III.1 Ou premier capitre seront aleguees les auctorités de la sainte escripture contenues es livres de Moÿse et des prophetes.
- III.2 Ou second le(s) auctorités contenues es livres historiâx de la bible.
- III.3 Ou tiers les auctorités contenues ou nouvel testament; tant ens euvangiles qui sont la doctrine de Jhesucrist comme es epistres saint Pol.
- III.4 Ou quart les auctorités des sains docteurs de l'Eglise approuvés.
- III.5 Ou quint certains exemples extrais de croniquez et legende de sains.
- III.6 Ou sixte par raisons fondees en philosophie naturele et morale.

³²⁰ comme: *ms* commo.

- III.7 Ou .vii^e. par raisons fa(i)tes de partie ad partie, que on dit *ad hominem*.³²¹
- III.8 Ou .viii^e. sentence difinitive de Sainte Eglise et de droit canon.
- III.9 Ou .ix^e. sera recapitulee en brief toute la matiere.
- III.10 Ou .x^e. pour conformité de la fin au commencement, exhortacion sera faite aucune et v(e)refijé pour un cascun entretenir en boine creanche et ferme foy.

III.1 *Le premier capitre*

Pour le premier capitre est l'auctorité de la sainte escripture, qui est tochié ou livre de Exode,³²² ou par plusieurs capitres en sentence est desclarét comment le roy d'Egipte, dit Pharaon, avoit enchanteurs et divineurs avec luy esquelz il creoit, en persecutant Moÿse et Aaron qui estoient prophetes et mesages de Dieu pour le peuple d'Israël. Lequel peuple souffroit grant persecucion soulz le dit roy et en la fin icelly roy et tout son ost vint a telle honte que il fu perdu et destruit en la mer, Moïse et tout le peuple de Dieu passant la mer a pié sec. Par che est assés donné a congnoistre a tous segneurs et prinches et autres gens de tous [48'] estas que tous ceux qui croient en divineurs ne supersticiex, comme sont ceus de qui parole est cy faite et qui delaissent la doctrine de Moÿse, c'est a dire la vraie science de la foy et des commandemens de Dieu et de l'Eglise, en la fin se trovent deshonoré, perdu et destruis. Ne autrement ne puet estre - puis que il laissent Dieu - que Dieu ne les deleisse.

Item, le principal cause³²³ pour quoy Dieu donna au peuple multiplicacion de commandemens et de cerimonies, c'estoit a cause de les ratraire du pechié de ydolatrie auquel il povoit de legier estre enclin, veü et actendu qu'il estoient habitans en pays prochain de ydolatre, c'est assavoir Sarrazins et payens avec lesquels il conversoient par mainte fois. Lesquels payens creoient des adont et encor croient en sorceleries et divinations. Et

³²¹ *hominem*: *ms* quiem(?). The word is difficult to make out; *questionem* is a possibility, but since CLD III.7 basically deals with arguments against the practitioners of divination, *ad hominem* is the most likely option.

³²² A marginal gloss in the manuscript reads: *exodi multis capitulis*. Cf. Ex. 5-14.

³²³ A marginal gloss reads: *istud deduxit Guilielmus Parisiensis in suo tractatu de fide et legibus*. See also CLD III.4 where Pignon speaks of 'maistre Guillaume de Paris' who wrote 'un livre mout auctentique'. William of Auvergne, bishop of Paris (c. 1180-1249) wrote a work entitled *De fide et legibus*. That Mosaic law was given as a means to ward off idolatry and magic is discussed in *De legibus* 13. See Thorndike, HMES II, pp. 338-371.

pour tant est il dit en la loy de Moÿse³²⁴ par commendement: 'La personne qui croira enchanteurs et devineurs je me constitueré', dit Dieu, 'partie encontre (elle) eulx, et veul que telle personne soit mise a mort, ad ce que mon peuple ne chiee en erreur et (je) perisse par telle personne'. Item, celle mesme sentense est proposee en un autre lieu³²⁵ en telle maniere: 'Vous ne sofférés point entre vous devineurs ne songeurs'. Et que ceste prohibicion et defaute soit et entendue de ceulz qui se vantent de savoir les choses a advenir par le cours du ciel, il appert car Dieu dit a Moÿse et a tout le peuple que nullement il ne adorent (orent) le ciel ne les estoilles,³²⁶ c'est asavoir en leur attribuant la causalité et activité des choses qui se font et sont a advenir. Ains sens cesser dit Dieu en celle loy: 'Je suy Seigneur',³²⁷ et le replique a painnes a cascun mot, volans par ce retraire le peuple de croire qu'il soit autre qui est puissance de dis[48']poser et ordener de toutes choses.

Item, plus expressement il le desclaie en une autre pas de l'escripture:³²⁸ 'Se il vient', dit il, 'aucuns qui se dise prophete et dise qu'il ait veü aucune vision ou songe et il te a divin(c)é aucune chose a advenir, posé qu'il adviengne ainsi qu'il te dira et icelly te veulle atraire a le ensuir et croire en sa doctrine et en sa sette, garde bien que les paroles d'iceli tu ne rechoives. Car Dieu par telle coze veult aprouver se tu l'aymes et se tu as en lui vraie creanche et ferme foy'. Par cechi clerement appert que telz devineurs et donneurs de bonnes heures et de bons jours sont a fuir du tout. Ainsi l'expose saint Augustin³²⁹ et est l'auctorité de Sainte Eglise.

³²⁴ A gloss refers to *levitici* xx°. Lev. 20:6: *anima quae declinaverit ad magos et ariolos et fornicata fuerit cum eis ponam faciem meam contra eam et interficiam illam de medio populi sui*. Lev. 20:27: *vir sive mulier in quibus pythonicus vel divinationis fuerit spiritus morte moriantur lapidibus obruent eos*. Cf. Ex. 22:18: *maleficos non patieris vivere*.

³²⁵ A gloss refers to *lev° xix° et deut° xviii°*. Lev. 19:26: *non augurabimini nec observabitis somnia*; Lev. 19:31: *ne declinetis ad magos nec ab ariolis aliquid sciscitemini ut polluamini per eos*. Deut. 18:10-12: *nec inveniatur in te (...) qui ariolos sciscitetur et observet somnia atque auguria ne sit maleficus ne incantator ne pythones consulat ne divinos aut quaerat a mortuis veritatem omnia enim haec abominatur Dominus et propter istiusmodi scelera delebit eos in introitu tuo*.

³²⁶ Deut. 4:19; 17:3.

³²⁷ Lev. *passim*. See, e.g., cap. 19.

³²⁸ Deut. 13:1-3: *si surrexerit in medio tui prophetae aut qui somnium vidisse se dicat et praedixerit signum atque portentum et e venerit quod locutus est et dixerit tibi eamus et sequamur deos alienos quos ignoras et serviamus eis non audies verba prophetae illius aut somniatoris quia temptat vos Dominus Deus vester ut palam fiat utrum diligatis eum an non in toto corde et in tota anima vestra*.

³²⁹ Augustine, DDC II.23 (CC 32, 58).

Item, ad ce est la sainte escripture en Ysaie³³⁰ qui dit en parlant a telz songeurs: 'Anunciés moy les choses passees et celles qui sont (a) advenir et je dirai que vous estes dieu'. Par ceste escripture appert clerement que savoir les choses a advenir determineement appartient a Dieu seulement ou a ceux a cuy il le veult reveler, non point as autres. Et c'est quant ad ce premier capitre.

III.2 *Ou secont capitre*

Ou second capitre est a declarer ceste matiere par les livres hystoriaux de la bible, pour quoy est assavoir que le peuple de Dieu au commencement de la loy baillié a Moÿse fust gouverné par certains hommes nommés dus, dont Moÿse fu le premier, Josué le secont et plusieurs autres par succession de temps. Apres furent gouverney par juges, comme il appert ou livre des Juges, et apres celi temps vodrent avoir roy, ainsi qu'il veoient avoir a autres nacions et sur che firent requeste au prophete Samuel,³³¹ lequel par le consentement de Dieu leur otria. Et fu leur roy premier Saul par l'espace tant seulement de deux ans ou environ. Fut bon [49'] et Dieu dobtant et tout ce qu'il faisoit, il le faisoit par le conseil du prophete Samuel et le peuple avoit bien avec luy, et de tous leur anemis il avoient victoires. Ce temps chi pendant il ordena que en tous liex ou il aroit devineurs, enchanteurs, ydolatries et telz gens, que il fussent mis a mort, et tellement que toutes telles gens furent exturpé de so(n) roialme. Apres il avint que il trespasa le commandement de Dieu et du prophete Samuel, pour laquelle chose Dieu le leissa, et ce veant il vint a une devineresse³³² pour enquesir par icelle ce qui li estoit a avenir, duquel pechié Dieu tellement se courcha a luy que il perdi sens et raison et entendement et apres fut degetté et debouté de son roialme et toute sa p(r)oster(n)ité et fu le roiaume translaté en David et en ces (en) enfans.

Chi doivent mout aviser gens de tous estas, en especial signeurs et prinches, que tant qu'il aiment et servent Dieu, croient Samuel le prophete, c'est assavoir gens de bonne vie et de boine consultacion, leur signourie est en prosperité et dure. Mais au plus tost qu'il lessent a croire telle gent, et

³³⁰ Isaiah 41:22-23: *priora quae fuerint nuntiate (...) adnuntiate quae ventura sunt in futurum et sciemus quia dii estis vos*. As the context makes clear, it is not Isaiah speaking to soothsayers, but God speaking to the idols, to whom, of course, the pagans attributed divinatory qualities. The text is a *locus classicus* in texts and treatises on divination. It appears, for instance, in Oresme's *Livre de divinacions*, ch. 10 ('Anonciez nous les choses avenir et nous saurons que vous estes Dieu', p. 80) and Philippe de Mézières's *Songe* II.140 ('Dictes nous les choses a advenir et nous dirons que vous estes Dieu', vol. 1, p. 595).

³³¹ I Sam. 8-9.

³³² I Sam. 28.

il se convertissent a folie et a croire gens de malvais estat et de malvaie volenté, plains de couvoitise et de ambicion, gens supersticieus, sorceliers, enchanteurs, devineurs et songeurs, Dieu les dellesse. Il perdent usage de sens et de raison et d'entendement, leur signourie amendrit, on ne tient conte d'eulz, nulz ne les prise ne doubte, et advient souventefois que il se treuvent en peril de perdre du tout leur auctorité et signourie. Et eux veans se transportent en la main de leur adversaires et anemis,³³³ dont il s'e(n)siut destruction de pueple et de royaume et [49'] (et) finalement toute perdicion de corps et d'ame.

J'en apele tesmoing experance qui est de present (qui est de present) en ce royaume en l'an ou nous sommes mil .cccc. et .xi. et desja a duré plusieurs annees precedans, ne la fin n'est encore prochaine.³³⁴ Et tout checy vient a cause de malvais gouvernement, de faute de justice, grande couvoitise, ambicion de regner et dominer qui engendre tyrannie, faute de bonne foy et de creance. Car au jour d'uy toute verité et de vie et de doctrine est arriere mise et deboutee; faveur desordenee, iniquité, malice est partout dissimulee et rengne indifferamment, dont nous sommes dolereusement pugni et en peril de perdicion et destruction totale.³³⁵

Semblablement ad ce propos est il escript du roy Ocozias³³⁶ qui, en une maladie qu'il avoit, envoya au devineurs savoir mon si gari soit, dont Dieu se coursa a luy tres griefment et l'empugni grandement. Parellement et de tous les autres rois qui ont esté en Jherusalem et ou pueple de Dieu par l'espase de .m. ans, il n'en y a que .ii. ou .iii. que tous ne soient repris de che pechié de ydolatrie, et en especial de che que il prenoient conseil en leur affaires a devineurs et ydolatres, telz comme je reputé ceux qui se asseürent sur les jugemens d'astronomie au regart des affaires appartenans a homme et a fame. A cause de cecy la sainte escripture reprove et condampne toux les roys dessusdis et finalement par leur œvres les juge miex estre dampnés perdurablement que autrement. Chy appert la fin a quoy tout homme (tent) vient qui lesse Dieu et ses commandemens pour pranre conseil as folz

³³³ Though grammatically correct, this line may prove somewhat difficult to interpret. The reader may find the following suggestions useful: 'And they' (i.e. the people who have involved themselves with diviners and sorcerers) 'seeing [this]' (i.e. their own ruin) 'deliver themselves into the hands of their adversaries and enemies'.

³³⁴ prochaine: *ms* prochine. A note in the margin corrects this into 'prochaine'.

³³⁵ For a discussion of this passage, see the introductory study, chapter 1.1. The civil war between the Burgundian and Armagnac factions and its prelude was described by Pignon in his *Chronica compendiosa*, pp. 53-55.

³³⁶ IV Reg. 1. Cf. IV Reg. 1:2: *Ohozias (...) misitque nuntios dicens ad eos ite consulite Beelzebub deum Accaron utrum vivere queam de infirmitate mea hac.*

devineurs et sortilèges³³⁷ et superstitieux astrologiens, lesquelz ne sont que blaffemeurs de Dieu et de ses creatures. [50']

III.3 .iii^e. capitre

Ou .iii^e. capitre est a desclairer ceste matiere par les autorités du novel testament, entre (les) lesquelles est souverainement a recevoir la parole de Jhesucrist qui dist as ses disciples quant il li demandoient de la disposicion du temps (a) advenir: 'A vous', dist il, 'n'appartient point de savoir les temps qui sont a avenir, ne les choses qui sont a faire, desquelles Dieu tant seulement a la cognoissance et la puissance'.³³⁸ Item, quant li disciple fiirent question a Jhesucrist du jour du jugement quant il seroit, il leur respondi: 'De celle journee nulz n'est certain, fors le Filz de Dieu ou cely a cuy le Filz de Dieu le veult reveler'.³³⁹ Presumpcion donques est a homme de jugier du tamps (a) advenir par quelconque science que il ait aqise et voloir determineement conclure en telle matiere, se non que Dieu li ait revelé, ce que on voit pou advenir.

Item, en un autre lieu il dit a che propos de celle journee: 'Nulz ne la set, nees le Filz de l'homme',³⁴⁰ c'est a dire de le Vierge. L'exposicion est telle que le Filz de la Vierge en tant que homme ne la scet point, selonc aucune exposicion. L'autre est melleur, c'est assavoir que le Filz de la Vierge ne scet point celle journee pour reveler a autre ne faire savoir. Chy sont mout fol ceux qui se vantent de savoir la disposicion dou temps entierement et les choses (a) advenir.

Item, monseur saint Pol apostre en l'espitre qu'il escript a ceux de Galatas³⁴¹ ad cause de ce que il estoient adhurté en celle folie de garder certains jours et heures en leur ovrages les reprent en disant: 'Je doute',

³³⁷ sortilèges: *ms* sorcileges.

³³⁸ A gloss in the margin reads: *actuum primo*. Act. 1:7: *non est vestrum nosse tempora vel momenta quae Pater posuit in sua potestate*.

³³⁹ The quote is a combination of two texts, viz. Matt. 24:36 and 11:27. Matt. 24:36: *DE DIE AUTEM ILLA ET HORA NEMO SCIT neque angeli caelorum nisi Pater solus*. Matt. 11:27: *et nemo novit Filium nisi Pater neque Patrem quis novit NISI FILIUS ET CUI VOLUERIT FILIUS REVELARE*. (Cf. also Luc. 10:22.)

³⁴⁰ Marc. 13:32: *de die autem illo vel hora nemo scit neque angeli in caelo neque Filius nisi Pater*. The confusion of the two above mentioned texts from Matthew forces Pignon to find a plausible interpretation for this text from Mark 13. He considers the possibility that the Son of man is ignorant of the Day of Judgment during his mortal, human life, but he decides in favour of another reading according to which the Son of man knows not when the Day of Judgment will be and hence cannot let other people know. Neither option quite solves the contradiction created by Pignon.

³⁴¹ Gal. 4:10-11: *dies observatis et menses et tempora et annos timeo vos ne forte sine causa laboraverim in vobis*. Pignon's rendering of these verses is somewhat elaborate.

dist il, 'que sans cause je n'aye labouré et pour neant environ vous en vous estrivant et prechant. Car je voi que vous ne vous retraiés point de celle fole supersticion et erreur qui est entre vous [50'] de garder certains jours et annees et mois cuidans que un soit melleur que l'autre'. Par quoy appert evidenment que voloir dire une journee ou une heure estre milleur que l'autre au regart des ovrages qui cheent sur franc arbitrage et volenté de creature raisonnable, est cose supersticieuse desfendue en nostre foy, contraire a verité et a bonnes meurs.

III.4 *Le .iiii^e. capitre*

Ou quart chapitre est (a) declarer ceste matiere par la doctrine des sains de l'Eglise, dont grant partie est ja tochié en la premiere et seconde partie de cest traitié, la ou est exposee l'entencion des sains docteurs catholiquez.

Item, ad ce propos est ce que nous lysons de saint Augustin que, devant ce qu'il fut converti ad nostre foy, il estoit mout curieux d'estudier les livres des payens, esquelz il lisoit maint erreur des jugemens dou cours du ciel et du soleil et de la lune, qui ne sont que toutes fables.³⁴² Mesme en cely temps tenoit il une malvaie erreur des Manichees qui disent que Dieu, qui crea les angelez et creatures invisibles, ne crea point les choses visibles, ains disoit que le deable les avoit faites.³⁴³ Saint Ambrosez, evesques de Melan, qui veoit saint Augustin estre homme de tres grant entendement, souventefois ly prechoit et avoit avec luy collacion sur la matere de nostre foy. D'autre part la mere saint Augustin qui estoit vraie catholique prioit sans arester a Dieu qu'il volsist son enfant de sa grace enluminer et metre hors de ces erreurs, pour laquele cose elle faisoit maintes abstinences, jeunes, almosnes et pelerinages. Dont il avint, ce dit la (le)gende (e) d'icely saint, que par la predicacion de saint Ambrose et les boins merites de la mere Dieu tocha le cuer de saint Augustin et son entendement et fut apres tout [51'] autre qu'il n'avoit esté devant. Quar ainsi qu'il apert par les livres qu'il a escriis et composé, il rapela de soy mesmes toutes ces erreurs et en especial che ou il avoit erré en la matiere dont en ce present traitiét est faite especiale mencion. Et est le docteur de Sainte Eglise par lequel toutes erreurs en matiere de foy et de creance ont esté et sont plus destruites. Quar tout (a painne) quantque Sainte Eglise a pour extirper heresies et erreurs, c'est la doctrine de cest docteur glorieus, en especial en ce qui touche, comme dit est, en matiere de sortilege et de divinacion, comme il appara ou .viii^e. capitre chy apres.

³⁴² Augustine, *Confessiones* IV.3.

³⁴³ Augustine, *Confessiones* III.6-7.

Item, saint Jerome,³⁴⁴ docteur tant sollempnel et tant notable, en sa jounesse prenoit plaisir a estudier en telles folies et par especial es livres de Ciceron³⁴⁵ qui parlent des signes du ciel et de telles choses sur coy se fondent nos devineurs. Une nuit li vint vision que une personne mout notable luy demandoit de quelle creance il estoit. Respont que Crestien. L'autre li dit: 'Tu mens, tu es Ciceroniens.'³⁴⁶ Car la ou ton tresor est, ton cuer est'. En icelle vision se senti tres durement batu et repris et tellement que en son corps longuement apres en senti les douleurs. Chy cessa d'estudier en telles sciences et par la grace de Dieu eut appres cognoissance de ces erreurs contre lesquels escriisi et fist maint livre et traitié, en condamnant et reprovant telles supersticions et erreurs et extollant nostre foy ainsi qu'il apert par ches ovrages.

Monseur saint Grigore et saint Ambr(os)e, Crisostome, Bede et les autres docteurs de Sainte Eglise, exposans les euvangiles et les fais de Jhesucrist appartenans a nostre foy avec les dessusdis, tous par une mesme commune sentence repreuvent l'erreur de ceux qui disent que creature rai[51']sonnable, home et fame, au regart de leur volenté et franc³⁴⁷ arbitrage soient subget au cours du ciel ne des estoiles et que l'un cascun naist desoulz certaine constellation, selonc laquelle par necessitey il se gouverne et ordenne en tous ses affaires, non pas seullement quant au corps mais quant a l'ame, c'est a dire quant a l'entendement et a la volenté. Il n'est au jour d'uy plus malvaise ne plus detestable erreur, se nous volons entendre aux noviax docteurs, prenons Boëce *De Consollacion*, Alain *De complanctu Nature*, saint Thurnas d'Aquin qui fait un livre tout singulièrement contre telz erreurs, Albert de Coulogne, (et) maistre Guillaume de Paris docteur tant notable qui composa sur ce un livre mout auctentique et a prisier.³⁴⁸ Tous les autres docteurs

³⁴⁴ Hieronymus, *Epistola* 22.30 (PL 22, 416-417). In a feverish dream Jerome sees himself brought before a heavenly tribunal. *Interrogatus de conditione, Christianum me esse respondi. Et ille qui praesidebat: Mentiris, ait, Ciceronianus es, non Christianus: ubi enim thesaurus tuus, ibi et cor tuum.* (This Scriptural reference is to Matt. 6:21; cf. also Luke 12:34.) Jerome makes no mention of any attachment to astrology or divination. The dream intends to question Jerome's love of classical literature in general as it tries to persuade him to give up his perusal of the *Gentilium litterarum libri* or the *codices saeculares*. By rendering these *libri* and *codices saeculares* as 'telles sciences' (meaning divination) Pignon misrepresents the text.

³⁴⁵ Ciceron: *ms* citeron.

³⁴⁶ Ciceroniens: *ms* citeroniens.

³⁴⁷ franc: *ms* faut.

³⁴⁸ Many of the early Fathers of the Church (Pignon briefly refers to Gregory, Ambrose, John Chrysostom and Bede) denounced judicial astrology and superstition. For a comprehensive list of Christian authors and their works on magic and superstition, see: Harmening, *Superstitio*, pp. 332-339. Boethius's *Consolatio philosophiae*, book 5, was a major source for medieval discussions of free will and determinism. Alain de Lille's (ca. 1120-1202) *De complanctu Naturae* (*The Complaint of Nature*) would seem to be somewhat misplaced in this context. In this

catholiquez approuvés en nostre mere l'université de Paris, qui ont esté, sont et seront, se sont esforcé et (s')enforchent et de jour en jour en leçons, collacions, predicacions de ceste fauce et detestable punais(i)e extirper de ce royaume. Et le deable qui est acteur et maistre de telz fols songeurs et devineurs de bonnes heures ne s'en puet ne ne veult desister; ne on ne se puelt de telz gens (d)escarpir en aucuns lieux que on ne les trove par toutes places et a toutes heures, non obstant que on ne verra ja homme de ce usant et en ce creant qui ne vive en dongier, honte, reproche,³⁴⁹ peril de corps et charge de conscience, et qui en la fin ne soit deshonné et retardé de tous ces propos et entencions. Les plus grans docteurs de ceste fole sette sont gens ors et sales, malotrus, chetive gent, mal vestu, mal ordenét, en tres grant dangier usant [52^r] leur vie et non point sans cause. Car la justice de Dieu ne saroit as gens crimineux estre (assez) ardent en especial en tel crime qui est³⁵⁰ de lese majesté souveraine.

III.5 *Le .v^e. chapitre*

Ou .v^e. chapitre sont a produire exemples faisans a ceste matiere, extrais tant de legendes et vie de sains comme de croniques approuvees. Pour quoy est assavoir, premierement, que la fin principale de la predicacion de Jhesucrist, de ses apostres et disciples estoit a destruire toute ydolatrie et malvaiese creance et exaucer nostre foy, pour laquelle Jhesucrist et les sains de paradis, tant du viés comme du novel testament, ont esté occis. Dont appres l'ascencion nostre Seigneur Jhesucrist, quant li apostre eurent receü le Saint

allegory dame Nature complains that man, whom she has endowed with so many qualities and gifts (prose 3: Nature actually made man), has abandoned her and broken her laws, degenerating into unnatural behaviour which has lead to a variety of vices, including idolatry (prose 6). This theme emerges in CLD II.1.1(r4), but the *Plaint* contains no discussions of divination, magic or free will and determinism. The work by Aquinas (ca. 1225-1274) is identified in a marginal note as the *Summa contra gentiles*. Next to the passages used by Pignon (SCG III.84-86) it also contains a section on magic (SCG III.104-107). An important book on magic and astrology attributed to Albertus Magnus ('Albert de Coulogne', ca. 1193-1280) is the *Speculum astronomiae*. For Albert's other works on these subjects, see: Thorndike, HMES II, pp. 517-592. William of Paris (William of Auvergne) was exceptionally well read in magical and occult literature. His most important works are *De universo* and *De legibus* ('un livre mout auctentique et a prisier' refers to the latter). See: Thorndike, HMES II, pp. 338-371. Though Pignon was evidently aware of the older literature on magic and divination, he made no references to the works of his contemporaries or near-contemporaries. He refers to 'leçons', 'collacions' and 'predicacions' but gives no examples. Nicole Oresme's *Livre de divinacions*, Philippe de Mézières's allegorical denunciation of superstition in *Le Songe du Vieil Pelerin*, Jean Gerson's *De erroribus circa artem magicam*, to mention the most important contemporary texts from France, seem to be unknown to Pignon.

³⁴⁹ reproche: *ms* rprohe reproche (scribal error).

³⁵⁰ est: *ms* en.

Esperit, il se departirent par tout le monde et par leur doctrine et predicacion rapeloient plusieurs a la voie de verité et a la cognoissance de Dieu. Entre lesquelz saint Symon et saint Jude³⁵¹ furent envoié en une partie de Babiloinne, la ou il trouverent .ii. enchanteurs qui s'en estoient fuý de Persyde a cause de saint Mathé. Et advint que le duc de Babiloinne devoit aler en une bataille contre les Yndes. Il appella ces .ii. devineurs pour savoir la fortune de la bataille. Il respondirent que il i aroit tres grande desconfiture. Adont prisent a dire saint Symon et saint Jude, disans au duc qu'il fust aseüré quar l'endemain vindrent les messagiers d'Ynde lesquelz apporterent³⁵² confirmation de pays entre les signeurs et les paýs. Et ensy advint que li apostre avoient dit en tres grant honte de(s)dis devineurs. De plusieurs autres sains on lit le cas parel en Sainte Eglise.

En croniquez et histories nous lisons³⁵³ plusieurs exemples faisans a cecy. Il estoit un roy [52'] qui avoit un astronomen, lequel d'autre cose ne luy servoit que de li dire les bonnes heures. Un jour advint que le roy avisa cel astronomen estre mout triste et plus que n'avoit de coustume, si volt savoir la cause et l'astronomen li dist: 'Sire', dist il, 'c'est pour tant que j'ay trové en vostre constellation que vous devés ceste annee morir'. Le roy mout courcié reporta cecy a un grant signeur de son amistié le quel apella ce astronomen et ly demanda comment il savoit la mort du roy. Il respondi: 'Par le cours du ciel'. Le prince demanda: 'Et vous, maistre, combien avés vous a vivre?' Il respondi: 'Vint ans'. Et le seigneur dist: 'Je vous mousteré que vous jugiés mal et que vostre science ne vous vault riens'. Sy commanda en l'eure que on li trenchast le teste et ainsi fu fait. Et le roy vesqui puis bien lonc temps. Si est trop grant peril de soy arester au jugemens de telles gens, car on poroit en maintes manieres procurer mal et damage au signeurs et aux princes, et puis donner a entendre par la relacion de telz songeurs que la cose seroit advenue par le cours du ciel et de nature.

³⁵¹ Pignon presents here a very concise version of a story that can be found in Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*, 159 (ed. Graesse, pp. 708-709): *Deinde in Persidem ambo (Judas and Symon, J.V.) venerunt et ibidem duos magos, Zaroen et Arphaxat, quod Matthaeus de Aethiopia fugaverat, invenerunt.* The 'duc de Babiloinne' is not a duke but a *dux*, a commander of the army. *Tunc Baradach, dux regis Babyloniae, contra Indos ad proelium profecturus nullum a Diis, suis potuit habere responsum.* The gods will not speak because of the presence of the Apostles. The commander has the two of them brought before him, and they, having explained their mission, challenge him to test his gods, to see whether they can predict the outcome of the imminent war through the two magicians. *Tunc phantastici grande bellum dixerunt futurum et multum populum hinc inde proelio ruiturum.* But the Apostles say: *noli timere, quia pax huc nobiscum intravit, et cras hora diei tertia legati Indorum ad te venient et tuae se potestati cum pace subjicient.* Things turned out the way the Apostles had predicted. The same story can be found in the *Petits Bollandistes* 13 (Paris 1878), pp. 3-6.

³⁵² apporterent: *ms* a po porterent (possibly a scribal error).

³⁵³ A marginal note reads: 'exemple de croniquez'. I was unable to find the source.

Item, il est escript du roy d'Espaigne³⁵⁴ qui avoit fait tres grant armee contre les Sarrazins. Advint un jour que les chevaliers³⁵⁵ oÿrent une grant multitude de cornilles et dirent au roy que c'estoit mauvais signe et que il ne devoit aler avant en sa bataille. Le roy adont dit: 'Ces cornelles a paine ont .iiii. ans d'age et ne scevent point la maniere de combatre les Sarrazins. Encore a vint ans que je cognois bien comment on les doit combatre. Vous me devés miex croire que telles bestes. Alons ou non de Dieu et je suy certain que nous arons honneur'. Adont tuit le suyrent et furent [53'] victorieus. Que vault en telle matiere telz supersticieus? Miex vault prendre le conseil des bons chevaliers et experts es³⁵⁶ armes que soi arester au fables de tels tronpeurs qui n'ont fondement quelconquez³⁵⁷ de raison.

Item, es croniquez de Franche³⁵⁸ est recité que Cihilperic, roy de France, a l'instance de sa fame la royne Radegunde feïst un sien filz religieux qui avoit nom Meroveüs et estoit d'unne autre femme. Ce religieux chy Meroveüs, par le conseil d'un grant signeur nommé Contranus, envoya a une devineresse pour savoir ce qui li estoit <a> advenir. Elle li respondi que en

³⁵⁴ I was unable to find the source. Philippe de Mézières remarks that the Spanish set great store by signs and omens: 'Les Espaigneux (...) jamais ne partiroient de la cite ou chasteaux sans avoir aucun signe, qui par leur folie et comme ydolatrie leur signifie de leurs emprises ou bien ou mal advenir; c'est assavoir par le sternu des gens, par un lievre qu'ilz trouveront a l'issue d'une ville, par aigles, par corbins et autres oyseaux volans, desquelx signes et science deffendue ilz ont leurs propres livres, et les croyent infalliblement' (*Songe* II.105, vol. 1, p. 518). John of Salisbury also mentions Spanish love of omens, especially in relation to crows (*Policraticus* I.13).

³⁵⁵ chevaliers: *ms* chevariers.

³⁵⁶ es: *ms* et.

³⁵⁷ quelconquez: *ms* quesconquez.

³⁵⁸ The following story can be found in Gregory of Tours's *Historiae* V.14. The orthography of the names is slightly different. Merovechus is Meroveüs, Fredegundis is Radegunde, and count Gunthchramnus Boso is Contranus. See: Gregor von Tours, *Historiarum libri decem / Zehn Bücher Geschichten*, eds. B. Krusch and R. Buchner (Darmstadt 1977), vol. 1, pp. 302-306. The three Bible-oracles derive from I Kings 9:9, Ps. 72:18-19 (KJV Ps. 73), and Matt. 26:2. For further examples of this, see *Historiae* IV.16. Gregory evidently values these Bible-oracles, though other Church authorities felt decidedly uneasy about them. Aquinas sees divine oracles which are wrongly applied to worldly affairs as something sinful and he quotes Augustine as saying that *his qui de paginis evangelicis sortes legunt* profoundly displease him (ST 2a2ae.95.8(R)). Pignon does not disclose his own ideas in this matter. In the sections in which he paraphrases this article from the ST (CLD I.5 and II.2.6) he makes no specific mention of Bible-oracles. Pignon speaks of the 'croniquez de Franche' which might refer to the *Grandes Chroniques de France* in which the story also occurs, be it severely truncated. Most likely, Pignon has used Gregory's text; he uses Latin endings (Contranus, Meroveus) and one episode is missing from the *Grandes Chroniques*. Though it does contain the story of the 'phitonise qui par ses sorceries disoit aucune foiz les choses si com eles avoient' and the story of the 'devins respons' and the three books, the episode of the angel is lacking. See: *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, ed. Jules Viard (Paris 1920), vol. 1, pp. 243-244.

icelle annee son pere morroit et tous ses freres seroient prisonnier et que il seroit coroné roy et que Contranus gouverneroit l'espasce de .vi. ans le royaume et apres seroit arcevesques d'une cité qui estoit sur Leire. A cause de cecy le dit Meroveüs faussa l'abit de religion et sa tonsure et se reputoit desja comme roy et le dit Contranus comme arcevesques, et eulx emsamble se departirent et vindrent a Tours et revelerent leur conseil a l'arcevesque qui estoit adont nommé Gregoire, lequel tres grandement les reprist et argua et leur dist comment il avoit oït le vois d'un angele sur l'eglise saint Martin de Tours disant: 'Heu, heu, heu, Dieu a batu le roy Chilperic et tous ses enfans tellement que jamais ne regneront'. Quant Meroveüs oÿt cecy, il doubta mout et par l'espace de .iii. jours en l'eglise saint Martin jeunant en priant Dieu qu'il luy volsist segnefier la verité de che qu'il li estoit (a) avenir par ce que il trouveroit escript a ov(r)ir la bible soudainement. Il ovry la bible et ou premier lieu que il regarda avoit escript: 'Pour tant que m'avés lessié, avés enfiancé en diex estranges, je vous lesse es mains de vos ennemis'. [53'] Il tourne encore autre part et trove escript ou psaltier: 'Pour leur pechiés et iniquités tu les as delessiés et degetés ou temps qu'il devoient estre plus eslevé'. Tiercement tourna et trova escript en l'euvangile de nostre Seigneur Jhesucrist qui disoit as ses disciples: 'Sachiés que apres .ii. jours passés le filz de l'omme sera livré a mort'. Sur ces choses fut mout esbahi et s'en ala a Arras requesir ayde a ceux de la ville encontre le roy. Il ly promirent et le garderent (et le garderent) en un castel jusques a ce temps que le roy vint pour en faire justice. Quant Meroveüs ouÿ la venue du roy, il se fist tuer par un sien vallet et ainsi fina miserablement ses jours.

Trop de telles histoires on porroit introduire ad ce propos, mais c'est trop grant longue chose. A tant soffisse pour le present qu'il appert par ceux-chy rechitees que ceux qui en telz su(per)sticieuses sorceries adjoustent foy et creance secretement, (se) treuvent en la fin deceü et deshonoré et perdu. Et c'est quant a la matiere de cest present capitre.

III.6 .vi^e. *capitre*

Ou .vi^e. capitre est approduire aucunes raisons fondees en philosophie naturelle et morale. Quant a philosophie naturele dit Aristolte que des choses que on voit cascun jour advenir aucunes ont causes natureles, lesquelles necessairement produisent les effais que on voit et infalliblement. Et de telles choses puet on bien jugier au vray, ainsi que on puet dire de le chose du soleil et de la lune, du mouvement des estoiles, de la disposicion du tamps quant aux saisons qui sont naturelment disposees a estre chaudes ou froides, et de cecy puet un bon astronomen bien jugier, ja soische que on y puet encore bien fallir. Il est une autre maniere des cozes qui advienent desquelles nulz ne puet assigner raison evidamment. Ainsi que on voit que une personne [54']

fouist en terre et treuve | un grant tresor, cecy n'a point de cause naturele et n'est autre |³⁵⁹ chose fors aventure et fortune et chose casuele.

Item, il mesme Aristote, quant il a longuement traité des evres de nature, de la vertu et puissance du ciel au regart du gouvernement de ce monde materiel, il dit en conclusion que il est de necesité qu'il soit l'un premier et souverain prince qui est cause disposant et ordenant toutes choses a sa volenté et a son plaisir par entendement sens necesité ou contrainte. De quoy le contraire disent ly fols devineurs qui se nomment astronomiens qui veulent a toutes choses imposer cause necesité naturele et parjugier de ce qui est <a> advenir et affermer une partie certaine che qui ne fut onques donné cognoistre a homme.

Item, en son livre de *Methafisique* Aristote propose deux manieres de causes produisans toutes choses quelconques elles soient: une est nature, l'autre entendement et volenté.³⁶⁰ Quant est des evres de nature, elles adviennent le plus souvent parellement et uniement, combien que pour causes des particuleres causes et accidenteles circonstances il n'est homme qui ne faille a en jugier. Des cozes qui adviennent de la cause qui est dite franc arbitrage, elles sont du tout en la disposicion et ordenance de Dieu et de homme, et de ceux-cy Dieu et ceux en qui il est de telles choses faire en <ont> une cognoissance tant seulement.³⁶¹ Et qui donne autre coze a entendre, il seduit ceux a cui il parle. C'est la sentence d'Aristote.

Item, en son livre qui nomme *Pery Armenes*³⁶² tient il celle mesme sentence, et la commune escole des logiciens en cecy l'ensuit,³⁶³ qu'il est aucunes propositions necessaires, aucunes contingents et possibles, aucunes impossibles, et tout cecy se raporte a bon entendement ad ce que aucunes

³⁵⁹ Accidentally the line between the two lines ('| un grant tresor ... n'est autre |') was initially omitted by the scribe, but he later corrected his error and added the missing fragment in the upper margin of the page.

³⁶⁰ The two principles of motion, nature and intellect, were dealt with by Pignon in CLD II.5, following SCG III.85 (2600).

³⁶¹ Of the things that happen as a result of free will only God and the actors concerned have any (prior) knowledge; i.e., no one else can deduce or predict these things from the stars or from natural causes.

³⁶² The reference here to Aristotle's *De interpretatione* (*Perihermeneias*) is too general for an actual quotation. *De interpretatione* 9 is the *locus classicus* for later discussions on foreknowledge and future contingents. Aristotle argues that future contingent propositions can be neither true nor false, for if they should be either one or the other, future events would be predetermined and there would be no room for chance, which is absurd, according to Aristotle. Necessity and possibility are discussed in chapters 12 and 13 which deal with the modalities of propositions, but Pignon is only interested in the general idea that, since propositions may express possibility, absolute necessity is precluded. Cf. also CDE II. 280-293 (p. 153) which is based on SCG II.86 (2618).

³⁶³ l'ensuit: *ms* lensult.

coses aviennent a l'aventure sans asseigner cause certaine, [54v] aucunes par deliberacion et volenté et ainsy de plusieurs autres, laquelle science est de logique. Cechi porroit on longuement deduire par quoy appert la fole opinion des devineurs.

Quant au raisons fondees sus philosophie morale Aristote ou livre de *Ethiques*³⁶⁴ argue que ses ovrages des hommes et qui appartient a eulz advenoient par necessité dou cours de nature, ainsi que disent ceux qui ont regart a la naissance des hommes, trop d'inconveniens s'en pourroient venir et ensuyr. C'est assavoir qu'il n'y aroit aucune difference entre homme et beste mue. Item, que chatiement, discipline et correccion seroient pour nient. Item, justice seroit nulle par laquelle on pugnist les mauvais pour leur mesfais et gueredone les boins pour leur merites. Car on ne doit point pugnir ne gueredonner une personne pour cose qu'il face par necessité et contrainte et tellement que nature a ce le contraint veule ou non, ainsi que disent les songeurs. Item, ja homme ne reparteroit honneur ne loange, blasme ne honte de quose qu'il feïst, car de ce a quoi nature nous contraint nous ne sommes ne a loër ne a blasmer. Item, il ne fauroit jamais prendre conseil ne deliberacion de quelconques cose que on eüst a faire. Pour neant seroient les conseilliers des signeurs environ eux, car il soffiroit avoir un astronmien qui diroit de tous leurs affaires, il avendra ainsi et par telle maniere par le cours du ciel. Car il covient dire ou que il avenra ainsi, ou que il puet autrement avenir; se il advient ainsi infalliblement, et que leur jugement soit certain, pour neant quierent aultre conseil; se il puet autrement advenir, ou il sevent comment autrement ou non se[55v]vent au certain, pour nient, comme dit, on prend aultre conseil que celi qui donnent; se il ne le sevent, leur science dont est nulle, ainsi que vraiment est a dire car ce n'est que un songe. Item, pour neant on prieroit Dieu et la glorieuse Vierge et les sains auxquels on retourne en temps d'aversion pour avoir ayde. Pour nient seroient fait sacrefice, offrandes et toutes choses qui appartiennent a l'honneur de Dieu et de nostre foy, et ainsi autant vauroit estre païen que Crestien; cecy appert puisque il disent que de toutes choses qui sont a advenir, nature y a tellement proveü qu'elle ordene determineement laquelle partie avendra et autrement estre ne puet. Ainsi fauroit dire que un astronmien vaudroit un dieu en terre, ne il ne seroit ja (tesmoing) besoing de avoir esperance en aultre que en luy. Tous ces inconveniens sont telz et si horribles que on ne les porroi(en)t asser

³⁶⁴ The themes of this paragraph were already dealt with by Pignon more concisely in CLD II.5, following SCG III.85 (2607 b). In fact, the whole tone of the present paragraph derives from the passage by Thomas Aquinas and not from Aristotle (cf. also ST 1a.83.1(R)). Yet Aristotle's discussions of moral responsibility and free choice in, e.g., *Nicomach. Ethics* III.1-2 and 5 may be said to concur with Pignon's remarks.

peser, dont est mout presumptueuse et dampnee la folie de ceux qui a telles coses se ahurtent dont telz et si grans mauz puelent advenir.

Item, se leur fole estimacion estoit vraie, je leur demande quelle raison il puelent asigner de .ii. enfans³⁶⁵ qui seront engénré, ney d'un mesme pere, a une mesmes heure, souz une constellation, norry d'un mesme lait, en toutes coses natures semblables et parel, et neantmoins en leur temps appres on voit estre un tres boin en toutes coses fortunei, et l'autre tres malvais et en toutes coses infortuné, et nientmoins, comme dit est, nature en a autant fait en toutes coses pour l'ung comme pour l'autre. Qui est dont cause de telle et si grant diversité se non la volenté de Dieu, qui donne grace a l'un par quoy il persevere en bien et non pas a l'autre, et la volenté [55'] d'un chascun d'iceulz, que l'un se habitue par le jugement de raison de quoy il use a bien faire et a recevoir la grasse nostre Seigneur, l'autre a ce se dispose en meurs fors a mal don? Et se le mauvais estoit contraint par nature a mal, sans cause Dieu le pugniroit, comme dit est. Item, c'est coze notoire, car se l'un qui a default de sens commet aucun grant crime, il n'en est point pugni a cause de ce que il n'a point usaige de raison ne de franc arbitrage, et nientmoins du cas parel un autre est pugni pour tant qu'il a usaige de raison et de franche volenté. Dont apert il par ce que les maus ou les biens que nous faisons ne sont point a atribuer au cours du ciel ne des esstoiles, mais a la bonne ou malvaise volenté d'un chascun. Toutes ces raisons font³⁶⁶ Aristote et les filosofes.

Item, par la raison parelle dessusdite de .ii. enfans puet on arguer de .ii. segneurs ou pluseurs qui aroient guerre l'un a l'autre, prenroit journee determinee et lieu et heure pour eulz combattre.³⁶⁷ Par un mesme acort, le cas est possible qu'il soient ney desoulz une constellation et a une mesme heure et que en toutes coses soient parel fors que en volenté, quar l'un tent a destruire l'autre. Ly astronomien d'un cascun diront que l'eure et le tamps et la place sont tres propice pour son maistre. Ou il covient que tous deux soient victorieux, qui ne puet estre, ou que tous .ii. soient vaincu, qui est difficile, ou que l'un conquiste l'autre et ainsy un des astronomiens aura falli en jugement, et toutesfois le cas est tres possible et par aventure pluseurs fois advenu. Et tel comme je argue de ces cas ichy tochiés, on puet le parel arguer [56'] de tous autres, par quoi appert le grant folie et erreur de ceux qui a telle

³⁶⁵ The case of the twins being born under the same constellation, yet leading completely different lives (as in the Biblical instance of Jacob and Esau) was one of Augustine's favourite anti-astrological arguments. Cf.: *Confessiones* VII.6 (CC 27, 97-99); DCD V.2-6 (CC 47, 129-134); *De diversis quaestionibus* 45.2 (CC 44a, 68-69); and chapter 4.5.1, pp. 185-186 above.

³⁶⁶ font: *ms* fait.

³⁶⁷ Cf. the duel between Peter of Courtenay and Guy de Trémoille, which the Monk of St. Denis (*Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* VI.11, vol. 1, pp. 394-396) uses as an example to illustrate the follies of astrology. See chapter 3.3 above.

supersticion s'arestent et ahurtent et qui i croient ne qui font faveur a ceux qui en usent. Seulement doit soffire a un chascun en son estat que Dieu li ait donné sens et raison pour savoir, congnoistre et discerner bien et mal, quesir boin conseil et sage, et de tout ce user par boine prudence en soi comme tant premierement et sur tout a Dieu, lequel a en sa main du tout l'ordenanche et la disposicion de toutes cozes presens et (a) advenir et lequel en puet a son plaisir ordener par dessus le cours de nature, et souventefois ainsi le fait, combien que secretement et par dessus nostre (conne) congnoissance.

III.7 .vii^e. *capt*

Ou .vii^e. capitre sont a faire aucunes raisons de partie a autre contre les devineurs qui se disent astronomien. Et a che faire seroit .iii. voies. La premiere voie sera contre eux au regart de leur personne et de leur estat. La seconde sera au regart de leur science. La tierche au regart de leur auditeurs et de ceux qui leur font faveur.

Quant au premier on puet arguer que communement on les voit estre gens de tres chetis gouvernement, gens inconstans, courens et espavés, et qui sans cesser se transportent de place en autre, gens sans entendement, sans discrecion, sans prudence, sales, villes, ors en maintien, deshonneste et sans maniere, et de pluseurs ont usé comme de folz et en forme de folz se maintiennent. Car en toute compaignie ou il sont, on ne voit que eux et a leur povoir a toutes heures et en tous lieux se tiennent au plus pres des plus grans. Item, quant aux infortunes et males aventures de quoy il advisent autrui, ne se scevent il aviser ne preserver. [56^v] Et voit on communement que tels gens se veulent entremettre de tout; maintenant d'arquemie, puis de cirurgie, puis de medecine, puis d'astronomie, et en la fin on les treuve gent ygnorant et nonsachant, et qui fait (a) telle gent deprisier. Leur vie est inmisérable et souventefois leur mort sans comparaison plus miserable et honteuse. Item, qui bien les advise, on les treuve privés de toutes graces et de tous biens; premierement, des biens de nature, quar il n'ont, comme dit est, ne sens ne entendement; des biens de fortune, comme il appert par ce que dit est; des biens de grace sont il du tout privé, car il sont sans foy et sans loy, de tout hors de la voie de salut tant que il se tiennent en teil erreur.³⁶⁸

Quant au regart que on puet avoir a leur science, on puet arguer par mainte maniere. Premierement, quar toute science qui (qui) se enseigne

³⁶⁸ Though slightly biased, the depiction represents possibly a fairly common sentiment. Cf. *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* XIV.6 (vol. 2, pp. 88-91) where the appearance of the sorcerer Arnaud Guillaume is described. His simple dress, emaciated countenance, his solitary and itinerant life-style, his lack of learning and his pretentiousness drew the chronicler's attention.

celeement, comme ceste cy, est reprovee, et que leur science soit telle, il appert car teles gens quierent heures, places et manieres secretes et couvertes quant il veulent parler a aucune personne de ceste science.³⁶⁹ Item, plus tost la proposent a gens de simple entendement que a ceux qui entendent raison, et jamais devant gens entendant n'en parlent.³⁷⁰ Item, a ce propos (on) conferme(nt) (que) toute l'université de Paris, qui est la souveraine et maistresse de toutes les autres, n'a falculté, ne escole, ne college, ne librarie, ne lieu, ne place, quant on a partout esté, ou ceste science soit approvee ne comuniquée³⁷¹ notoirement. Se aucun y estudient, il convient que ce soit secretement et mal par consequent, car toute science bonne et approvee se doit en publique declarer. Item, toute science e(s)t ordenee finable[57]ment pour donner perfection a l'entendement de homme, et par cognoissance certaine d'aucunes conclusions fondees sur princ(ip)es qui contiennent verité infallible. La science des jugemens d'astrologie³⁷² ne fait riens de tout cechy. Car les conclusions que telz devineurs proposent et mette(n)t avant elles sont ou double entendement; ou de tant et si diverses circonstances condicionees, ou si obscurment³⁷³ balliés qu'il n'est home qui y puisse prendre une seulle sentence asseüree, et par (che) telles involutions, quelcunques cose qu'il adviengne de leur jugemens, il treuvent adés leur fuite et leur response (response).³⁷⁴

Quant a ce qui a regart a leur auditeurs et fauteurs, cascuns puet assés sentir que ceux qui s'i arestent ne sont pas sage. Car plusieurs sont qui appres longues et meüres deliberacions de leurs affaires s'aresteront plus et asseüreront a la fole opinion et jugement d'un maleureux que de tout le conseil qu'il aront par avant eü. La ou on voit que du temps qui doit faire de jour a autre, il ne scevent bien souvent jugier au vrai. Et pour tant voit on aucunnefois mal prendre a plusieurs qui s'y ahurtent. Item, on ne verra ja

³⁶⁹ The secrecy that Pignon stresses here is an important aspect of magic rituals. A modern anthropologist like Marcel Mauss, e.g., defines a magic rite as 'any rite which does not play a part in organised cults - it is private, secret, mysterious and approaches the limit of a prohibited rite'. See: Mauss, *A General Theory of Magic*, transl. R. Brain (London 1972), p. 24.

³⁷⁰ A similar observation was made by Oresme in his *Livre de divinacions*, chapter 12: 'ilz ont certaines cautelles que ilz appellent la logique des jugemens, sicomme soy vanter et promettre merveilles en la presence de simples gens et pour jugier et demander loyer, et peu parler devant philosophes, et muent le propos, et quierent dilacions et excusacions, ...' (Coopland ed., p. 96).

³⁷¹ comuniquée: *ms* comunuquée.

³⁷² astrologie: *ms* atiologie.

³⁷³ obscurment: *ms* obstrument.

³⁷⁴ Cf. similar remarks by Oresme in his *Livre de Divinacions*, chapter 12: 'leurs paroles sont aucunefois doubles, amphiboliques, a deux visages (...) et aucunefois sont obscures et peuent estre appliquees a plusieurs effects ou personnes. (...) Qui veult diviner obscurément des fortunes d'un homme, a painne puet faillir que il n'aviengne aucune chose applicable a son divinément par la continuelle variacion des proprieté et des adversité de fortune' (Coopland ed., p. 94).

boin Crestien ne boin catolique a telles follies soy arester, ne foy y ajouster. Dont sont mout a reprendre ceux qui s'i arestent et qui cuydent estre plus sage que tout le demorant du monde. Bien puelent penser que se telle science fust certaine et bonne, elle seroit par tout le monde publiee et chascun tendroit³⁷⁵ a y estudier et profiter. Item, telz gens sont decheü par ce que les devineurs a cuy il parlent ont pratique de savoir leur complexion naturele, laquelle legierement par l'art de medecine en puet savoir. Et par ce il puelent congnoistre a quelle [57^v] passion naturele il sont enclin selonc leur complexion et sur ce assignent leur jugemens, dont aucunefois par aventure advient ce qu'il ont dit, pour c(r)oy on les croit apres en toutes coses. Item, puisque il quierent entree en aucun lieu, il se traient envers aucunes gens d'auctorité, lesquelz il voient enclins a leur supersticions et dechoivent, premierement par coses communes, comme sont l'eclipse de soleil (l'eclipse de solel) ou de la lune, la disposicion du temps quant a pluye, a secerece, et ainsi de pluseurs cozes qui sont toutes communes a un philosofe et boin medecin. Et par ce s'avanchent (a) avigier de plus hautes coses et plus dongereuses en la maniere que dit est, pour mettre les gens en admiracion et avoir reputacion entre eulx. Dont il faut par inopportunité, souventefois de ceus qui les portent, qu'il soient en ordenance et service des plus grans, en tres grant clergié et de renommee et de consenche, et se on en parle, on dit que c'est par envie. Cy convient don (dire), c'est dou grant desplaisir lessier passer la cose soulx dissimulacion en prejudice de la foy et du sauvement des ames de pluseurs. Par checy verité, justice et equité sont delaissié et convient que iniquité, malice, erreur si treuve lieu. Dont je me doute que ad cause de ce Dieu a³⁷⁶ puny aucuns et punit encore de jour en jour et punira. Et, qui pis est, a cause d'iceulx aultre par aventure sont pugny qui n'ont coulpe, ainsi que Dieu le veult faire ou soffrir.

III.8 *Ou .viii^e. capitre*

Ou .viii^e. capitre sont a alleguer les autorités de Sainte Eglise touchiés en droit canon. Si veul ychy, au plus pres que je porrai, mettre che que le [58^r] decret en propose trait des livres de saint Augustin.³⁷⁷

³⁷⁵ tendroit: *ms* dendroit.

³⁷⁶ a: *ms* nest.

³⁷⁷ Much of the material in this chapter was derived from the *Decretum Gratiani* II.26.7.16 (PL 187,1369-1370): *Non observetis dies, qui dicuntur Aegyptiaci, aut calendas Januarii, in quibus cantilenae quaedam, et comessationes, et ad invicem dona donantur, quasi in principio anni boni fati augurio, aut aliquos menses, aut tempora, aut dies, et annos, aut lunae solisque cursum (...). Whoever practises or adheres to such things will cause himself to be damned. Qui autem talibus credunt, aut ad eorum domum euntes, aut suis domibus introducunt, ut interrogent, sciant, se fidem Christianam et baptismum praevaricasse, et ut paganum et apostatam, id est*

Tous ceux qui croient en devineurs, ne en sorceries, nés en la toctrine des jugemens d'astrologie, qui se fondent sus les cours du ciel, du soleil et de la lune et autres planettes, au regart de la nativité des hommes, ou d'aucune constellation, et eulx apropiée appliqué a leur operations; et qui croient enchanteurs, devineurs et songeurs qui disent qu'il ont visions par lesquelles il puelent savoir ce qui est a avenir au personnes; et quiconques croit en telle matiere aultrement que Sainte Eglise a ordené, approuvé et déterminé; et ceux qui croient que les jours Egipsiens, signes ou kalendier sont mauvais, et que le premier jour de l'an soit cause de la fortune ou infortune de tous les autres; ceux qui gardent certains tamps, journees et heures pour emprendre et commencer aucuns ovrages, comme est edefier novel ostel, semer, planter, cuyllir, esrachier autrement que raison naturelle et commune usage n'a de coustume, soy marier, entrer en voiage ou en bataille, ou autre ovrage queconques, et generalment toutes choses qui ne sont fondees sus raison naturelle ou auctorité de sainte escripture et de l'Eglise; et non pas ceux tant seulement qui font telles choses, mais ceux qui consentent aus faisans, et qui y croient, et qui vont en leur ostelz, ou qui les introduisent en leur maisons, et qui les tiennent en leur compagnie ou en leur service, et qui boit et mengne avec eux, ne les interroge, ne parle a eux³⁷⁸ depuis que il ont estei sour ce soffissamment examiné, amonesté et corrigié et que on les connoist et scet estre telz; tous ceux, dit Sainte Eglise, qui es choses dessusdites sont coupables,³⁷⁹ doivent savoir que il ont la foy [58^v] catholique, le baptesme et autres sacremens trespasés par prevaricacion et inobedience manifeste.³⁸⁰ Tout homme de ce repris et qui ne se corrige est apostat de la foy et païen et mescreant, doit estre reputé de Dieu anemi et adversaire, et le courous de Dieu tres grandement et son indignacion perdurablement a encoru, se par penitence ne se corrige et chastie en retournant par dever Dieu. Quar, dit saint Pol, soit que nous mango(n)s quelconques autre chose, tout devons faire ou non de nostre Seigneur Jhesucrist, ou quel nous devons vivre et morir, par lequel nous avons movement et existence que puet on plus dire.

Tutes telles supersticieuses observances nostre mere Sainte Eglise, comme il appert, a en tres grant horreur et de(te)stacion. Ainsi que plus longuement

retro abeuntem et Dei inimicum, iram Dei graviter in aeternum incurrisset, nisi ecclesiastica poenitentia emendatus Deo reconcilietur. Dicit enim Apostolus: Sive manducatis sive bibitis, sive aliquid aliud facitis in nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi facite, in quo vivemus, movemur et sumus. The reference is to I Cor. 10:31. Some of the superstitions mentioned here also occur in *Decr.* II.26.5.3 and were dealt with by Pignon in CLD I.6.

³⁷⁸ eux: *ms* aux.

³⁷⁹ coupables: *ms* compables.

³⁸⁰ A very long sentence. Its main clause is 'Tous ceux ... doivent savoir que il ont la foy catholique ... trespasés ...'. Everything between 'tous ceux' and 'doivent' is an elaboration of the subject.

est déclaré es capistres du *Decret*, et semblablement es gloses est alegué droit civil que juge telle gent par sentence diffinitive a morir publiquement par loy imperiale, quar mesmes en la loy des Juis sont il digne a estre lapidé. Cils n'est pas donques boin Crestien qui ne doubte telles et si horribles sentences. En telle condempnacion sont plusieurs qui croient que a telle journee que les innocens³⁸¹ sont toute l'annee, on ne doit rien entreprendre ne commenchier, et plusieurs semblables folies qui n'ont raison ne autorité quelconques d'escripture sur quoy soient fondees, fors seulement malvaise et supersticieuse acoustumance sur toutes les coses devant dittes. Souverainement tout boin catholique doit retenir et mettre en son cuer le contenu de cest capitre.

III.9 .ix^e. *capitre*

Ou .ix^e. capitre sont a racapituler en brief toutes les coses dessusdittes. Item, appert donques par le contenu d'iceles quelle cose est sorcelerie, divination, invocacion de deables, dont telles coses ont eü commenche[59]ment, quant elles se sont continuees et maintenues en plusieurs lieux tant entre Crestiens comme gent d'autre secte. Et cecy est déclaré en la premiere partie.

Consequamment, par questions faites sus les matieres dessusdittes, ont esté proposees et declarees certaines conclusions veritables et catholiquez, provees par raisons evidens et notoires. Avec ce ont est(é) proposees et solvés toutes (ont) les principales raisons que la partie adverse puet alleguer pour soi et moustrees non sal(v)ables et de nule vertu, en la seconde partie.

Et dariennement par raisons et auctorités et extraites de plusieurs sciences et escriptures de plusieurs docteurs approuvés et autentiquez et par exemples et figures de sainte escripture, de croniques et legende de sains, par la determinacion de droit canon, a estey moustré et déclaré la scienche, ou pour miex dire l'erreur, des devineurs qui se disent astronomiens estre fauce, reprovee et condempnee, comme il appert en ceste tierce partie, par quoi en conclusion puet apparoir que telles folles supersticions, divinations, et toutes autres observances dessusnommés sont a reprover et condempner a tout bon Crestien et loial catholique.

III.10 .x^e. *capitre*

Ou .x^e. capitre, pour faire conclusion correspondant³⁸² au principe, je suppli devotement a un cascun qui en che traitiét lira de .iii. coses.

³⁸¹ Childermas Day, or Holy Innocents' Day (Dec. 28), was always considered an ill-fated day for undertaking work of any sort. Cf. Opie, 'Childermas Day', p. 70.

³⁸² correspondant: *ms* corrudent.

La premiere, que selonc la doctrine saint Pierre apostre³⁸³ il soit arivé de la vertu de vraie foy tellement que l'adversaire de la foy qui nous environne comme un lion pour nous devorer, ne nous face cheoir en malvaise erreur.

La seconde³⁸⁴ je suplie de tres humble cuer a tous ceux qui cy liront, que ne me vellent reprenre de malvolence ou aultre visce par quoy on die que j'aie escript ce traité. Car je preng sur men ame que autre [59^v] chose ad ce ne m'a encliné fors que bonne et sainte jalousie du salut de pluseurs. Et se il y a faute ou en sentence ou en language ou maniere de parler, je le soumet et met³⁸⁵ du tout a la correccion et chatiement de toute boine personne, en especial de mes segneurs et maistres de ma mere l'univers(it)é qui en telles choses et toutes autres sont sans comparaison, plus cler veant que je ne soie, et me presente a exposer, retraitsier, revoquer et anuler tout che qui poroit estre trové autrement dit qu'il n'appartient.

La tierce cose est humble recommandacion de ma povre personne a vous, mon tres redouté signeur, et a tous ceux qui cy liront, en faisant fin en cely qui de tout bien est fin et commencement, avec le quel perdurablement puisso(n)s vivre *in saecula saeculorum*. Amen.

³⁸³ I Petr. 5:8-9: *sobrii estote et vigilate quia adversarius vester diabolus tamquam leo rugiens circuit quaerens quem devoret cui resistite fortes fide.*

³⁸⁴ seconde: *ms cunde.*

³⁸⁵ met: *ms may.*

APPENDICES

APPENDIX ONE

THE CONFESSION OF MASTER JEHAN DE BAR

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français ms. 25552.

1. *Introduction*

The confession of Jehan de Bar is part of a fifteenth-century manuscript on paper containing several works by Jean Gerson.¹ The confession is found right at the end, running from fol. 313r up to and including fol. 315v. The edition of the text² offered here is based on the same editorial principles as the edition of Pignon's treatise. In the manuscript the confession has been structured by means of alternating sections presenting sins and penitences. The penitential sections, starting with 'Je m'en repens ...' were all indented, so as to distinguish them from the paragraphs listing the separate items of Jehan de Bar's trespasses. This structuring device has been copied in the edited text. Furthermore, the separate items of the confession (twenty in all) have been numbered in the edition to facilitate reference in the analysis offered below.

The confession has a strictly formal structure, no doubt resulting from a formalistic mode of interrogation.³ In the analysis given below I attempt to demonstrate this formalism by comparing the twenty items of Jehan de Bar's confession closely with a list of twenty-eight articles against magic drawn up by the Faculty of Theology of the university of Paris in 1398. As the comparison will show, there is substantial verbatim correspondance between the two documents, which suggests that the condemnations of the Faculty of

¹ For a brief description of the manuscript see: Henri Omont, *Bibliothèque Nationale. Catalogue général des manuscrits français; anciens petits fonds français II, nos. 22885-25696* (Paris 1902), pp. 639-640: 'XVe siècle. Papier. 318 feuillets, moins les feuillets 123 à 142. 215 sur 145 millimètres. Rel. parchemin vert, aux armes de Saint-Victor'. The edition of the text offered in this appendix was based on a microfilm, not on autopsy.

² Paraphrases as well as quotations from the confession were published by Coville in *Jean Petit*, pp. 323-324, but Coville dealt with the text only in relation to Petit's *Justification* and the reply by the abbé de Cérisy. The entire text was presented in a modern French rendering by Préaud, *Les astrologues*, pp. 192-196.

³ Cauzons, e.g., notes that the inquisition usually drew up artificial résumés of confessions and declarations: 'on en faisait un résumé, en phrases courtes, précises, scolastiques, qui risquaient, malgré toutes les précautions, de ne pas traduire exactement les dépositions originales, et surtout de ne pas rendre leurs nuances' (*La magie*, vol. 2, p. 505).

Theology were used in actual trials. The magical beliefs and superstitions that the university denounced and that Jehan de Bar supposedly practised were common in the literature of the fourteenth century and have a long history. Where this seemed possible and expedient in the following some references and elucidations were added.

Though sources about the life and crimes of Jehan de Bar do not abound, his execution in Paris made considerable impression on the minds of his contemporaries. Nearly two decades later, in 1419, Jean Gerson, writing his *Trilogium astrologiae theologizatae*, mentions him in passing when he explains that books of magic and superstition, that have passed as works of astrology and philosophy, should be banned as soon as possible, 'as happened in Paris with the books of Joannis de Barro, a superstitious magician who was burned'.⁴ Almost a century later, in the final years of the fifteenth century, Simon de Phares still knew of the affair as he noted down in his entry for the year 1490 that a certain Maistre Gencien de Beaugenci, who was highly esteemed by the duke of Orléans for his astrological skills, 'advera la perversité d'un nommée Johannem Barrensem, magicien du duc de Bourgogne, lequel depuis fut pris et brulé'.⁵ It is not at all improbable that Jehan de Bar owed his posthumous reputation in part to the defence of Thomas de Bourg, abbé de Cérisy, who replied to the calumnies of Jean Petit. Though the abbé concedes that in his youth duke Louis d'Orléans may on occasion have lent a willing ear to a sorcerer, he explicitly denies that the duke involved himself with magic later on; on the contrary, he was even the motivating force behind the trial and condemnation of the two Augustinian

⁴ Gerson, *Œuvres complètes*, vol. 10, p. 108: *sicut evenit Parisiis de libris Joannis de Barro magici superstitiosi combusti, quales reperiuntur adhuc in Hispania sub titulo Semmaphoras*. On the books of Jehan de Bar, cf. item 19 in the confession. Judging from the title of similar books circulating in Spain (*Semmaphoras*, as Gerson calls them: 'sign-bearers') and the kinds of errors they were supposed to contain, it would seem we are dealing here with necromantic works containing amulets, magical names and signs, to conjure spirits and demons. In a later treatise *Contra superstitionem sculpturae leonis* (1428), which Gerson wrote to reprove a Montpellier doctor named Jacobus Angeli who had used an amulet with a sculpted lion to cure kidney trouble (Thorndike, *HMES IV*, pp. 122-125), Gerson again refers to semaphore-books: *Tales multae sunt observationes apud Hispanos in libro Senaforas* (*Œuvres complètes*, vol. 10, p. 133).

⁵ Simon de Phares, *Recueil*, p. 239. According to Simon de Phares, Gencien de Beaugenci was also involved in diplomatic work, establishing close contacts between Louis d'Orléans and the Avignon papacy. He reappears in an entry for the year 1437, where he and his brother Jacques are described as 'moult apreciez pour leur science de astrologie et de medecine' in Paris (p. 254).

monks and master Jehan de Bar.⁶ The confession of the latter clearly shows, the abbé explains, that all his conjuring tricks had proved inefficacious. The abbé suggests that the duke of Orléans was not the kind of man to be fooled by such nonsense, which cannot be said of the first Valois duke of Burgundy. With unintended irony an account from the year 1403 strengthens the abbé's case by showing that the two sorcerers from Guienne, Poncet du Solier and Jean Flandrin, were paid for by Philip the Bold.⁷

The reply of the abbé lacks the kind of aggression that one feels Jean Petit would not have hesitated to use, had he been in the abbé's place. The abbé strongly contradicts the allegations, but does not strike back by implicating the duke of Burgundy in practices of witchcraft and sorcery.⁸ Others have been less courteous; Juvenal des Ursins⁹ speaks of 'maistre Jehan de Bar, qui estoit nigromancien et invocateur de diables, et estoit au duc de Bourgogne', and also Simon de Phares does not hesitate to identify Jehan de Bar as a magician of the duke of Burgundy. If Philip the Bold paid the two sorcerers from Guienne, then why not Jehan de Bar as well? The confession of the unfortunate magician (item 14) seems to point in that direction. Though the penitent explains that he had wished to gain control over the duke, the implication seems to be that, in order to be in a position to achieve such an end, the duke would have had to hire or consult him first. After all, Philip was at that time the most powerful man in France, and as the example of the two sorcerers shows, not entirely disinclined to subsidise the magical arts. The ties between Jehan de Bar and the duke of Burgundy, therefore, seem to be fairly close.¹⁰ Jean Petit and his associates had prudently refrained

⁶ Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. 1, p. 323: 'Et aussi, maistre Jehan de Bar, moult expert en ce maudit art, lequel fut ars avec tous ses livres, dist en sa derrenière confession que le dyable n'apparut onques à lui, et que ses invocacions ou sorceries ne sortirent onques effect, jà soit ce que à plusieurs il eust paravant dit le contraire, et espécialement aux grans seigneurs pour avoir leur argent'.

⁷ The text of the account with an analysis was published by Léon Mirot, "Un essai de guérison". See introductory study, chapter 2.4.4 above.

⁸ Perhaps the abbé was in no position to do this. Burgundy had already spent years engineering Orléans's ruin (not least by spreading libelous rumours) and popular opinion was on Burgundy's side.

⁹ Juvenal des Ursins, *Histoire*, p. 415a.

¹⁰ Ironically enough there is a Jehan des Barres who worked for Louis d'Orléans in 1389. See: *Quelques pièces relatives à la vie de Louis I, duc d'Orléans*, ed. Graves, p. 34. An account for February 1389 reads: 'Item a messire Jehan des Barres dit le Barrois que mondit seigneur lui devoit d'argent presté en la ville de Lyon pour en faire sa voullenté comme il appert par mandement de mondit seigneur sur ce fait donné audit lieu de Paris le deuxiesme jour dudit mois et quittance dudit Barrois - LX frans'. But it should be pointed out that Jehan de Bar's name may have been quite common. Thorndike, *HMS IV*, p. 120, n. 11, mentions at least two others of that name appearing in the *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* (vol. 3, pp. 165, 300 and 344).

from mentioning Jehan de Bar and the two sorcerers in the first *Justification*,¹¹ and their appearance in the defence of abbé Thomas de Cérisy may be construed as a subtle hint (as subtle as the circumstances would allow) that instead of beholding the mote in another person's eye, one had better observe the beam in one's own.

According to the chronicler Pierre Cochon, Jehan de Bar was a 'natif de Champagne' and a 'mestre fizicien' of Charles VI. He was accused of having practised his sorceries in a wood in Brie, and was condemned and sentenced in 1398.¹² The date does not concur with Simon de Phares's entry for the year 1390, which mainly concerns the renown of Maître Gencien de Beaugenci. But maître Gencien's role in the condemnation of Jehan de Bar need not have coincided with the first flowering of his fame. In the confession of Jehan de Bar there is mention of 'les mauvaises fortunes du roy' (item 13) which appears to be a clear reference to the temporary fits of insanity of Charles VI. These fits first occurred in the year 1392, and since maître Jehan de Bar says at the very beginning of his confession that he has been practising magic especially during the last two years, we may tentatively date his involvement with the king's health around 1387, while his confession probably dates from the year of his execution 1398.

There is a tacit implication here that should not be overlooked: namely, that the text known as the confession of Jehan de Bar is authentic and was in fact drawn up before his execution. Though there are no compelling reasons to doubt its authenticity, the contents of the confession are far from being a free and spontaneous overflow of powerful emotion. Quite the contrary, the text follows a programmatic pattern that clearly suggests the confession was made by means of and, more likely, under pressure of an inquisitorial agenda. A century later with the publication of the first and most important *Malleus maleficarum*, all trials on magic and witchcraft would become scripted performances, and the confession of Jehan de Bar, though a century earlier, is no exception.

In September 1398 the Faculty of Theology of the university of Paris published twenty-eight articles against the *ars magica* and the teachings of Ramon Lull.¹³ When a few years later, in 1402, Jean Gerson wrote his *De erroribus circa artem magicam* he appended the *determinatio* of the Faculty

¹¹ Petit mentions Jehan de Bar in the *Seconde Justification* but belittles his relationship with the duke of Burgundy pointing out that the magician was nothing but a 'cabuseur', an opportunist who was only out for money. See Coville, *Jean Petit*, pp. 324-325.

¹² Pierre Cochon, *Chronique Normande*, ed. Ch. de Robillard de Beaurepaire (Rouen 1870), p. 198. See: Ernest Wickersheimer, *DBM* 1, p. 357.

¹³ *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, vol. 4, pp. 32-36. On Lull see: J. N. Hillgarth, *Ramon Lull and Lullism in Fourteenth-Century France* (Oxford 1971).

at the end of his treatise,¹⁴ thereby stressing its importance: *quia ad dictorum firmitatem eam non mediocriter utilem iudicavi*.¹⁵ Possibly this implies that Gerson wanted the text to be used to 'try the spirits whether they are of God'. That the *determinatio* was on at least one occasion applied in such a fashion is clearly borne out by the confession of Jehan de Bar. In the following analysis (most of) the twenty items of the confession (briefly paraphrased for the sake of convenience) have, where possible, been correlated with similar articles from the *determinatio*.

1. Sacrifices made to the devil by means of 'thurifications, subfumi-gacions ou ensencemens'. Art. 10: *Quod thurificationes et suffumigationes quae fiunt in talium artium et maleficiorum exercitio sint ad honorem Dei et ei placeant: error et blasphemia*.
2. Familiarity and friendship with demons; the use of private demons.
3. Baptism and consecration of images, robes, books and clothes. Art. 19: *Quod (...) consecrent imagines vel vestimenta, aut alia faciant quae in istis artibus continentur: error et blasphemia*.
4. The use of magical words, both in written and spoken form, during mass and the Eucharist. For magic applied during mass and the Eucharist, see: art. 12 (quoted under 7).
5. Consecrating a 'pierre de cristal' to enclose in it a demon that is believed to be a good angel. Art. 19: *Quod boni angeli includantur in lapidibus (...): error et blasphemia*. Cf. also art. 4 (quoted under 11).
6. Using conjured vestments and invoking demons during mass. Cf. art. 12 (quoted under 7).
7. Severe fasting, wearing the hair-shirt, receiving the Host and frequent bathing. Art. 12: *Quod verba sancta et orationes quaedam devotae, et jejunia, et balneationes, et continentia corporalis in pueris et aliis, et missarum celebratio et alia opera de genere bonorum quae fiunt pro exercendo huiusmodi artes, excusent ea a malo et non potius accusent: error; nam per talia sacrae res, immo ipse Deus in eucharistia daemonibus tentatur immolari; (...)*.
8. Making a pact with the devil by offering him two baptised and consecrated wax images (one made of white wax and the other made of red wax) and one consecrated copper image. Art. 21: *Quod imagines de*

¹⁴ Gerson, *De erroribus*, in: *Œuvres complètes*, vol. 10, pp. 86-90. The quotations from the *determinatio* offered here, were derived from this edition. Apart from different spelling conventions, the articles as published in Gerson's text and in the *Chartularium*, vol. 4, are identical.

¹⁵ Gerson, *De erroribus*, p. 86.

aere vel de plumbo vel auro vel de cera alba vel rubea vel alia materia baptizatae, exorcisatae et consecratae (...) habeant virtutes mirabiles (...): error in fide. Cf. also art. 2: Quod dare vel offerre vel promittere daemonibus qualemcumque rem ut adimpleant desiderium hominis aut in honorem eorum aliquid osculari vel portare non sit idolatria: error.

9. Keeping one's hairs and nails in a small box as a sacrifice for the devil. Cf. art. 2 (quoted under 8); otherwise no clear correlative.
10. Using the blood of the hoopoe, the he-goat and pigeons to write and to anoint oneself or certain images. Art. 20: *Quod sanguis upupae vel haedi vel alterius animalis, vel pergamenum virgineum, aut corium leonis et similia habeant efficaciam ad cogendos et repellendos daemones ministerio huiusmodi artium: error.*
11. Consecrating rings. Art. 4: *Quod conari per artes magicas daemones in lapidibus, annulis, speculis aut imaginibus nomine eorum consecratis, vel potius execratis, includere, cogere et arctare, vel ea velle vivificare non sit idolatria: error.*
12. Consecrating magic mirrors to entice soothsaying demons, by means of magical circles, swords, vestments and the like.¹⁶ See: art. 4 (quoted under 11).
13. Making scrolls full of invocations to cure the king.
14. Making a consecrated image for the duke of Burgundy in order to gain power over him.
15. Believing and proclaiming that the use of magic is good. Art. 16: *Quod ideo artes praefatae bonae et sunt et a Deo et quod eas licet observare quia per eas quandoque vel saepe evenit sicut utentes eis quaerunt vel praedicunt, vel quia bonum quandoque provenit ex eis: error.*
16. Believing and proclaiming that God and the good angels constrain demons through magic. Art. 9: *Quod Deus per artes magicas et maleficia inducatur compellere daemones suis invocationibus obedire: error.*
17. The use of geomancy.
18. Making figures and signs on certain days and hours. Art. 21: *Quod imagines de aere vel de plumbo (...) sub diebus certis habeant virtutes mirabiles (...): error in fide, in philosophia naturali et astrologia vera.*
19. Saying that some demons are good and benign, omnipotent or omniscient, that some are neither in hell nor in paradise, that the magical arts were revealed by the angels and practised by the prophets in their miracles and prophecies. Art. 23: *Quod aliqui daemones boni*

¹⁶ For the occurrence of these props in books of magic, see, e.g., Thorndike's chapter on Hermetic books, HMES II, pp. 214-228, esp. the work by Toz Grecus (= Thoth = Hermes Trismegistus), p. 227.

sunt, aliqui benigni, aliqui omniscientes, alii nec salvati nec damnati: error. Art. 14: *Quod Deus per se immediate vel per bonos angelos talia maleficia sanctis hominibus revelaverit: error et blasphemia.*¹⁷ Art. 13: *Quod sancti prophetae et alii per tales artes habuerunt suas prophetias, et miracula fecerint aut daemones expulerint: error et blasphemia.*

20. Various superstitious beliefs concerning virgin parchment, the nail from a horseshoe, etc. For the *pergamenum virgineum*, see art. 20 (quoted under 10); otherwise no immediate correlatives.

As a close comparison of the texts shows, more than half of the items from Jehan de Bar's confession contain statements explicitly denounced by the *determinatio*. Especially in the case of item 19 (see edited text) the correspondence is almost verbatim. Only two items (13 and 14) stand apart because they deal with concrete historical situations, such as making an image for the duke of Burgundy, or curing the king's madness. The remaining items that have no clear correlatives can be seen to echo at least the spirit of the condemnations from the *determinatio* (or the *De erroribus* for that matter) and their details might easily derive from other sources.

A fair number of articles from the *determinatio* (though not all of them) are reflected in the *Confession*. Certain somewhat exotic demonological beliefs are missing; such as the idea that there is a demon who is king over the Orient and three others who preside over the West, the North and the South (denounced in art. 25).¹⁸ Important omissions are the more philosophical notions that the intelligence that moves the heavens influences the soul in the same way as the celestial bodies influence the human body (denounced in art. 26); that our intellectual and volitional acts are immediately caused by the heavens and as such knowable (denounced in art. 27); and that the magical arts allow one to attain to the vision of the divine essence (denounced in art. 28). These last errors all tamper with the freedom of man's will and reason, an important point in Christian theology, so that their presence in a

¹⁷ Revelation of knowledge through angels is a commonplace in magic, esp. in the pseudo-Solomonic literature. Cf. Thorndike, HMES II, pp. 279-289, and the case of Arnaud Guillaume and his *Smagorad* discussed in chapter 2.4.3 above.

¹⁸ The belief is connected to a necromantic ritual called 'The Major Circle' in which the four demon kings appear. The operation is discussed by William of Auvergne (*De universo* II.3.7). See Thorndike, HMES II, pp. 343-344. The idea that demons rule over the four quarters of the earth may be a remnant of the belief in 'national' angels (hinted at in a few Scriptural passages) who were seen as the spiritual leaders of nations and peoples. The *loci classici* of this notion are Deut. 4:19-20 and Ps. 82. According to these passages the guardian angels of the nations met in God's council. See: DDD, 'council', cols. 391-398.

list of false and condemned propositions is more a matter of academic necessity than of denouncing actual superstitions.

The close relationship between the confession and the twenty-eight articles, which I hope to have demonstrated, is more than coincidental since both texts originated in Paris at approximately the same moment (1398). It is, therefore, highly probable that the one influenced the other. The relationship might be conceived of in terms of any one of the following options. These options are not exhaustive but try to give a fair impression of the mechanisms that may be involved.

a. The confession antedates the *determinatio* and was one of the reasons as well as one of the models for the drafting of the twenty-eight articles.¹⁹

b. The confession postdates the *determinatio* and was drawn up on the basis of the twenty-eight articles, which means that the confession was written after September 1398.

c. An earlier version of the confession, antedating the *determinatio*, was later redrafted to fit the explicit contents of some of the twenty-eight articles.

In the absence of a comprehensive case-history of the confession, it would seem difficult to decide which of these options is correct, but on the whole one would do well to consider that the survival of such a confession may be largely due to its exemplary nature, being, as it were, a living testimony, of the atrocities committed by magicians and sorcerers. Such testimonies were in demand, and wherever such demands become urgent, means and mechanisms are deployed to meet them. The last two options may, therefore, be seen to illustrate the conscious plotting that the inquest, and the confession that resulted from it, involved. And even if the first option were to prove correct, some form of emplotment is by no means ruled out. One has only to read the stories of magic and witchcraft that Cauzons²⁰ collected from fourteenth-century France to realise that private demons, demons in the guise of monks, conjured books and garments, magic circles, mirrors or rings, and magical applications of the consecrated Host, were extremely popular stereotypes, deeply ingrained on the medieval mind.

The tragedy of Jehan de Bar is that in the very document that should reveal his guilty self, he is, in fact, entirely concealed; his ashes are like the chaff which the wind driveth away and his memory is obliterated by a confession in which the voice of inquisitorial prejudice prevailed.

¹⁹ An option embraced by Préaud (*Les astrologues*, pp. 196-197), who, taking the remark by Simon de Phares (*Recueil*, p. 239) at face value, erroneously dates Jehan de Bar's execution to 1390, eight years prior to the drafting of the *determinatio* which would make the *Confession* one of its major sources.

²⁰ Cauzons, *La magie et la sorcellerie*, vol. 2, pp. 301-377.

2. Text

[313'] La confession maistre Jehan de Bar qui fut ars a Paris pour ses arts magiques.

Je, Jehan de Bar, par plusieurs fois et par longtemps des .xviii. ans et especial depuis .ii. ans, ay fait invocacions de dyables par arts mauvais et deffendus de Dieu et de l'Esglise et par mauvaise foy et creance que je y adjoutoye et pour venir a estat et a richesses, combien que je sceüsse bien que je feïsse mal et que plusieurs foys m'en fusse confessé.

Je m'en repens et les renye et abjure et ay ferme volenté de jamais y non recheoir et confesse que en ce faisant j'ay esté ydolatre.

1. Item, j'ay voulu faire et fait plusieurs foys sacrifice a l'ennemi tant par thurificacions, subfumigacions ou ensencemens¹ composés de diverses matieres et conjurés comme par eaue benoite et par autres liqueurs diverses conjurees.

Je m'en repens, et cetera.

2. Item, j'ay quis et voulu avoir, et a ce me suis plusieurs foiz efforcié, la familiaritey et amitié des dyables et que j'en eüsse un ou plusieurs qui tousjours fussent avec moy et qui feïssent toute ma volenté.

Je m'en repens, et cetera.

3. Item, j'ay baptisié et consacré ou fait consacrer par arts deffendus et invocacions de dyables plusieurs ymages, robes, livres (et) vestemens.² Lesquelz livres et robes estoient de cest art deffendus et plains de erreurs en la foy et contre bonnes meurs.

Je m'en repens, et cetera.

4. Item, j'ay fait plusieurs foiz chanter messe ou je faisoie dire et lire mauvaises et horribles paroles en diverses parties desdictes messes et en especial en la presence du corps Jhesucrist et faisoie mettre dessoubz le messel certains roles ou teles invocacions de dyables estoient contenues. Et c'estoit ou mesprisement du saint sacrement de l'autel et en abus detestable.

Je m'en repens, et cetera. [313']

¹ All three words refer to the burning of incense.

² On the garments used by sorcerers, cf., e.g., the description that Philippe de Mézières gives of 'la Vieille Superstition' in his allegorical *Songe du Vieil Pelerin* II.141 (vol. 1, p. 596): 'Ceste vieille estoit parée d'un habit tout estrange de tous autres habiz, car il estoit entaille par figures, triangles, et quadrangles, qui ne sont pas legieres a descripre. Et si estoit taillie et cousu par election d'astrologie. Et le dit habit estoit blanche et tout seme de noyres figures, qui s'appellent guyvres, qui signifient les sophismes d'oyseaux, de bestes sauvages, de lignes, de reigles, et de quadrans, et de lectres grecques, ebraïques et caldees'.

5. Item, j'ay conjuré ou consacré une pierre de cristal pour y enclore un dyable que je cuidoye estre bon angel. Et disoit un petit enfant qu'il veoit une figure d'evesque qui signoit les choses que je vouloye consacrer.³

Je m'en repens, et cetera, et croy fermement que de ce n'estoit riens se non illusion de dyable et que ce n'estoit point un bon angel qui apparut pour faire telz maulz, ains reputé blasphème et erreur de ce tenir, et de tenir que Dieu par tel art soit en quelconque maniere enclin a faire ce qui se demande en ces arts.

6. Item, j'ay usé de vestemens conjurés tandis que on chantoit messe, et fait user prestres en invocant dyables. Et la estoient plusieurs figures et caracteres et estranges paroles, la estoient avec ce bonnes paroles des euvangiles, de sains et saintes et leurs ymages.⁴

7. Item, je faisoie jusnes moult dures et souvent et vestoie la haire et recevoie le corps nostre Seigneur et me baignoye souvent.

Je m'en repens, et cetera. Et reputé et tiens que ces choses ont esté a la deshonneur, contempt et mesprisement des sains noms de Dieu et des sains et saintes quant je les mesloye avecques si mauvais art et si detestable.

Et les autres choses, semblable a bien, font pour ceste cause la pechié estre plus grief et abhominable.

8. Item, j'ay fait plusieurs foiz et voulu faire convenance expresse a l'ennemi pour lui donner aucune chose par fait et par paroles. Car je lui ay offert par .ii. ymages de cire; l'une blanche et vierge, l'autre rouge, et une ymage de cuivre toutes baptisiez et consacrees par conjurations de dyables et en leurs

³ A curious statement in this confession. Apparently a child was present at one of Jehan de Bar's ritual consecrations who saw the magician's private demon in the guise of a bishop. Was this child questioned during Jehan de Bar's trial? Kieckhefer (*Magic in the Middle Ages*, p. 158) points out that in necromantic rituals devised to discern secrets 'the desired information is (...) provided by spirits, who will appear to a virgin boy (...) in a crystal, on a mirror' etc. Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, "Récréations monastiques. Les couteaux à manche d'ivoire", in: *Pensée médiévale en Occident. Théologie, magie et autres textes des XIIIe-XIIIe siècles* (Aldershot 1995), pp. 17 ff., gives many instances of the use of children as mediums. In Nikolaus Jauer's treatise *De superstitionibus* this practice is also discussed (see, e.g., Thorndike's list of headings of this treatise in HMES IV, p. 685: *Quomodo tales malifici incantatores pro suis experimentis recipiunt pueros virgines*). John of Salisbury (*Policraticus* II.28) tells how he, in his childhood, was used, together with another boy, by a priest to assist in magic rituals (*magica specularia*, 'les enchantemens des miroirs', Foulechat transl., p. 201). This priest used a polished basin and fingernails, and the boys functioned as the recipients of divinatory information. The other boy believed he saw shady figures, but John saw nothing (through God's protection, he asserts) and was dismissed. Cf. Thorndike, HMES II, p. 365.

⁴ The formulation is not entirely translucent, but what it tries to express is that Jehan de Bar combined magical words and sacred texts. A similar statement was made in item 4 and the penitential section under item 7 also refers to it, when it speaks of the holy names of God and the saints being mingled ('mesloye') with such an evil art.

noms, et les mettoye hors du part ou j'estoie [314'] affin que l'ennemi fust plus enclin a venir et qu'il les emportast.

Je m'en repens, et cetera. Et repute ce estre ydolatrie et tres dampnable supersticion.

9. Item, j'ay gardé les cheveulx et poils de mon corps et rongneures de mes ongles⁵ en gardees en une boiste et portees sur moy affin que l'ennemi cuidast que je lui vousisse donner, combien que je ne lui vousisse mie faire, mais vouloye bien dire qu'il me feïst bien ma besongne et je feroye bien la soye.

Je m'en repens, et cetera. Et repute ce estre espece de ydolatrie.

10. Item, j'ay en mes invocacions usé de sanc de bestes come de huppe, et de bouc, et de coulons et en ay fait lettres et caracteres et m'en suis oings et aucunes des ymages dessusdictes.

Je m'en repens, et cetera.

11. Item, j'ay voulu consacrer(r) anneaulx par les dyables affin que quant je les baiseroye en l'onneur d'eulz ilz feïssent ma requeste.

Je m'en repens, et cetera. (ut)

12. Item, j'ay voulu par plusieurs foiz consacrer aucuns miroirs d'acier a certains dyables et creoie que ilz deüssent entrer dedens et reveler les choses secrettes et respondre a ce que on leur demanderoit veritablement et sans decevoir. Et pour venir a ceste j'ay fais invocacions de dyables, fais cercles, figures, espees, vestemens, et autres choses abhominables et deffendues et contre nostre foy. Et par sept foiz en especial ay je esté ou part a faire ces choses.

Je m'en repens, et cetera.

13. Item, j'ay fait roles plains d'invocacions de dyables ou je demandoye avoir puissance moult large a lier et delier les paroles ou les ensentemens⁶ des gens, les mauvaises fortunes du roy⁷ et de monsieur le delphin. [314']

14. Item, j'en ay fait une espedale ymage pour monsieur de Bourgongne affin qu'il fust telement liié a moy et a faire ma volenté qu'il n'eüst puissance en quelconque de ses vertus riens me refuser et que sus tous il me crust, ama

⁵ As Shakespeare observed, some devils ask but the parings of one's nail (*Comedy of Errors* IV.3). Hair and nails have always played an important part in popular superstitions. See: Opie, 'Nails and hair', pp. 273 ff.; DSO 1, 'cheveux', cols. 366-367, 'ongles', col. 230; and John of Salisbury, *Policraticus* II.28.

⁶ The word in the manuscript might be read as 'enfentemens', 'childbirth' (Préaud's option; see *Les astrologues*, p. 194), but semantically this does not agree very well with 'paroles'; most likely 'ensentemens' means 'thoughts' or 'ideas' and derives from 'ensciente'.

⁷ This remark would suggest that Jehan de Bar was also one of the magicians who tried to cure the insanity of Charles VI.

et obeïst, et a ceste fin ay fait la dicte ymage consacrer par dyables en son nom.⁸

Je m'en repens, et cetera. Et confesse et regehy que j'ay en ce erré et offendu contre Dieu et lesdiz seigneurs.

15. Item, j'ay cru de cuer et dit de bouche plusieurs foiz que de ces choses dessusdictes c'estoit mieulz fait d'en user pour un grant bien que de le laisser.

Je m'en repens, et cetera. Et repete et croy fermement que cecy affermer est erreur en la foy et heresie et qui obstineement le tenroit,⁹ il seroit digne d'estre ars.

16. Item, j'ay cru et dist plusieurs foiz que Dieu par les arts dessusdis contraignoit les mauvais esperis ou les bons angels les contraingnoient.

Je m'en repens, et cetera. Et repete ce tenir estre erreur en la foy car Dieu sembleroit approuver ce qu'il deffent en l'Escripture et en Sainte Eglise de telz arts.

17. Item, j'ay usé plusieurs foiz d'un art qui se dit geomance ou certains poins se font en terre.

18. Item, de faire figures et caracteres en certains jours et heures a diverses fins et que je cuidoye avoir divers(es) et grandes vertus.

Je m'en repens, et cetera.

19. Item, en mes livres sont plusieurs erreurs contre nostre foy, comme dire que aucuns dyables soient bons et begnins, aucuns tous puissans et tout saichant, aucuns n'en enfer, n'en paradis, et que bons angelz ont revelé teles sciences et que les sains prophetes et autres ont fait les miracles et dit leurs propheties par telz arts. Et ay reputé mes dis livres bons et sains.

Je m'en repens, et cetera. Et repete ces choses estre erreurs en la foy et blasphemie contre Dieu et ses sains angelz et autres sains et saintes et que lesdiz livres sont mauvais et execrables. [315']

20. Item, j'ay eü plusieurs foles creances et supersticions, comme de croire que parchemin vierge ou d'une beste plus que de l'autre vausist a contraindre

⁸ The fabrication of such images to gain power over someone is as old and as universal as human civilisation. Such images (often made of wax; cf. also item 8) are explicitly denounced by Pignon in CLD II.3.2(r2). In the corresponding section from the *Summa* (ST 2a2ae.96.2) Aquinas only speaks of necromantic images in a general sense. The magical practice of making and using such images was called 'envoûtement' (article 18 of the *determinatio* speaks of *invultuationes*; Gerson, *Œuvres*, vol. 10, p. 89) and was, so Huizinga affirms, very common (*Herfstij*, p. 352). He refers to examples from the chronicles of Chastellain that show that the count of Charolais (Charles the Bold) was on occasion (in the early 1460s) the target of such practices: 'N'ay-je devers moy les bouts de cire baptisés dyaboliquement et pleins d'abominables mystères contre moy et autres?' he complains. See: Chastellain, *Œuvres de Georges Chastellain*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove (Bruxelles 1864), vol. 4, p. 314, n. 1; p. 324; cf. also Harmening, *Superstitio*, pp. 222-223.

⁹ tenroit: *ms* tenroit.

dyables. Croire que un clo de cheval¹⁰ offert en don un certain jour de l'an vausist contre enclouëre¹¹ de chevaulx. Croire que le denier offert premierement le jour du grant vendredi vausist a aucunes teles choses. Croire que le cuer d'une †¹² taupe¹³ porté sur luy empescha d'estre desrobé, et cetera.

Je m'en repens, et cetera.

Forte tum non expedit talia supersticiosa nominatim particularisare propter inclinacionem vulgi, et cetera. Ne detur occasio malignandi, et cetera.

Deo gratias. Amen.

¹⁰ Superstitions concerning the horseshoe are universal, but also the nails from a horseshoe were believed to posses specific qualities in warding off evil or bad luck. See: HWDA IV, 'Hufeisen', cols. 437-446, 'Hufnagel', cols. 446-448; DSO 1, cols. 385-386; and Opie, p. 204, though none of these articles mentions the kind of superstition to which Jehan de Bar confesses to have been privy.

¹¹ Cf. TL III.215 enclouëre; 'enclouure' (from L. *inclavatura*) is the penetration of a nail into a horse's hoof, which could cause medical problems. See: Yvonne Poulle-Drieux, "L'hippiatrie dans l'Occident latin du XIIIe au XVe siècle", in: G. Beaujouan, *Médecine humaine et vétérinaire à la fin du Moyen Age* (Genève/Paris 1966), p. 88.

¹² The word 'huppe' seems to have been deleted on this place in the manuscript.

¹³ The mole has a long history in superstitious beliefs. Pliny describes it as the animal most admired by magicians, who believe that if its palpitating heart is swallowed, one will receive the gift of divination (Pliny, *Natural History* XXX.7, Loeb ed., vol. 8, pp. 290-291). See: Opie and Tatem, p. 256; HWDA VI, 'Maulwurf', col. 13; DSO 2, cols. 640-641.

APPENDIX TWO

PROGNOSTICATION ON THE LIFE OF JOHN, DUKE OF BURGUNDY, AND HIS HEIRS BY MASTER ALOFRESIN

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, mss. 6015

1. *Introduction*

In addressing the question of John the Fearless's involvement in astrology and divination, attention must be given to the curious prognostication concerning the life of the duke of Burgundy and his heirs, written by someone who calls himself Alofresin, a baptised Turk and an astrologer. Gachard and Doutrepoint,¹ who were among the first to draw attention to this text, regarded it as a prognostication for the years 1425-1440 and associated it almost exclusively with fifteenth-century Burgundian history. Doutrepoint ranks the prognostication among works such as the *Geste des ducs de Bourgogne* and the *Pastoralet*, inspired by the person of John, but probably not commissioned by him, and mostly (certainly in the case of the prognostication) written sometime after his death.² This interpretation is based on a transcription- (or printing-) error on the part of Gachard, which has, consequently, in part, obscured the real meaning of the prognostication. The prognostication does not extend up to the year 1440, but up to the year 1540 and consequently, as the following edition of the text will demonstrate, its main hero is not John the Fearless, but, as will be argued presently, Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor. In no way can the prognostication be used as evidence or as an indication (however oblique) of John the Fearless's interest in astrology or divination.³ The estimation of yet another historian, baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, the indefatigable editor of Froissart's chronicles, who also noticed the text and referred to it as 'un horoscope de Jean Sans-Peur',

¹ See: M. Gachard, *Les bibliothèques de Madrid et de l'Escorial: notices et extraits des manuscrits qui concernent l'histoire de Belgique* (Bruxelles 1875), p. 4; Doutrepoint, *La littérature française*, pp. 244-245. Doutrepoint essentially copies the information provided by Gachard.

² Doutrepoint, *La littérature française*, p. 479.

³ Following Doutrepoint's misleading remarks, Vanderjagt incorrectly suggested that John dabbled in prognostications. See: Vanderjagt, *Laurens Pignon*, p. 200, n. 18.

is demonstrably wrong.⁴ Since it was written some time in or before 1540, it can only be seen to testify to the legendary status of the second Valois duke of Burgundy.

The fact that Doutrepont drew explicit attention to the prognostication, coupled with the manageable size of the text, and its cultural historical importance, focusing as it does on the prominent role of Burgundy in an eschatological, perhaps even millenarianist view of history, and identifying a Burgundian heir as the Last World Emperor, constitute a sufficient motive for incorporating this text in a study that deals with divination and (in part) Burgundian self-aggrandisement. In presenting the text, I have followed the same editorial principles as in Pignon's treatise, adding a number of notes to clarify its contents, without, however, pretending to be comprehensive or complete. The proper context of the prognostication can only be reconstructed on the basis of a profound study of its early sixteenth-century frame of reference; the politics of France and the Empire, fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century traditions of prophetic texts, and the messianic expectations that surrounded emperor Charles V. Since this is not the subject of the present study, the following remarks and the commentary on the text can do no more than provide some of the necessary preambles to such research.

The book in which the *Pronostication* is contained (mss. 6015 of the National Library in Madrid),⁵ consists of the following three texts bound together as one volume:

1. A printed ordonnance of king Francis I, dated July 24, 1534, and foliated in the lower right hand corner: 1r-10v. *Ordonnances nouvelles faictes par le Roy nostre sire touchant les Legyons des gens de pied par luy ordonnez et mis sus par les prouinces pour la tuition et deffence du Royaulme*. Printed and sold by: Galliot du pre, libraire iure de luniuersite.
2. A manuscript text on paper running from fol. 1r up to and including fol. 9v (the foliation can be found in the upper right hand corner).⁶ Fol. 1r has: *Pannemakere. Dabitur memento domine David* (fol. 1v is blank). The text proper starts on fol 2r: 'Signifiance de sept tappis des sept pechez

⁴ Froissart, *Chroniques*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, 25 vols. (Bruxelles 1867-1877), vol. 22, p. 284, quoted in: Paul Durrieu, "Jean Sans-Peur, duc de Bourgogne, lieutenant et procureur général du diable", in: *Annuaire-Bulletin*, 24 (1887), p. 209.

⁵ Gachard, *Les bibliothèques de Madrid et de l'Escurial*, p. 4, listed the book under its ancient signature (Q 209); mss. 6015 is its modern one. Next to a brief table of contents, he provides the following information concerning the book: 'Petit in-4°, rel. en veau gaufré'. The information concerning the texts as well as the edition of the *Pronostication* are based on a microfilm, not on autopsy of the manuscript.

⁶ Foliation in the lower right hand corner continues in the second and third text in the book. The *Signifiance* runs from fol. 11r - 19v, and the *Pronostication* runs from 20r - 25v.

mortelz pour Guillaume Pannemakere desquelz a faict les patrons et ordonnances maistre Pierre van Aelst, peintre d'Anvers'.

3. The manuscript text of Alofresin's *Pronostication*, also on paper, running from fol. 10r up to and including fol. 15v (fol. 10v is blank). Concerning the *Pronostication* Gachard noted that the writing was of the middle of the sixteenth century and that 'la Pronostication de M^e Alofresin, qui paraît avoir été écrite après coup, est dans le style ordinaire de Nostradamus'. Though this clearly suggests a context somewhat different and certainly later than fifteenth-century Burgundy, Doutrepont did not look into it any further. Gachard's mention of the style of Nostradamus probably refers to Alofresin's preference for oblique and slightly mystifying descriptive terms such as 'duché du lyon', 'filz du liepart', etc. As the following exposition as well as the commentary in the notes to the text will show, the *Pronostication* is far easier to interpret than Nostradamus's *Centuries*, though a few passages remain enigmatic.

The text is not an original, but a copy. It contains a number of corrections in the same hand and insertions of omitted words which clearly show the text was copied from another document. In one instance (on fol 11r; see edited text) this was done in haste without correction, so that a few words or even a line have gone missing. An appropriate reconstruction was attempted to fill the gap.

Reading the prognostication, one feels the author is not who he claims to be. Master Alofresin presents himself as a Turk who was baptised on Rhodes and as a scholar trained in the science of astronomy by his uncle Escolgant, astronomer of the Grand Turk. This master Escolgant saved the life of John the Fearless, when the latter was the Grand Turk's prisoner. Escolgant explained that from examining the stars he had learned that if the prisoner's life were spared he would in due time be the cause of the death of many Christians. The reference is oblique and the sharp edges of the story have worn off, but essentially it is the tale of John, count of Nevers, and the necromancer at the time of the battle of Nicopolis (1396) as presented by Juvenal des Ursins. Held for ransom by Sultan Bajazet, the count of Nevers was said to owe his life to 'un Sarrasin nommé Nigromancien, devin, ou sorcier, qui dist qu'on le sauvast, et qu'il estoit taillé de faire mourir plus de chrestiens que le Basac' (i.e. Bajazet) 'ny tous ceux de leur loy ne sçauoient faire'.⁷ This story was gratefully exploited by the Armagnacs in their anti-Burgundian propaganda; but if the *Pronostication* dates from the sixteenth century one might have expected the tale in Alofresin's text to have outgrown the Burgundian-Armagnac controversy. Nevertheless, Alofresin

⁷ Juvenal des Ursins, *Histoire*, p. 409.

pretends to be prophesying on the lives and times of the four male descendants of John of Burgundy, which from his point of view still lie in the future. In his introductory paragraph he explains that his astrological prognostications span the period from 1425 to 1540. When he speaks of the coronation in 1520 of the fourth male descendant of duke John, he expresses his desire to see that child: 'mais il ne m'est possible, car apres ce que seray venu a l'eage de cent et dix ans, je fineray lors mes jours'. Apparently we are supposed to believe that Alofresin drew up his prognostication in or after 1425 (presumably, we may infer, on the basis of John the Fearless's nativity-horoscope), that he knew from the stars the lives of the four generations following John the Fearless, and that he himself would be dead long before 1520.

The year 1520 is important for Alofresin, since he refers to it four times. It is the year in which Charles V (1500-1558) was crowned Holy Roman Emperor in Aix-en-Chapelle (Aachen), the city of Charlemagne. Apparently Alofresin sets great store by this royal figure since he refers to him as 'le filz de l'home', a messianic title. He carefully traces the lineage of this 'filz de l'home' via the Burgundian dukes, Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian I, and emphasises a number of times that the likes of him have not been seen for the past three hundred years. The remark may be more than a mere hyperbole, for 300 years earlier, in the year 1220 the legendary Frederick II (1194-1250) was crowned Holy Roman Emperor in Rome. Like Charlemagne before him, Frederick became the object of messianic expectations in the wake of Joachimite chiliastic mythology.

Joachim of Fiore (1145-1201), one of the greatest revolutionary mystics of the Middle Ages,⁸ envisioned a tripartite division of history; each of the three ages of history would be ruled by one of the three persons of the Trinity. Thus the ages of the Father and the Son would be superseded by the age of the Spirit. The first age spanned the period from Adam to Abraham, the second lasted from Elijah to Christ, so that the third was likewise expected to culminate in a messianic figure, an Emperor of the Last Days, somewhere in the course of the thirteenth century. Nearly all messianic hopes were fixed on Frederick and eventually frustrated. But messianic hopes die hard, and in the course of the centuries a number of emperors were hailed as second Fredericks, amongst whom we also find Charles V.⁹

⁸ The literature on the prophecies of the Calabrian abbot and his followers is vast; but the following may be noted: Marjorie Reeves, "Joachimist Influences on the Idea of a Last World Emperor", in: *Traditio* 17 (1961), pp. 323-370; M. Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism* (Oxford 1969).

⁹ Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*. See his chapter on Joachimite prophecy and the emperor Frederick as Messiah, pp. 99-123, and esp. p. 122 for the reference to Charles V. See also: HWDA IX, 'Weissagungen, joachitische', cols. 393-434. An essential essay on the imperial theme and the messianic aura of Charles V is: Frances A. Yates, "Charles V and the Idea of

The larger context in which these messianic expectations feature is not limited to millenarianism, but is more generally a persistent (medieval) longing for an imperial order in which the entire world is united. It was the dream of Charlemagne to found such a Christian empire, a sanctified version of the *civitas terrena*, even though this dream was fundamentally at odds with Augustinian theology. All institutions, including Church and empire, established in the *saeculum* are, strictly speaking, secular. Claiming the sanctity of the empire undermines the idea of the *civitas Dei* to the same extent that the Joachimite exaltation of the Emperor of the Last Days undermines the status of Christ. Both are revolutionary attempts to enforce the kingdom of God, which properly belongs to the afterlife, in the here and now and to establish it through human means. The imperial ideal with all its messianic underpinnings was revived in Charles V, even though it was only what Frances Yates called a 'phantom revival'.¹⁰

In an important article on Joachimist prophecies and the Emperor of the Last Days, Marjorie Reeves gives a survey of the overwhelming amount of late medieval prophecies on this topic. She devotes ample attention to two traditions of prophetic texts; a French or Francophile one, in which the prophecies of Joannes de Rupescissa (Jean de Roquetaillade) and Telesphorus of Cosenza played a leading role,¹¹ and a German one featuring the prophecies of Gamaleon and St. Bridget of Sweden.¹² Each tradition tried very hard to identify its own monarchs with the messianic emperor. Especially the Brigittine oracles were influential. They focused on the *Rex pudicus facie*¹³ (the Last World Emperor) and the union of the Lily (France) and the Eagle (Germany) and the submission of the former to the latter. With the marriage of Maximilian I and Mary of Burgundy a third tradition appeared that combined the prophecies of the Lily and the Eagle and identified the *Rex pudicus facie* as Maximilian, the Burgundian world emperor. The first text to pursue this line of prophecy was Johann Liechtenberger's *Prognosticatio* (1488) which ran through countless editions and was translated from Latin into German, French, Dutch, English and some other languages.¹⁴ This initial stage of the appropriation of the Last Emperor-prophecy by the Burgundian-Habsburg house, was soon followed by a second stage when a few decades later Charles V was crowned. Reeves briefly discusses an

the Empire", in: *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London 1975), pp. 1-28.

¹⁰ Yates, "Charles V and the Idea of the Empire", pp. 1-28.

¹¹ Reeves, "Joachimist Influences", pp. 328-332.

¹² Reeves, "Joachimist Influences", pp. 333-336.

¹³ Cf. the *Rex impudicus facie* (or *inpudens facie*) from Dan. 8:23. The tyrant from the Biblical prophecy was transformed into a godly chastiser in the Joachimite prophecies.

¹⁴ Reeves, "Joachimist Influences", pp. 341-343.

exponent of this second stage, namely a prophetic pamphlet published in Munich and Strasbourg in 1519 called: *Alle alten Prophecien von Keyserliche Maiestat* by Master Aloffresant of Rhodes, a German counterpart of the French Aloffresin.¹⁵

Naturally Charles V was the object of messianic hopes elsewhere in Europe. In Italy prophecies, circulating both in manuscript and in print, hailed him as a second Charlemagne or a second Caesar,¹⁶ but the Burgundian-Habsburg prophecies followed a different line, tracing Charles V's lineage via the Burgundian dukes. The German Aloffresant relies heavily on earlier prophetic texts by the Sibyls, St. Hildegard, St. Bridget, John of Rupescissa, Gamaleon, Liechtenberger and others. It contains references to Maternus Hatten of Spire, to St. Francis and brother Reinhard, all of which are absent from the French Aloffresin. Like our French text it traces the lineage of Charles V via the Burgundian line and identifies him as the fourth male descendant of John the Fearless. Next to the prophecies of the Lily also the prophecies of the Eagle are dealt with. Reeves quotes the following sample.

*Volabit Aquila, cuius volatu debellatur Leo, qui regnabit Ierosolymis septem annis. Tandem conspirabunt principes Almaniae, et magnates Bohemiae opprimuntur. Et Leopardus devorabit eum. Tunc surget Rex de radice Aquilae Orientalis, et veniet pullus Aquilae, et nidificabit in domo Leonis et fructu alimentoque paterno carebit. Et eligetur Rex, cui honor regis non exhibetur. Hic regnabit, ac imperans imperabit, extendetque ramos suos usque ad ultimos fines terrae. Tempore illius summus capietur pontifex. Et clerus dilapidabitur, nam depravat fidem. Heu pessima vita cleri.*¹⁷

Though lion and leopard feature in the French Aloffresin, the eagle is absent, and so are all references to other prophetic texts, whether French or Teutonic. Clearly the French Aloffresin is more interested in the Burgundian than in the Habsburg line. Though unmistakably related, the two texts are different compositions. It is difficult to say which of the two came first, especially since the French Aloffresin is a copy of another text, but it seems the German Aloffresant synthesised many different prophecies, which may well have included an earlier version of the French Aloffresin. To resolve the problem

¹⁵ I have not seen this text, but Reeves provides a few descriptions and a quotation. See Reeves, "Joachimist Influences", pp. 334 (n. 40), 335 (n. 43), 353 and n. 128. See also: Reeves, *Influence of Prophecy*, pp. 360-361, n. 1.

¹⁶ See: Ottavia Niccoli, *Prophecy and People in Renaissance Italy*, transl. L. Cochrane (Princeton 1990), pp. 172-175. A famous literary example is Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (15.25.25) in which a prophetess predicts a universal world monarchy under Charles V, who is described in messianic terms as, e.g., the one shepherd ruling one flock (John 10:16). Cf. Yates, *Astraea*, pp. 23, 26, 53.

¹⁷ Reeves, *Influence of Prophecy*, p. 361.

more Alofresin-texts need to be found (if they still exist) and examined. Clearly, in the context of the present study there are more pressing issues we must look into, such as the emulation of John the Fearless in a fictional prognostication and the relation between this prophecy on the one hand and Burgundian literature and self-awareness on the other.

When was the French *Pronostication* written? And by whom? The *Pronostication* itself contains no colophon nor any direct reference from which the real date of composition or the author can be learned. But the other text bound into the same book, the *Signifiance de sept tappis* provides us with a clue. The *Signifiance* is a description of seven tapestries made in the workshop of William de Pannemaker, and designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, depicting the seven deadly sins. These tapestries were bought by Mary of Hungary in 1544 in Antwerp.¹⁸

Mary of Hungary was the granddaughter of the emperor Maximilian I, and the sister of his successor, the emperor Charles V. After the death of her husband (who died in 1526 fighting the Ottoman Turks) Mary, on behalf of her brother, became governess of the Low Countries. She remained in office until 1555 after which she retired to Spain, where she died in 1558. Among the possessions she brought with her on her retirement, were, of course, these tapestries; it would therefore seem only reasonable to suppose that the description, the *Signifiance*, as part of her library, also moved to Spain (which may explain its present-day preservation in the National Library of Madrid). If the tapestries and hence their description were Mary's, then perhaps the *Pronostication* also originated in her vicinity. Since the *Pronostication* idolises Charles V, extols the role of Burgundy in recent European history (even though the individual dukes themselves are the object of some critical remarks) and ends with a celebration of the crusading ideals, it is not implausible to locate its real author in the (former) Burgundian lands (perhaps Flanders) somewhere around or shortly after 1520.

¹⁸ Bob van den Boogert and Jacqueline Kerkhof, *Maria van Hongarije: Koningin tussen keizers en kunstenaars 1508-1558* (Zwolle 1993), p. 295. Plate 84, p. 292 in the same book, shows one of these tapestries (*Luxuria*). Of the seven compositions apparently only four survive. They are reproduced together with a bibliography in: Paulina Junquera de Vega and Concha Herrero Carretero, *Catálogo de Tapices del Patrimonio Nacional*, vol. 1, pp. 150-154. The *Signifiance* has been noticed by art-historians. See: J. K. Steppe, "De 'Zeven hoofdzonden' van Pieter Coecke van Aelst iconografisch verklaard", in: *De bloeitijd van de Vlaamse tapijtkunst / L'âge d'or de la tapisserie flamande. Colloque international 23-25 mai 1961* (Bruxelles 1969), pp. 325-327. Of the seven sins series three sets survive: a complete one in Vienna, and two defective ones in Madrid. One of the series in Madrid, a set of six, belonged to the count of Egmont. After his execution in 1567 the duke of Alba sent them to Spain (see: *Catálogo*, vol. 1, pp. 143-149). The final set of four belonged to Mary of Hungary. Mary is the most likely owner of the *Signifiance*, which, Steppe points out, was probably drawn up on behalf of the weaver.

There is one question that emerges rather prominently in a reconstruction such as the one just offered. Why would someone writing a prophetic eulogy on emperor Charles V in the form of a prognostication, seize upon an old story and an ancient rumour concerning John of Burgundy's dealings with a Saracen astrologer? If the *Pronostication* was drawn up in defiance of the French,¹⁹ one may be led to assume that the Burgundian-Armagnac rivalry still lingers on if not in, then certainly between the lines of Aloffresin's text. It is very plausible that at least two or three documents from the Burgundian-Armagnac controversy left their mark on the *Pronostication*.

A trace of this can be found in Aloffresin's references to the 'ducé de lyon'. This should not be read as the duchy of Lyon but as the duchy of the lion; i.e. Burgundy. The image is typically Burgundian.²⁰ In the allegorical *Pastoralet*, John of Burgundy is designated by the character 'Léonet' and the count of Armagnac by 'Lupal'. In the opening miniatures of illuminated copies of Jean Petit's *Justification*, one can see a lion (duke John) with his claws preventing a wolf (Louis d'Orléans) from taking the crown away from the 'fleur de lis'.²¹ Another text the author of the *Pronostication* may have known, this time stemming from the Armagnac counter-propaganda, is a letter supposedly written by the devil and addressed to John the Fearless. The text survives only in a few sixteenth-century manuscripts, but Paul Durrieu dates it around 1475.²² The letter is part of a small chronicle concerning the dukes of Alençon and the editor of that chronicle introduces the text by referring to the battle of Nicopolis and John the Fearless's dealings with the Saracen necromancer: 'un sarazin nigromancien dist qu'on ne le feist point mourir, car luy seul feroit plus mourir de chrestiens que eulx tous ensemble ne

¹⁹ There are some indications of this: cf. the section on the crowning of the 'filz du liepart' as king of the 'fleur-de-lis'.

²⁰ It should be noted that lion-, leopard-, and lily-imagery has a long history in the prophetic traditions discussed earlier. But in Aloffresin's *Pronostication* these images receive a very specific Burgundian setting. Thus the text speaks of the *duchy* of the lion, which can mean only one thing.

²¹ See the miniatures in: Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 878 (1197), plate 4 in Vaughan, *John the Fearless*, facing p. 96; and Wien, Staatsbibliothek, ms. 2657, miniature reproduced in Coville, "Le véritable texte de la Justification du duc de Bourgogne par Jean Petit", in: *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 72 (1911), pp. 57-91. The miniature (facing p. 72) has the following caption:

Par force le leu rompt et tire
A ses dens et gris la couronne
Et le lyon par très grand ire
De sa pate grant coup luy donne.

For a description of the Vienna manuscript see Coville (*op. cit.*), pp. 72-73.

²² Durrieu, "Jean Sans-Peur", p. 205.

scauroient faire, comme il advint du depuys'.²³ After duke John had committed a number of atrocities, a letter was supposedly found addressed to him, which read: 'Lucifer, empereur du profond Acherons, roy d'Enfer (...) à nostre tres cher et bien amé lieutenant et procureur général ès parties d'Occident, Jehan de Bourgoigne'.²⁴ In this letter the devil writes how very pleased he is with the way duke John has been carrying on and, with the Turks stirring in the east, he hopes to eradicate Christianity soon. He promises the duke that he will be crowned king of Turkey, emperor of Constantinople and Romania, king of Jerusalem and Babylon and many other lands; and the devil prophesies that none of John's descendants will outdo him in the destruction of churches.

The survival of this document in a number of sixteenth-century texts, clearly shows how the old feud lingered on, and it is probable that Alofresin's *Pronostication* is a product of the same kind of conservatism. Perhaps the *Pronostication* can be considered a reply to the devil's letter. For it takes the story of the Saracen necromancer and the prophecies of world dominion and turns them round. The necromancer is converted into a Christian and the fourth heir of the duke will in fact rule the world but not as an ally of Satan, but as 'le filz de l'homme'. The Burgundian-Armagnac controversy and its literary derivative may thus in part account for the literary form of the *Pronostication* and Doutrepoint's estimate that the text belongs to the same genre as the *Pastoralet* (though, as we have shown, not to the same age) may hold a kernel of truth. In conclusion we may say that the *Pronostication* describes the events of the early sixteenth century and the advent of emperor Charles V in a context of Burgundian national pride.

²³ Durrieu, "Jean Sans-Peur", p. 207.

²⁴ Durrieu, "Jean Sans-Peur", p. 203. The literary form of the text, that of a letter allegedly written by the devil, is not original. For a discussion of its precedents see: Durrieu, *op. cit.*, pp. 218 ff. Vaughan incorporated an abridged translation of the letter in his *John the Fearless*, pp. 230-231.

2. *Text*

[10] Pronostication sur la vie seloncque les constellations et planettes du tres illustre prince Jan, duc de Bourgoigne, etc., et sur ses hoires jusques au quatriesme hoir masle inclusivement, faites par notable astronomiens Maistre Alofresin, jadis Turcque, depuis baptizé en Rode.

[11] Moy, Alofresin, desja venu en eage d'home, sui venu par la grace de Dieu prendre baptesme en Rode, pour quoy j'ay voulu escripvre la cognoissance de moult de chose ad venir en Cristiannité et en Saracinennie. Et especialement depuis l'an de grace mil quattrecens et .xxv. jusquez a l'an .xv. <cens> et .xl., laquelle cognoissance ay trouvé et par l'arte et science de astronomie, laquelle tient de Dieu et de mon oncle Maistre Escolgant, astronomen du Grand Turcque. Lequel salva la vie au duc Jan de Bourgoigne que l'on avoit deliberé faire morir, icheluy estant prisonnier audit Grant Turcque. Duquel Maistre Escol<gant on dit qu'il disoit>¹ audit Grant <Turcque> qu'il ne le volsisse point faire morir pour pluseurs causes qu'il cognoissoit par la plannette; <que> pa(r) la reservation de sa vie <seroit> ad venir tant en Cristienité comme en Sarasinennie (pour) la plus grande confusion et destruction des Cristians. Car se cheluy Jan de Bourgoigne retourne en ses paÿs et principalement au realme des fleurs <de lis>, [11] il y en montera unne envie pa(r) laquelle il en mórât molt de gens et de grans maistres mal conditionnés. Ausi luy meisme par ichelle envie et traïson morat, par laquelle mort montera la guerre tresgrande et durera jusque a la quatriesme lignijé et hoir masle descendant dudit duc Jan de Bourgoigne, principalement a l'encontre des fleurs de lis.² Et seront destruitz plus Cristians que au jour d'huy n'y at en Cristienité ne a monde.

Après vous avoir baillié la cognoissance de mon estre, ausi science et ou je l'ay aprins, je vous veul baillier la cognoissance de molt chose ad venir tant en Cristianité come en Saracinennie, durant les eages desdis quattres hoires masles dudit Jan de Bourgoigne et durant leurs vies, sur quoy ay prins mon terme, veullant funder ma devise.

¹ After 'Escol-' (end of a line in the manuscript) one would naturally expect '-gant' at the beginning of the following line, but in the manuscript the next line begins with 'audis' which seems to suggest the copyist skipped something. The reconstruction of the sentence proposed here attempts to preserve the intended meaning.

² The 'envie' of John the Fearless refers to his conflict with Louis d'Orléans. The assassination of Louis d'Orléans gave rise to a series of military conflicts. By way of revenge, John was killed on the bridge near Montereau in 1419.

Et premier:

Le premier hoir³ descendant dudit Jan de Bourgoigne sera ung sage home et de grande entreprinse et grant persecuteur des Crestians, principalement [12^r] du realme des fleurs de lis, et qui entreprendra molt de choses a ung cop et acheverat tout pa(r) sa sapience et a son honneur et proffit. Et regnera long temps et sera ung home adreché en la science de la desesperee des femmes; les femmes ly avanceront sa mort. Sa renommee volera par tout le monde et avera de l'honneur beaucoup tant au realme des fleurs de lis come es Italles et en Rome auxquelles sera refusant.

Le second hoire⁴ serat tresgrant persecuteur de l'espee et finera par l'espee avant ses jours. Par la mort duquel la ducé du lyon avera molt a souffrir par le realme des fleurs de lis, car de son sancque ne demorat que unne fille et pour le mariage d'icelle se levera grand guerre. Car elle sera aliee a estrange sancque de la couronne close,⁵ de laquelle viendront pluseurs enfans entre lesquelz avera ung filz et unne fille.⁶ Laquelle fille montera en grande honneur que ne ly durera gaire. [12^v]

Chest enfant masle qui sera le troisieme hoire⁷ descendant dudit Jan de

³ Philip the Good (1396-1467) swore to avenge his father's death, which led to a number of military campaigns against the French. Philip married three times: his first wife was Michelle de France († 1422); the second was Bonne d'Artois (married in 1424, died the year after); and the third Isabelle de Portugal (1397-1471, married in 1430). Philip was known to have many mistresses and to have fathered many bastards. On Philip's sex life, see Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, pp. 132-133. The phrase 'la science de la desesperee (*lege* desespoir) des femmes' is intentionally ambiguous in that it refers both to the early deaths of his first two wives, and to his extra-marital escapades. Philip always considered it expedient to maintain good relations with the Holy See, but his support of the Council of Basle caused him to be excommunicated. The phrase 'refusant' should probably be interpreted in a passive sense, denoting Rome's aversive attitude towards Philip.

⁴ Charles the Bold (1433-1477) was engaged in war with the French on many occasions, and was finally killed in the battle of Nancy. Thus he lived by the sword and died by the sword.

⁵ The German imperial crown is a closed crown. Contrary to open crowns, closed crowns have converging arches rising from the circlet. In England the closed crown came into use during the reign of Henry V (1413-1422). In France it was first introduced by Francis I (1515-1547).

⁶ Mary of Burgundy (1457-1482) was the daughter of Charles the Bold. She married Maximilian I of Habsburg (1459-1519) soon after her father's death, and war ensued between Maximilian and Louis XI of France (reigned 1461-1483) over Burgundy and Flanders. After her death in 1482 Maximilian was forced to change his plans. The two children that are mentioned here are: Margaret of Austria (1480-1530), who was regent of the Netherlands from 1507, and Philip the Fair (1478-1506).

⁷ Philip the Fair is known as an able diplomat. He became count of Flanders in 1483 and his rule of the Burgundian Netherlands ('la duché du lyon') is marked by peace and stability. As Alofresin 'predicts' ('Sa vie sera fort suspect de point vivre jusque a l'eage de .xxxii. ans'), he did not live to be thirty-two, but died after a brief illness when he was twenty-eight years old. The remainder of the paragraph looks like a prophecy which, in the event of Philip's dying aforesaid, would come to apply to Philip's son, Charles. Most likely it is the remnant of an

Bourgoigne sera ung home doulx et amia(b)le et de bonne ayre. Il sera alijé a fortes gens et montera en plus grande honneur que home qui ait regné en la duché du lyon. Et tout ce qu'il entreprendra achevera par douceur. Sa vie sera fort suspect de point vivre jusque a l'eage de .xxxii. ans. Mais se il surmonte ladicte eage, il sera le plus grant persecuteur des Saracins et ennemis de la loy Cristianne qui fut passé tro(is)cens ans. Il conquestera Constantinople et Jherusalem, comme fit Godefroy de Buillon. En son temps finera ung roy a la couronne close qui averat esté avaricieus.⁸ Tost apres finera ung pape de Rome qui a droit et justement avera regné.⁹ En ce temps venrat on venir molt de choses nouvelles et plus a Rome que aultre part. En l'an .xv. cens ou environ jusques a l'an .xv. cens et .xx. ou environ aviendra moult de choses en Cristianité dures (et) tresnuisables a souffrir aux Cristians, comme trahisons, [13⁷] faulces promesses, detractons notoires et evidentes a chescun.

Audis an .xv. cens ou environ viendra le filz de l'home qui sera le quatriesme hoir¹⁰ dudit Jan de Bourgoigne. A la nativité duquel l'on verrat moult de choses estranges apparoir au ciel; si come cheoir chapelés d'espines,¹¹ estoilles a queues et feu, tant en Cristianité come en Saracinnie. Par lesquelles les Saracins et ennemis de la foy Cristianne¹² averont la cognoissance de la nativité de icheluy qui les debvera destruire et conquerer leurs paÿs, realmes, terres et possessions. Par laquelle cognoissance il fortifieront les villes, citez, chasteaux (et) forteresses que peu

earlier prophecy that projected its messianic expectations onto Philip.

⁸ The English king Henry VII was known for his avarice. He died in 1509, not long after Philip the Fair.

⁹ It is difficult to identify a pope whose reign can be called just, since most of the Renaissance popes were, besides great patrons of the arts, also schemers, war-mongers, and lechers. Innocent VIII (1484-1492) was involved in a war with Ferdinand of Naples, entered into a treaty with Bajazet (despite the fact that he had always pleaded in favour of a crusade against the Turks) and severely persecuted witches and Hussites. To partial eyes like Alofresin's he may have appeared just. His successors, the notorious Borgia pope Alexander VI (1492-1503), Julius II (1503-1513), and Leo X (1513-1521), were all known for their unscrupulous politics, their nepotism, their greed or even their murderous intentions. It is only with Hadrian VI (1522-1523) that a second candidate for the epithet 'just' appears. He was a former professor of theology and teacher of Charles V. He was known for his honesty and piety and his willingness to reform the Church. Hadrian's successor Clement VII (1523-1534) was involved in a war with Charles V, in which Rome was sacked (1527) and Clement imprisoned.

¹⁰ Charles V was born in 1500.

¹¹ Christ's crown of thorns was the object of a widespread cult in the Middle Ages. Especially in France, crowns of thorns were used for medical purposes (HWDA V, col. 601). Here the crowns of thorns falling from the sky apparently serve as an omen.

¹² 'Saracins' and 'ennemis de la foy' are two different categories. Charles V fought both the Turks and the protestants.

leur proffitera, car tout ne les gardera qu'il ne doibvent (estre) de(n) luy tous gaigniez, car contre luy n'averont duree.

Encoir dis-je oultre que depuis environ l'an .xv.^c et .xx.¹³ ne seront ventes tant de marchandises courré en Cristianité come paravant. [13^e] Les Cristians averont molt a souffrir pour leurs pechiez esquelz il seront fort enclins, comme a luxure, a orgeul, etc., tant en l'Eglise, noblesse et au peuple, mais ilz seront pitoiabes et charitables aux povres et sans ce leurs souffrance et punition divine leur (sera) plus auster et me(r)veilleuse. Ausi averont paravant molt souffert cheux du realme de Naple¹⁴ pour lez pechiez qu'ilz commetent journelement, car ilz ne vivent point seloncque Dieu. Ausi pareillement les Rommains. Ung peu apres averont la guerre a la plus forte partie des Cristians environ l'an .xv. cens et .viii. et si avera deux grans personnaiges, l'ung encontre l'autre.¹⁵ Mais il ne durera gaires. Et en che temps ou peu apres viendra le filz du liepart¹⁶ qui amainera molt de choses pour ce que alors regneront deux roys au realme du liepart. En l'an .xv. cens et dix ou environ sera la fin du porre.¹⁷

¹³ The manuscript gives 'lan A et .xx.' with a marginal correction or addition 'A xv.' Something seems to have gone wrong here with the chronology, for a few lines below Alofresin speaks of 'ung peu apres (...) environ l'an .xv. cens et .viii.' Instead of 1520 (the year of the coronation of Charles V dealt with in a later paragraph) one should perhaps read 1501 or 1502, since about that time Maximilian drastically reformed his financial policy (establishing close ties with the Fuggers, a renowned family of bankers) to finance his ambitions of creating a world-empire.

¹⁴ In 1494/95 Charles VIII of France (reigned 1483-1498) invaded Italy and conquered Naples. Maximilian's first attempts to invade Italy (1496) failed, but in 1508 the war over Italy started, involving not only France and the Habsburg empire, but also Spain and England.

¹⁵ The year 1508 may refer to the league of Cambrai formed (in December 1508) by the European princes (not including Henry VII) which lead to war against Venice in the following year. It is not clear who the two 'grans personnaiges' are.

¹⁶ Next to the lion the leopard is a familiar image from Burgundian literature. Thus the anonymous author of the *Geste des ducs Phelippe et Jehan de Bourgogne* speaks of the 'lion de Bourgogne' and the 'léopard d'Angleterre'. See: Doutrepoint, *La littérature française*, p. 73. Likewise the poet Eustache Deschamps refers to the English as leopards in his poems. Philippe de Mézières introduces John of Gaunt in his vast allegory *Le Songe du Vieil Pelerin* as 'le veil sanglier noyr, duc des leopars' (vol. I, p. 110). The 'filz du liepart' may refer to Henry VII (1457-1509, crowned 1485) first of the Tudors, or to his son and successor Henry VIII (1491-1547, crowned 1509). In the case of Henry VII, the 'deux roys au realme du liepart' (a phrase which clearly suggests there were rivals for the English throne) may refer back to Perkin Warbeck, the pretender to the English throne who was executed in 1499 as an imposter. This, however, would upset the chronology of the prophecy, so that Henry VIII is the more likely option. The 'deux roys' may then refer to Henry VIII and James IV of Scotland (1473-1513) who, being married to Henry VIII's sister Margaret, is reported to have had an eye on the English throne. He was killed in the battle of Flodden (1513). See: J. D. Mackie, *The Earlier Tudors 1485-1558* (Oxford 1957), p. 271, n. 1.

¹⁷ porre: lege misère.

En ce temps ausi regneront molt de traïsons au realme des fleurs de lis, principalement [14'] en la ducé de lyon. Mais viendra le filz du liepart en l'an .xv.^e et .xii. ou environ en grande puissance au realme des fleurs de lis ou ilz averat grand guerre.¹⁸ Mais elle ne durera que ung an ou environ. Et viendra en la duché du lion prendre possession de unne ville et cité appellee Agrippa.¹⁹ Laquelle traïra molt de seigneurs et grans maîtres qui par icelle seront trahis et les feront morir. Et alo(r)s seront toutes trahisons descouvertes et sera faite unne aliance de la plus grande partie des Cristians et luy viendra en ayde ung roy d'envers bise, par l'aide duquel il sera couronné roy des fleurs de lis.²⁰ Et icheluy couronnement et victoire luy viendra par l'aide de cheux de Europe que l'on dit Zuitche qui luy viendront en ayde. La fleur de lis avera molt a souffrir et sera pour la vie de mains homes qui seront occupé de la trahison. Le realme des fleurs de lis sera tres joyeux d'estre quitte de leur roy, [14'] nonobstant ilz resisteront voluntier, mais les entreprinses seront si grandes que il ne avera remede qu'il ne soie couronné roy et sera le premier qui fera justice du realme de France. Au temps de icheluy roy averont les Cristians molt a souffrir principalement par guerre, ausi famine et mortalité. Quant le soleille viendra entrer en sa force, viendra en Europe ung vent et unne pluye de telle forté que en aulcuns lieux ne demorera gens ne bestes vives, et procedera cheste pluy des parties de Norweghe. Du soire pluseurs seront sains et de hét qui du matin apres seront mors.

Quiconcques pora vivre depuis l'an .xv. cens .xii. jusquez a l'an .xv.^e et .xx., il verrat plus de choses nouvelles et estranges que se il avoit vescu par avant trois cens ans.

Car en l'an .xv. cens et .xx. ou environ verrat on venir le filz de l'home, ch'est assavoir le quatriesme hoire masle [15'] dudit Jan de Borgoigne a ses premiers armes, ausquelles avera molt a souffrir, mais ne luy durera gaires ung an ou environ. Lequel enfant je voldroye bien veoir pour tout mon avoir. Mais il ne m'est possible, car apres ce que seray venu a l'eage de cent et dix ans, je fineray lors mes jours.

¹⁸ In 1512 Henry VIII (in Holy League with the pope, Spain, and Maximilian) invaded France and won the Battle of the Spurs (1513), capturing Théroanne ('unne ville') and Tournai ('unne cité').

¹⁹ The *Orbis Latinus* does not provide a solution for this name. The name Agrippa is almost exclusively associated with Cologne (*Colonia Agrippina*, Köln).

²⁰ Henry VIII was never crowned king of the 'fleurs de lis', but the fleur-de-lis did occupy a prominent place on his royal shield (see Mackie, *Earlier Tudors*, p. 272). Perhaps this 'prophecy' was meant as a sarcastic reminder of the Anglo-Burgundian reign over Paris a century earlier, one of France's greatest national traumas. Henry VI (1422-1461) was crowned king of France in 1431.

Chedis enfant sera couronné roy de France et de plusieurs aultres reumes et sera le plus grans entre les Cristians qui fut passé trois cens ans. Et conquerra Constantinople et Jherusalem et tout ce que Godefroy de Buillon et ses hoirs conquerront jamais, et encoir plus, car tout conquerra jusques a l'A(r)bre Sec.²¹ Je ne scaroye a paine tant dire de chest enfant que n'en sera encoire plus. Ch'est chose quasi increable a cheux qui l'oront dire sans en veoir l'experience ou avoir la cognoissance de sa planette. Se sera le plus grant persecuteur des Saracins et ennemys de la loy Cristianne [15'] qui fut passé trois cens ans. Car quel(con)quez fortifiement, tant de murailles, tourres, fosses et aultres maniers de faire en acouttrements de guerre, ce ne les guarantira qu'il ne les gaignera tous.

Et avera alors ung pape de Rome le quel sera tués ou emprisonné,²² dont se sera grand domaige pour les Cristians. Se Dieu, en qui seul est a disposer de tout, ne transmue les choses ad venir et disposition des constellations, signes et plannettes. Auquel pri-je estre tousjours pere et protecteur de tous Cristians venus et a venir. Amen.

²¹ The reference is to the *arbor secco*. See: *The Travels of Marco Polo* I.21, where the *arbor secco* (possibly a plane-tree with dry and tasteless fruits) grows on an extensive plain near the Persian border. It is also mentioned in Bodel's *Le jeu de saint Nicolas* where, as in the *Pronostication*, it is used as a *pars pro toto* to denote a geographic region: 'd'outre le Sec Arbre' and 'd'outre l'Arbre Sec'. As the editor of the *Jeu de saint Nicolas* explains, the 'Arbre Sec' is, according to legend, a tree near Hebron that dried out at the moment of Christ's death (Jehan Bodel, *Le jeu de saint Nicolas*, ed. Albert Henry (Bruxelles 1981), pp. 150, 154, 276).

²² The pope who was imprisoned in Rome by the constable Bourbon in 1527 on account of his conflict with Charles V, was Clement VII. Rome was sacked on this occasion, which was also a theme in many prophecies and prognostications. See: Niccoli, *Prophecy and People in Renaissance Italy*, pp. 175-177; Reeves, "Joachimist Influences", pp. 356-357.

APPENDIX THREE

THE TWELVE SIGNS OF THE ZODIAC
AND
A GAME OF NUMEROLOGICAL DIVINATION

Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, ms. 10394-414

1. *Introduction*

The two divinatory texts presented here are part of a large Burgundian paper codex written in various hands, which contains a variety of texts and can be dated around the year 1400.¹ The book was first recorded in the inventory list of 1467 on the death of Philip of Burgundy as 'un gros livre en papier'. The book contains 412 leaves, with at the beginning of the book twelve and at the end thirty-two additional blank leaves. The binding is eighteenth-century. It contains twenty-three texts which, on the whole, are of a didactic and religious nature² such as Jehan Feron's *Livre des esches*, *Lepistre du mirouer de crestienté*, *Le doctrinal de sapience*, *Les bons mos des philosophes*, etc. Towards the end of the book, however, a number of texts can be found that seem to depart from this genre: thus we find a treatise on the Zodiac (no. 19 according to Van den Gheyn's table of contents); a text on *Oultremer* (no. 20); and the *Règles de divination* (no. 21). A *Bonne table et proufitable de la foy* (no. 22) and *L'enseignement de sapience* (no. 23) complete the codex by returning to the dominant genre of the book. Of specific interest for the present study are, of course, texts nos. 19 - 21 and for this reason they are examined more closely in the following survey.

19. Fol. 393r-399v, one hand: *Les 12 signes dou firmament. Inc.*: 'Chi commenche les .12. signes dou firmament pour savoir quant li lune passe parmi'.
Fol. 400 is blank.

¹ On the dating of the book, see: Dogaer, *De librije van Filips de Goede*, no. 114, p. 80.

² For further codicological information and a table of contents of the whole codex, see: J. van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique* (Bruxelles 1903), vol. 3, no. 2082, pp. 282-283. Cf. also the terse remark Doutrepoint (*La littérature française*, pp. 204-205) makes concerning this book when he exclaims: 'que de compositions pieuses dans ce seul codice!'

20. Fol. 401r-405r, one hand: *La devision de la terre de Oultremer. Inc.*: 'La devision de la terre de Oultremer et des choses qui y sont. Li apostoles Inocens de Romme vault savoir les usages et les coustumes des Sarrazins et les contrees encontre lesquels les os des crestiens estoient appareilliés pour aler sur yaux, et manda au patriache de Jherusalem que il enquesist la verité del païs et les noms des haulx Sarrazins qui tiennent les terres. Ly patriaches enquist tant qu'il seût toute la verité de la terre du païs et les noms des haulx Sarrazins. Si les nonsa a l'Eglise de Romme par ses lettrez et dist ainsi'. The text continues with a description of the lands, the rulers, and the wonders of the Orient. Fol. 405r *expl.*: 'Et tout ce manda li patriaches a l'apostolle de Romme. Innocent par ses lettres bien parlant. Explicit'.
21. Fol. 405v-406r, in the same hand as the previous text (no. 20): *Règles de divination*.³ *Inc.*: 'Inocent par ses lettrez bient parlant. Explicit. Qui voldra savoir de quelque chose ...' The text which follows is a numerological game that can be used for divinatory purposes. Fol. 406v is blank.

Though written by the same copyist, *Oultremer* and the *Règles* are not related. It is unclear why the explicit of the *Oultremer* text is repeated on fol. 405v. In the margins of the text of the *Règles*, not in the writing itself, traces of glue and torn paper can be found. In the left hand margin of fol. 405v a fragment of paper is stuck that has been torn from fol. 406 (which consequently has a hole in the right hand margin). Apparently the two leaves were once pasted together so as to conceal the text of the divinatory game; the sundering of the pages has caused the damage just described. It is not known when this act of censorship happened, though one is all too tempted to reconstruct the underlying motive.

It is not entirely clear when the manuscript entered the Burgundian library. It does not appear on the inventory list drawn up after the death of John the Fearless in 1420. Trusting that the 1420 inventory was drawn up with meticulous care, Doutrepon⁴ concludes that it entered the collection of Philip the Good after 1420 under unknown circumstances. Philip the Good had a specific interest in exotic subjects and in the inventory of 1467 there is a separate rubric on 'Oultremer, médecine et astrologie'.⁵ It may well be that ms. 10394-414 gives a reflection of Philip's tastes and interests. It is uncertain whether Philip commissioned the codex, but the watermarks of the

³ This title was devised by Van den Gheyn; in the manuscript the text is untitled.

⁴ Doutrepon, *La littérature française*, pp. 297-298.

⁵ Doutrepon, *La littérature française*, p. 263.

paper⁶ seem to suggest the book was made around 1400. It is not unlikely, therefore, that the texts existed well before the death of John the Fearless. It is impossible to say whether Pignon knew the book, but it is not at all unlikely that he knew the type of divinatory texts contained in it, since this was highly popular and widely disseminated literature. Even if the book was not read at the Burgundian court in the first decade of the fifteenth century, it is still excellent material for comparison.

A number of texts in the book are of a propaedeutic nature, introducing the reader to a particular subject, providing him with the information he needs to know, without involving him in a long and intricate discourse. The treatise on the Zodiac is certainly a text intended for the general, non-specialist reader. It does not demand any computational skills and does not burden the reader with astrological intricacies. This makes the text singularly suitable for the kind of court-environment to which Pignon was addressing his treatise. The general reader might learn from the treatise on the Zodiac the advantageous and disadvantageous aspects of lunar influence on man's life and affairs. But this influence extended far beyond what someone like Pignon would have deemed permissible. The fact that texts like the *12 Signes* and the *Règles* may have been intended for a general (possibly courtly) public that could thus be informed and entertained by certain forms of divination, warrants a closer examination. In what follows the *12 Signes* and the *Règles* will be examined separately in more detail.

2. Les 12 signes dou firmament

Both the *Règles* and the *12 Signes* belong to a particular kind of divinatory texts which were very common since the early Middle Ages and which may be distinguished from the astrological and occult scientific works that entered Europe from the eleventh and twelfth century onwards. In an interesting article on the transmission of astrological knowledge in the early Middle Ages, Valerie Flint⁷ argues that certain forms of divination and astrology, though initially condemned by the early Fathers, survived in ecclesiastical and monastic circles in Christianised form. This Christianised magic and divination was to replace its pagan counterpart, a process which arguably may have been felt as the *conditio sine qua non* of Christianity's taking root in European soil. As in Biblical times (one recalls the episodes of Moses and Elijah) Christian priests may have had to struggle and compete with indigenous non-Christian magi to establish themselves as leaders. Extant codices

⁶ See the reference in note 1 above.

⁷ Valerie I. J. Flint, "The Transmission of Astrology in the Early Middle Ages", in: *Viator* 21 (1990), pp. 1-27; cf. also Flint, *The Rise of Magic*, pp. 131-135.

from the early Middle Ages with this type of Christianised substitutes usually comprise items such as Christianised charms (*antidota catholica*), thunder prognostications, divining spheres, and above all *lunaria* or Moon-books (dealing with the impact of the Moon on man's life; the *12 Signes* is an example of this). Flint argues that these 'Christian substitute' codices are distinct from the later scientific astrological works⁸ not only because the former rely on simpler, less demanding forms of prognostication, but also because they constitute two different types of texts (or text-groups). Flint distinguishes the two in terms of 'different views about the importance of "scientific" astrology'⁹; however, such a distinction is prone to be highly tentative. L. Braswell¹⁰ gives a characterisation of lunaries in the later Middle Ages by explicitly relating them to astronomical and astrological works that are either descriptive, computational or judicial. Thorndike,¹¹ discussing the same or similar material, makes no mention of a distinction either, but does provide examples of these (what Flint would call) 'Christian substitute' texts, illustrating that certain texts did have a marked tendency to occur in each other's company. The fact that the translator of the *12 Signes* protests the legitimacy of his Moon-book by invoking the Trinity in the opening paragraph, may be explained by considering the *12 Signes* as a late exponent of this time-honoured genre of Christianised divinatory texts. On closer inspection this genre comprises a number of more or less distinguishable subgenres, such as the Moon-books, the Books of Fate (to be discussed in a following section), the divining spheres, or numerological methods, nearly all of which derive from late Antiquity and appear to have a joint transmission throughout the entire Middle Ages, somewhat separate from (and not necessarily influenced by) the later divinatory texts.

Thorndike gives a number of examples of these closely related genres. He mentions a twelfth-century manuscript where, squeezed in between some ecclesiastical calendars and a work by Bede, the reader can find a sphere of divination, an account of Egyptian days, a method of divination from thunder, and part of a work on judicial astrology to determine wealth or poverty from a person's nativity-planet.¹² He even mentions the notebook (which he dates around 1400) of an English doctor called John Crophill, who practised medicine in Suffolk. Next to accounts and a record of patients the notebook contains Latin incantations for women in childbirth, rules for dieting and

⁸ Flint, "The Transmission of Astrology", pp. 25-26: 'The separation is not quite complete, but it is sharp enough to be striking'.

⁹ Flint, "The Transmission of Astrology", p. 26.

¹⁰ L. Braswell, "Popular Lunar Astrology in the Late Middle Ages", in: *Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa/University of Ottawa Quarterly* 48 (1978), pp. 187-194.

¹¹ Thorndike, HME I, pp. 672-696.

¹² Thorndike, HME I, p. 676.

blood-letting, a treatise on astrological medicine, a 'Calculation to know what thou wilt' by observation of people's names, and a set of 'Oracular answers' to questions concerning matrimony 'according to the several months of the year'.¹³

Thorndike gives special attention to the so-called 'spheres of life and death' which were much used during the Middle Ages. In this divinatory method 'the number of the day of the Moon is combined with a second number obtained by a numerical evaluation of the letters forming the patient's name'. Originally deriving from ancient Greece where it was known as *The Sphere of Democritus* or *The Sphere of Petosiris*, it survived in medieval Latin versions as *The Sphere of Apuleius* or *The Sphere of Pythagoras*.¹⁴ A sphere is essentially a circular figure or a wheel of fortune divided into compartments, where numbers are grouped under the headings of 'Life' and 'Death'. The number resulting from the numerical evaluation of a person's name can then be looked up in any one of the compartments. The *Règles* shows close affinity with this type of numerological divination even though it does not contain spherical tables.

The *12 Signes* belongs to yet another important genre, that of the Moon-books. A *lunarium*, Thorndike explains, may take many shapes. It may merely list the days of a month as either favourable or unfavourable; it may contain nativities or dream-interpretations or (as in the case of the *12 Signes*) thunder prognostications¹⁵; it may also be specially devised for the sick, stating 'a patient's prospects from the day on which he contracted his illness'.¹⁶ Thorndike gives ms. Harleian 3017 as an example in which the *lunarium* is preceded by a *Sphere of Pythagoras and Apuleius*, both written by the same author. Apparently *lunaria* and numerological forms of divination

¹³ Thorndike, HMES I, pp. 684-685. Braswell, "Lunar Astrology", p. 191, n. 14, gives c. 1475 as a date for Crophill's notebook (London, B.L., ms. Harley 1735).

¹⁴ Thorndike, HMES I, pp. 682-683. John of Salisbury, *Policraticus* I.13 (Webb ed., p. 54), speaks of *tabulae, quae Pitagorica appellantur*. On the *Sphere of Democritus* and the *Sphere of Petosiris* and the medical application of these numerological methods in Antiquity in general, see: Barton, *Ancient Astrology*, pp. 185-191. There is a *Sphere of Petosiris* which was either erroneously ascribed to Bede, or, as Thorndike noted (HMES I, p. 676), found in manuscripts with texts by Bede: *De divinatione mortis et vitae*, *Petosiris ad Necepsum regem Aegypti epistola* (PL 90, 963-966). Though the text is in Latin, the information on the sphere is in Greek.

¹⁵ There is a text by Bede, a Latin translation from an alleged Greek original with thunder prognostications, called *De tonitruis* (PL 90, 609-614) which may be a partial source of the *12 Signes*. *De tonitruis* contains three chapters: the first deals with thunder in relation to the four points of the compass (a very similar section occurs in the *12 Signes*); the second with thunder in relation to the twelve months of the year; and the third with thunder in relation to the seven days of the week. Bede's authorship, however, is disputed. See: C. W. Jones, *Beda's Pseudepigrapha: Scientific Writings Falsely Attributed to Bede* (London 1939), pp. 45-47.

¹⁶ Thorndike, HMES I, p. 680.

can be found together occasionally (as in our Burgundian codex with the *Règles* and the *12 Signes*).¹⁷ More elaborate *lunaria* contain prognosticative information on a variety of things related to human life and affairs, such as: whether a day is suitable for selling or buying, for boarding a ship or entering a city, for surgery, for sending children to school, for breeding animals or building an aquaduct or a mill. A Moon-book may also contain predictions, such as that a boy born on a particular day will be 'illustrious, astute, wise and lettered', while a girl born on the same day will be 'chaste, benign, good-looking and pleasing to men'. Thorndike¹⁸ provides more examples and a number of them have clear parallels in the *12 Signes*. Braswell,¹⁹ discussing Middle English lunaries, points out that these texts were extremely popular, and were used by members of all three estates: the clergy, the chivalry and the people. A Moon-book was used as a household document or manual by farmers, as a medical aid by physicians; it can even be found in monastic manuscripts in between liturgical music, paschal tables and religious lyrics. In conclusion Braswell emphasises the possible mediating function of this popular lunar astrology between learned, scientific astrological texts and imaginative literature.

The *12 Signes* is interesting in that, on the one hand, it was written from a perspective comparable to that of *Contre les devineurs*, namely with the intention of making Latin learning (*in casu* astrology) accessible to the educated layman by claiming that the information conveyed is not at odds with orthodoxy, whilst on the other hand it provides at the same time a profile of 'le vraie astronomie' that is at times quite different from Pignon's. The text starts with a description of the twelve signs of the Zodiac and their relation to the human body, after which follows a description of how the Sun passes through the Zodiac annually, and how the Moon does the same each month, remaining approximately two days and six hours in each sign. Next we read how the Zodiac is subdivided into mutable signs (Aries, Cancer, Libra and Capricorn) and stable signs (Taurus, Leo, Scorpio and Aquarius) and signs that are neither stable nor mutable (Gemini, Virgo, Sagittarius and Pisces). This subdivision is important since it has a profound bearing on man's health and enterprises. When the Moon is in a mutable sign one should not engage in things that are to be lasting, such as marriage or building a house, but this is not the only instance in which the author intimates to his readers what they should or should not do when the Moon is in a certain

¹⁷ Cf. also Fürbeth, *Johannes Hartlieb*, pp. 49-57, who deals with a fifteenth-century 'Mondwahrsagebuch' wrongly attributed to Johannes Hartlieb. One of the surviving manuscript-copies is supplemented by an onomatomantic text (for further references, see *op. cit.*, pp. 52-54).

¹⁸ Thorndike, *HMES* I, pp. 680-681.

¹⁹ Braswell, "Lunar Astrology", pp. 190-191, 194.

Zodiacal sign. The remainder of the text offers a detailed analysis of each of the twelve signs from Aries to Pisces and not only people's health, but the entire scope of their daily business is drawn into the discussion of stellar influence. Thus it would be unwise to marry when the Moon is in Aries (a mutable sign), though several days later, when the Moon has entered Leo, the same marriage will be stable and lasting. Quarreling when the Moon is in Taurus (a stable sign) is dangerous, since the row is likely to last a long time and anger will not abate easily, although it is a good time for companionship and making friends. One should not expect assurance or rely on agreements when the Moon is in Cancer, when the Moon is in Virgo the time is right to marry a 'femme corrompue' (meaning probably a widow) and when the Moon is in Libra it is a good time to deceive women. In this way the text goes on, not only selecting the propitious days but also setting the terms for travel, marriage, business and various other forms of social intercourse.

That the *12 Signes* is a text devised for practical use becomes evident when one views it in the light of the popular medical-astrological calendars that were widely disseminated in the fifteenth century. A late fifteenth-century German example of this genre (ms. Gotha Chart. B 1238, a *Volkskalender*, published in facsimile some years ago²⁰) contains, next to various prognostications and a large variety of medical prescriptions for many diseases and injuries, also a *lunarium* outlining the impact of the Moon for each Zodiacal sign. A brief comparison (which for the sake of convenience will be limited to the first sign: Aries) of the *Volkskalender* and the *12 Signes* will show how traditional the information is. In the following survey items from the Aries-passage of the *12 Signes* have been correlated to similar items from the *Volkskalender*.²¹

quant li lune est ou Mouton il fait boin sainnier; Il fait boin baignier; *so der Mondar Inne ist* (i.e. in Aries) / *so ist gut paden / vnd geplüt lassen*;
 et faire toute chose qui est faite par fu; *vnd was mit fewr zugeet / das ist alles gut*;
 Bon fait taillier nouveaux draps et commenchier a viestir; *und neue klaid an zethün / oder an zeschneiden*;
 Bon fait accater draps de rouge couleur; *Vnd ist gut rot tuch ze kauffen*;
 Bon fait vendre fier et plonc; *Es ist gut pley zuverkauffen auch eysen*;

²⁰ *Medizinisch-astrologischer Volkskalender*, ed. Maria Mitscherling (Leipzig 1983) was published in two volumes, one volume containing a complete facsimile of the manuscript, the other volume, the *Kommentar*, containing an introduction and a transcription of the text.

²¹ *Volkskalender*, fol. 16v-17r; *Kommentar*, pp. 56-57. Quotations from the text were taken from the transcription in the *Kommentar*-volume.

On ne doit mie rere sa barbe, ne le chief (...) Et mal y fait prendre medechine;
Es ist pös / das hawbt scheren / vnd ertzneyen;
 Et se aucuns est navrez adont au chief a paine pora garir; *wer in das hawbt wundt*
wirt / der mag gar hartt gehailen;
 Et mal y fait espouser femme; *(es ist pös) ein hawsfrawen zu hawse füren;*
 Mal y fait bateillier; (from a different perspective:) *es ist gut frid ze machen.*

The remaining items of the Aries-passage, which the reader may find in the edited text in the next section, have no clear correlatives, and likewise the *Volkskalender* contains a few items not mentioned in the French text.²² A comparison of the remaining eleven signs in both texts will give the same picture, so that we may refrain from further analysis. Obviously both texts go back to similar, if not the same, sources.

It will be remembered that the orthodox view of stellar influence, as propounded by Pignon, only allowed for the application of this influence on the physical frame of the world. Thus it is legitimate to select propitious days for blood-letting, for applying medication, for sowing and reaping, and for all things agricultural concerning crops and cattle, and naturally a fair amount of these things can be found in the treatise. But, Pignon points out,²³ it is not legitimate to determine propitious days for war or peace-treaties, for marriage, travel, sea-travel, commerce, changing one's dress, hunting, building a new house and many other things, for they involve acts of rational deliberation and free will, which must be safeguarded from even the slightest suspicion of stellar influence. A text such as the *12 Signes*, once perhaps accepted and condoned as a Christianised form of divination, would in the later Middle Ages not stand the test of ecclesiastical correctness.²⁴

The following edition of the text is based on the same editorial principles as *Contre les devineurs*. Written in a Gothic cursive, the text was copied out fairly carefully and contains only a few corrections, mainly insertions (in the same hand) of words or letters, that were accidentally omitted.

²² E.g.: '(es ist gut) wein zubestellen / zuverkauffen / auch gellt auszuleihen / und ein kint / zu einem hantwerch ze tun' (*Kommentar*, p. 56).

²³ Pignon (CLD I.4) speaks of: 'jours et heures certaines auxquelz il fait bon ou mauvais traitier de guerre, ou de pais, ou de mariage, entreprendre veage, entrer en mer, fair marchandise, vestir robe neufve, aler a la cache, commenchier maison neufve et generalment de toutes choses que on peut enpranre de novel'. For nearly all of these items one can find correlatives in the *12 Signes*. Cf. similar lists in CLD II.2.1, II.2.3, etc.

²⁴ It is of interest to note that (pseudo-)Bede considered his translation of a Greek text with thunder prognostications as a dangerous enterprise, that could easily lead evil tongues to proclaim he was possessed by a demon and involved in magic: *qui me fortasse diabolico (quod absit) spiritu, aut iniqua magicae excogitatione artis afflatum, et non sancti Spiritus gratia illuminatum, aut rhetorico spiritu imbutum, haec fecisse et excogitasse asserant* (PL 90, 609).

3. *The Text of Les 12 signes dou firmament*

[393] Chi commenche les .12. signes dou firmament pour savoir quant li lune passe parmy.

A l'honneur et a le gloire de le Sainte Trinité, le Pere, le Fil et le Saint Esperit, uns Dieux tous poissans, sans commencement et sans fin, qui est fontaine de toute sapience et de toute science, jou ay commenchié a translater dou Latin en Romman cest livre de men petit engien. Et Dieux le Pere glorieux envoia Jhesucrist son Fil prendre nostre humanité en le benoite vierge Marie. Et jou li prie qu'il me donne par sa misericorde si parfondement enluminer mon entendement que jou sans erreur puisse translater une partie des livres as sages philozophes¹ liquel ne sont mie deffendu par Sainte Eglise, ains sont de le vraie astronomie. Et tout ce me doivst acomplir nostre Seigneur Jhesucrist qui vit et regne avoecq le Pere et le Saint Esperit et (sa) mer(e).²

Premierement vous devez savoir qu'il sont .12. signes en le firmament liquel sont ainsy nommé: Mouton, Toriel, Jumiel, Crevice, Lyon, Virge, Libre, Scorpion, Sagitaire, Capricorne, Aquare, et Piscons. Et chil .12. signes ont seignourie sour les .12. membres de le homme et de le femme en tel maniere que li Moutons a le chief et le visage; li Toriaux le col et le gorge; li Jumiel les espauls, les .2. bras et les mains; li Crevice le pis et le pomon; li Lyons le cuer et l'estomach; li Virge le fie et tout le ventre; li Libre les rains et les .2. hancques; li Escorpions le cul et le membre genitable de homme et de femme; li Sagitaire les .2. cuisses; li Capricorne les genoulz; li Aquaires les jambes; li Piscons les piés.³

¹ An important source is perhaps the *Centiloquium* attributed to Ptolemy. See, e.g., the reference to Ptolemy in the description of 'Jumiel'. Some of the thunder prognostications seem to go back on Bede's *De tonitruis*. Tracing the identity of the text is quite precarious, since it is probably a compilation from a number of sources. Cf. Shore, "Medieval Nonliterary Translation", pp. 299-300.

² et (sa) mer(e): the manuscript gives an unclear mark (that could be read as 'A' but that could also be an abbreviation sign for 'et') followed by 'mer'. Since Mary already made her appearance in this paragraph, the conjecture 'et sa mere' might be deemed plausible. An alternative might be the word 'Amen', but the manuscript clearly gives 'r' instead of 'n'.

³ The belief that the twelve signs of the Zodiac rule over a corresponding set of twelve parts of the body is very common as well as ancient. The technical term for the study of this correspondence is *melothesia* (see study by Gundel, *Zodiakos: Tierkreisbilder im Altertum. Kosmische Bezüge und Jenseitsvorstellungen im antiken Alltagsleben* (Mainz am Rhein 1992)). The most famous classical example of it is in Manilius's *Astronomica* II.453-465 and IV.704-709 (see Goold ed., Loeb, pp. 118, 278). In the Middle Ages it was probably best known from Ptolemy's *Centiloquium*. Cf. also the *Medizinisch-astrologischer Volkskalender*, fol. 27v,

Or devez savoir que li solaux fait son cours chascun an parmy ces .12. signes et demeure en chascun signe [393^v] l'espasse de .30. jours, pau plus pau mains, ensi que vous trouveriés ou kalendier en chascun mois. Vous le trouverez ou mois de jenvier le .12^e). jour entrant en Aquare et en fevrier le .12^e. jour entrant en Piscon et en mars le .12^e. jour entrant ou signe de Mouton, et ensy des aultres de .30. jours en .30. jours, toudis ou milieu dou mois. Et devez savoir que li lune passe parmy ces .12. chascun mois et demeure en chascune signe .2. jours et .6. heures, pau plus pau mains, et chou porez savoir par les taules chi devant en quel signe elle sera et quans dégrés ou signe.⁴

Et sachiés que moult est prouffitable savoir chascun jour en quel signe li lune est. Car si comme dient li astronomien,⁵ c'est li plus prochains planette a la terre. Et pour chou a elle plus grant reward es choses du monde que li

Kommentar, pp. 73-74. By far the most famous late medieval depiction of the so-called Zodiacal man is the Zodiacal woman in *Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, reproduced many times (e.g. in Gundel, *Zodiakos*, plate 8, facing p. 161). For similar depictions, see: Boll, *Sternglaube*, Tafel x-xi. See also: Braswell, "Lunar Astrology", p. 193, n. 20.

⁴ In the ancient and medieval geocentric model of the cosmos, the Sun has both a daily and an annual rotation round the earth. The great circle of the Sun's annual path is called the ecliptic. The constellations that can be observed at sunset to follow in the Sun's trail constitute the Zodiac, which extends approximately 6 degrees to either side of the ecliptic. This great heavenly belt was divided into twelve sectors housing the twelve constellations from Aries to Pisces. The Moon stays relatively close to the ecliptic. It takes a little over 27 days for the Moon to pass round the Zodiac; 2 days and 6 hours (i.e. the '.2. jours et .6. heures' as mentioned in the text) multiplied by 12 gives 27 days, the so-called sidereal month. The sidereal month, however, is shorter than the ordinary calendar month (synodic month) of approximately 29½ days that the author of the *12 Signes* refers to. In order to know in which sign the Moon is on a given day, the user of the *12 Signes* would, therefore, have to be able to make the necessary calculations (or have some expert do this for him) or he would need a calendar or table with all the necessary information. In all likelihood this is what 'les taules chi devant' refers to; a table or set of tables that in the present form of the manuscript is absent. It is of interest to note that the earlier mentioned *Volkskalender* has a similar defect. On fol. 22r it reads: *Du solt auch wissen / von den vngluckhaffigen tagen / als die vorn / in dem kalender mit roter tinten / vnd mit dem wort hüt / bezaichent sein* (*Kommentar*, pp. 63-64). Yet this calendar is nowhere to be found in the manuscript. As the editor explains, this important part of the book has gone missing (*Kommentar*, p. 10). She dwells briefly on the possibility that the scribe mindlessly copied his source text without realising there was a calendar to match the contents of the *lunarium*, but she rejects this option in favour of the earlier conclusion. She does not provide reasons for the deficiency other than the wear and tear of time, but in view of a similar deficiency in the *12 Signes* as well as the peculiar form of censorship to which the *Règles* fell a prey, it is of some consequence to note that in its present state the *12 Signes* is made impotent, and hence harmless! For brief introductions to the rudiments of astrology, see: S. J. Tester, *A History of Western Astrology*, pp. 1-10; Barton, *Ancient Astrology*, pp. 86-113.

⁵ On the proximity of the Moon to the earth and its abundant influence, see: Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos* I.2 (Robbins ed., p. 7). It was also known from Haly's *De proprietatibus lune* (see: Braswell, "Lunar Astrology", p. 188, n. 3).

aulture planette et plus s'en sent toute creature humaine.⁶ Si que par le lune et par le nature des signes et les complections parmy elle⁷ keurt, puet on savoir quel chose il fait bon commenchie et faire, et quelles choses non, ensi que vous trouverez chi apries.

Des .12. signes sont li aucun estable, et li aucun muable, et aucun ne muable ne estable. Li .4. sont muable c'est Moutons, Crevice, Libre, Capricorne. Li estable sont li Toriaux, Lyons, Scorpions et li Aquares. Ne muable ne estable sont li Jumiel, Virge, Sagitaires, et li Piscons.⁸

Or est assavoir que se li lune est en signe muable, il segnefie que li chose qui sera commenchié adont sera tost faite ou la chose ne durrera pas longuement. Quant li lune sera en signe muable, il fait bon saignier, vendre, accater et femme fianchier et non espouser. Et se aucuns promet aucune chose il le parfait volentiers. Il ne fait pas bon commenchie cose que on vult faire durer longuement, si comme maison, chastiaux, ne pont, ne moulin. Il fait bon commenchie chou que on vult haster.

Et se li lune est en signe estable, il fait bon commenchie [394^r] chou que on vult faire durer longuement et boin entrer en nouvelle maison et femme espouser.

Quant la lune sera en signe commun, li chose qui sera adont commenchié elle sera aultrefois commenchié. Et souvent y avint grevance et barat et la chose qui sera adont ordonnee ne sera point tenue. Il fait bon mettre enfans a escolle.

Mais que la lune ne soit depechié, il sont pluseurs manieres de empeschemens. Le premier est quant elle est avoecq le soleil ou a .12. degrés

⁶ Even a sceptic like Nicole Oresme admits that people can profitably study the impact of Sun and Moon on people's health: 'de ce qui appartient aux medecins, puet on bien savoir aucune chose quant es effects qui ensuivent les cours du soleil et de la lune, et en oultre plus peu ou neant' (*Livre de divinacions*, ch. 2, p. 56). Naturally, Oresme would only allow for physical effects and hence dismiss the greater part of this treatise as nonsense.

⁷ 'elle', i.e. 'le lune' ('le', 'la', 'li lune'; all three occur in the text).

⁸ There are many ways of dividing the Zodiac. The method used in the *12 Signes* classifies the signs on the basis of their quartile aspects (see: Eade, *Forgotten Sky*, pp. 69-70; and Manilius, *Astronomica* II.150-432, and pp. xli-xliii, esp. fig. 4, of G. P. Goold's introduction). Eade (*Forgotten Sky* I.13, II.16.2c, pp. 10, 70) provides the qualifications of these three groups of four signs as they can also be found in the *12 Signes*: [1] Aries, Cancer, Libra and Capricorn constitute the cardinal or movable signs; Ptolemy (*Tetrabiblos* I.11, Loeb ed., p. 67) speaks of τροπικά, tropical or solstitial signs (Cancer and Capricorn, initiated by the turning of the Sun and hence marking the beginning of summer and winter resp.) and ισημερίας, equinoctial signs (Aries beginning with the vernal equinox and Libra beginning with the autumnal equinox); [2] Taurus, Leo, Scorpio and Aquarius constitute the fixed signs; Ptolemy (*loc. cit.*) speaks of στερεά, solid signs because they enhance the power of moisture, heat, dryness and cold; [3] Gemini, Virgo, Sagittarius and Pisces constitute the common signs; Ptolemy speaks of bicorporeal signs. In combination with the qualities of these signs the Moon will have a certain influence on human affairs. This influence is outlined in the following paragraphs of the text.

pres devant ou apres; et (la seconde est) quant li lune est plaine. Li tierche est quant elle est en fin de Libre et ou commencement de l'Escorpion. Et la quarte est quant elle est ou Capricorne.

Se la lune est en .6. signes, c'est assavoir Capricorne, Aquarre, Pisson, Mouton, Toriel, Jumiel, se aucuns accate marchandise, il gaignera et vous trouverez le contraire es aultres .6. signes, c'est Crevice, Lyon, Virge, Libre, Scorpion, Sagittaire.

Et quant aucuns ara esté malades et il garist, il ne fait mie bon relever quant la lune est en signe commun, c'est Jumiel, Virge, Sagittaire, Pisson.

Dou signe dou Mouton

Savoir devez quant li lune est ou Mouton il fait boin sainnier, et se maladie prent, li maladie sera muable et si terminera. Boin fait commenchier voiage et aler de lieu en lieu. Boin fait aler en marchandise vers Orient. Il fait boin baignier et faire toute chose qui est faite par fu. Bon fait taillier nouviaux draps et commenchier a viestir. Bon fait accater draps de rouge couleur. Bon fait vendre fier et plonc. On ne doit mie rere sa barbe, ne le chief. Et se aucuns est navrez adont au chief a paine pora garir, car li signes dou Mouton rewarde especialment le chief de homme et de femme et aroit reward sur le plaie. Et mal y fait prendre medechine et mal y fait commenchier chose que on vult fere durer ferme, si comme compaignie, mur et maison. Et mal y fait espouser femme. Mal y fait bateillier. Boin fait commen[394']chier tout chou que on vuet haster et tost avoir fait. Chilz signes est muables, caulx et secs et masculins, de le partie d'Orient.⁹

Et devez savoir se il tonne et li lune est ou Mouton, li lune devenra obscure. Grans pestilence avenra ou lieu ou il tonnera et les hierbes en seront enfermés. Aucunes gens en seront malades et li vermine multipliera et

⁹ In astrology the entire physical world is tied up intimately with the Zodiac. The signs were classified in terms of the primary qualities (hot, cold, dry, moist), the elements, gender, and the points of the compass. If we number the signs from Aries to Pisces 1 to 12, all odd numbers are masculine and hot, whereas all even numbers are feminine and cold. 'Dry' and 'moist' are also distributed alternately but in pairs (i.e. Aries and Taurus are both dry; Gemini and Cancer both moist, etc.). The combination of the primary qualities produces the four elements. The following scheme may be helpful in explaining the qualifications of the Zodiac, as presented in the *12 Signes*.

<i>primary qualities</i>	<i>elements</i>	<i>movable signs</i>	<i>solid signs</i>	<i>common signs</i>	<i>humours</i>	
hot+dry	fire	Aries	Leo	Sagittarius	♂	collerique Orient
cold+moist	water	Cancer	Scorpio	Pisces	♀	fleumatique Occident
hot+moist	air	Libra	Aquarius	Gemini	♂	sanguine Midi
cold+dry	earth	Capricorn	Taurus	Virgo	♀	melancolique Nord

tourblement venront en maintes citez. Et bien sachiés que c'est toudis du premier tonnoille que on ora¹⁰ ou commencement de l'an.

Dou signe du Toriel

Quant li lune est ou Toriel boin fait commenchie toute chose que on vult faire durer ferme et estable. Si comme prendre compaignie et entrer en aucun office et faire maisons et chastiaux et toutes telx choses. Adont fait bon espouser femme et entrer en seignourie et accater terres et hireter arbres, chevaux et buefz. Bon fait arrer et semer et planter arbres et copper, car tost recroisseront. Mal y fait medechiner le col et la gorge et qui y seroit adont navrez a paines poroit il garir. Mal y fait adont taillier novvialux draps ne viestir premiers. Mal fait adont assalir ses ennemis en bataille, ne voiage commenchie. Et mal fait adont soy courouchier. Et se tenchons, discorde ou yre adont sont fait entre homme et femme ou amis, si durrera longuement et a paines seront apaisié. Et qui sera adont mis en prison plus longuement y demourra. Mal fait commenchie chose que on vult qui tost soit faite. Il n'y fait mie bon saignier. Chilz signes est fermes et estables, feminins, melancoliques, de nature de terre, frois et secs.

Et se il tonne <et> le lune est ou¹¹ Toriel, plenté sera de blez et de tous grains, et li fruit qui croissent es montaignes multiplieront, et chil des vallees non, ne li vin. Et les bestes sauvages morront cel an.

Dou signe dou Jumiel

Quant li lune est en Jumiaux adont ne fait mie bon saignier des bras, car chilz signes a rewart sur les bras et qui adont y seroit navrez a paines poroit garir. Il n'y fait mie bon baignier. Mal fait aler querre debtez, ne aler en voiajes pour [395'] besongne, car il y convenroit aler aultre fois. Et se uns malades relieve adont ou escappe de maladie, il requerra¹² volentiers. Et a paines sera donnee chose qui adont sera promise. Et se elle est donnee, elle ne prouffitera mie moult. Warde que tu n'entrepreneigne chose que tu vueilles qui soit ferme et estable longhement. Bon fait parler de paix et de concorde et de mariage et parfaire le mariage en signe ferme. Et boin fait mettre enfans a lire et a escrire et aprendre ars soutieux. Boin fait commenchie plaix et querre advocas et aler devant juges. Boin y fait prendre medechine.

¹⁰ ora: *ms* ara. Later on the text also speaks of the first 'tonnoille que on ora'.

¹¹ est ou: *ms* el.

¹² requerra: *lege* recherra (<recheoir, 'relapse').

Chilz signes est communs, de .2. cors,¹³ caulx et moistes, de le partie de Midi, caude et moiste, signes d'air.

Et ensi que dist Tholomés se il tonne (et) le lune (est) en cest signe, il plouvera et plenté sera de fourmens (et) assés sera de fruit. Ly yviers qui venra sera hideux et aspres tribulations de maladies seront en maint lieux en cel an.

Dou signe de le Crevice

Quant ly lune est en le Crevice mal fait espouser femmes, car souvent seroient en discors. Mal fait prendre seüreté et accorde, car souvent seroit a recommenchier. Mal y fait commenchier chose que on vult faire ferme et estable. Mal y fait edifier edifices et planter arbres et requerre debte. Il ne fait boin vendre ne accater chose nulle se ce ne sont crasses choses, si comme miel et oille et aultres crasses. Et qui accatera aultre chose il accatera chier et revendera mal. Mal y fait medechiner le pis, et qui adont y seroit navrez a paines poroit garir, ains seroit emperil de mort. Boin fait aler en voyage pour tost revenir. Boin fait commenchier toute chose que on vult tost finer et avoir faite. Et boin [395^v] fait adont prendre medechine, fors au pis. Car li lune est adont en se maison et si goist de¹⁴ li et est plaine de humidité. Bon y fait baaignier et navier et faire toute chose qui est faite par yauwe. Bon y fait remuer et entrer de une maison en une aultre et faire taillier et viestir nouviaux draps. Li signes del Crevice gouverne le pis et le pommon de l'homme et de le femme et est frois et moistes, de nature de yauwe et est muables de le partie d'Occident¹⁵ qui est froide et moiste.

Et bien sachiés se il tonne (et) le lune (est) en le Crevice, li gent devenront malade en aucuns lieux; li fruit seront boin a habondance de fourment et famine serra par mains lieux; merveilles sourderont de pluseurs contrees; moult de larenchin seront fait en cel an.

¹³ The common signs, Gemini, Virgo, Sagittarius and Pisces, are also known as double signs, or, to use Ptolemy's phrase: bicorporeal (*δίσωμα*). In the case of Gemini and Pisces this designation is obvious; Sagittarius is called double because of his duplex nature of part man and part horse. The case of Virgo is more complicated. In ancient depictions she has two wings (see, e.g., Gundel, *Zodiakos*, p. 71). The famous miniature from *Les Très Riches Heures* shows her holding two ears of corn. Manilius believes that the duplicity derives from the fact that 'at the middle of the Virgin summer on one side ceases and autumn on the other begins' (*Astronomica* II.176-177). The double signs are at the end of one season inaugurating the next and hence possess double strength (*Astronomica* II.180). Ptolemy (*Tetrabiblos* I.11) does not link the bicorporality to visual representations but states that these signs are 'so called because they are between the solid and the solstitial and equinoctial signs' and thus share the properties of the other two groups.

¹⁴ goist de: *lege* jouist de (<jouir de, 'enjoy', 'benefit from').

¹⁵ Occident: *ms* accident.

Dou signe dou Lyon

Quant li lune est ou Lyon, signe ferme et estable, garde que tu ne prenges nullement puison ne medechine adont car il le convenroit vomir ou estre emperil. Et si ne fay taillier nul neuf drap ne ne viest premierement et especialment reube verde. Car selonc le nature de cel signe tu seroies navrez en ces draps, ou tu aroies maladie griefs dedens cel an, ou tu seroies occis. Mal fait aler en lonc voyage, mal fait adont medechiner le cuer, le fie et l'estomach et toutes les entrailles. Et qui en ces lieux seroit adont navrez a paines gariroit. Car le signe dou Lyon rewarde adont ces parties. A paines seront ja concordé chil qui adont se courcheront li uns a l'autre, ne ja n'aront il chier li uns l'autre. Mal y fait commenchier chose nulle que on vult haster. Boin fait adont commenchier chose que on vult faire durer longhement estable, si comme murs, maisons et affermer mariages et compaignies et prendre asseürances et [396'] entrer en seignouries et en possessions et toutes choses qui ne doivent mie souvent commenchier ne tost finer. Bon fait adont parler as rois et as princes et as poissans hommes. Bon fait fondre metaulx et faire toutes choses qui sont faittes par fu. Bon fait accater metal et draps de gaune couleur et accater et marchander or. Ly Lyons segnefie toutes les choses sus donés. Ly Lyons est caus et secs et ardans et de se nature colleriques comparez au fu.

Et sachiés se il tonne et li lune est ou Lyon (pendant) li premiers tonnoilles, grans tenchons seront entre les rois et les princes; li fruit seront boin et chier; plenté sera de fourment; plusieurs gens aront mal en leurs yeux; uns grans princes morra.

Du signe de le Virgene

Quant li lune est en le Virge, boin fait courtillier et semer et planter arbres et vignes et faire toutes choses qui appartiennent a terre. Boin fait aler par terre et envoier messages et faire toute chose qui souvent vuelt renouveler. Boin fait accater draps de verde couleur et toutes choses menues et viestir nuefs draps et faire taillier. Adont fait tres boin escrire et envoier lettres. Mal fait aler par yauwe et mal fait baignier et mal fait adont espouser pucelle ne avoecq li gesir. Mal fait ouvrer de chose qui soit faitte par fu. Chilz signes gouverne le boudine et les costes et une partie des entrailles. Et qui adont seroit navrez en ces lieux mal en gariroit. Boin fait espouser¹⁶ femme

¹⁶ The phrase 'femme corrompue' probably refers to a widow. The earlier mentioned *Volkskalender* gives for Virgo the following item: 'Auch ein wittib zehawß zu furen / vnd nit ein Junckfraw' (*Kommentar*, p. 59). That the phrase should be read as a recommendation for marrying a corrupt woman is highly unlikely.

corrompue, boin fait saignier et prendre medechine. Chilz signes est appellez communs ou signes de .2. cors et est femenins, frois et secs, melancoliques comparez a le terre.

Se il tonne et li lune est en le Virgine, bataille sera viers le mer [396'] en aucune partie et aucun roy morront; li mer sera perilleuse; li buef morront en aucuns lieux en cel an.

Dou signe dou Libre

Quant li lune est en Libre, boin fait commenchie voie viers Midi et en celle partie aler en marchandise. Boin fait taillier et viestir nouviaux draps. Boin fait accater blanches pennes et blans draps et toute chose de blanche couleur et tous aournemens de femme et blanche monnoie, gemmes et aniaux blans et chevaux blans et blanches bestes. Boin fait accater toutes choses muables. Boin fait adont decepvoir femmes et fiancier et parler de mariage et parfaire en signe ferme. Bon fait entrer en mer et commenchie a escripre. Bon fait saignier et prendre medechine. Mal fait adont commenchie †¹⁷ edifices ne faire chose qui doive estre ferme et estable, ne compaignies. Car de legier seroit adont a recommenchie. Mal fait envoier lettres ne messages ne requerre debtes. Adont n'est mie ferme chose de faire paiemens, paix ne asseurance. Car chilz signes n'est mie fermes; chou qui adont sera promis a paines sera donnét. Ly signe de le Libre est muable et a son reward as hancques et as rains au cul et a le vessie. Et qui adont seroit navrez en ces parties mal en poroit garir et il seroit emperil de mort. Li signes de le Libre est donnez a le partie de Midi, sanguine, caude et moiste comparez a l'air.

Se il tonne (et) le lune (est) en le Libre ce segnefie famine en plaines terres et plouvasses; bledz sera chiers; en aucuns lieux pluseurs gens morront; grans discordes surdront.

Dou signe de l'Escorpion

Quant li lune est en l' Escorpion mal fait viestir nouvelle reube et mal fait aointier compaignies. Mal fait parler as rois et as princes, ne envoier messages ne lettres. Adont fait mal entreprendre voyages par yauwe [397'] ne par terre et wardez que ne montez en hault sur arbres ne sur aultre montaigne. Mal fait courtilier ne planter. Mal fait adont marchander ne commenchie chose que on vueille haster. Bon fait prendre medechine laxative. Bon fait pesquier et requerre debtes. Boin fait baignier et mengier en baing. Boin fait saignier, mais que on laist pau de sang. Ly signes de l'Escorpion est fermes et fleumatiques, frois et moistes comparez a l'yauwe.

¹⁷ †: *ms* medechines (deleted by the scribe).

Il a le partie d'Occident. Il est femenins, menchonnaules; il rewarde en homme et en femme les basses parties des membres genitables. Et qui adont y seroit navrez mal en gariroit.

Et devez scavoir se il tonne (et) le lune (est) en l'Escorpion pluseurs fruis en periront; homme et cheval seront malade en aucuns lieux; famine et bataille sera en aucuns lieux.

Dou signe dou Sagittaire

Quant li lune est ou Sagittaire boin fait accater or et argent et vaissiaux d'or et d'argent et draps de gaune couleur. Boin fait encontrer et parler as rois et as princes et viestir nuefs draps et faire compagnies et amistez et accordances et traitiés de mariages. Boin fait entreprendre pelerinages et besongnier pour cause de religion et de hospitalité de Sainte Eglise et faire toute chose qui appartient a religion. Bon fait aler en marchandise viers Orient. Boin fait saignier et rere et rongnier les cheviaus et faire toute chose qui est faite par fu. Bon fait commenchier batailles qui en a mestier. Mal fait ouvrer de yauwe et de terre, ne semer, ne arbres planter. Mal fait juer as dez. Mal fait requerre debtes. Mal fait gesir avoecq pucelle. Le Sagittaire est communs et de .2. cors et est masculins, caus et secs. Coleriques il est comparez a le partie d'Orient. Li Sagittaires a en homme et en femme les cuisses et les costes et qui adont y seroit navrez a paines gariroit sainement et y seroit emperil.

Se il tonne (et) le lune (est) [397] ou Sagittaire maint fruit faulront par gellee; moult de larrechin seront fait en maint lieu et segnefie tribulations en prouvenche et destourbanche as marchans.

Dou signe dou Capricorne

Quant li lune est en Capricorne boin fait arrer et semer et courtillier et planter arbres et vignes et toute labeur que on fait de terre, c'est a entendre de toutes les choses quant il est en saison. Boin fait accater plonc et fer. Bon fait cachier as bestes sauvaiges. Il fait boin commenchier les chozes que on voelt tost finer. Mal fait aler viers bise. Adont ne fait mie boin saignier ne prendre poisons ne medechine. Mal fait commenchier chose qui doit estre ferme et estable. Li Capricornes est uns signe muables, il est frois et secs, melancoliques comparez a le terre. Il gouverne les genous et se aucuns estoit adont navrez mal en gariroit.

Et sachiés se il tonne (et) le lune (est) ou Capricorne, si comme dient li maistre astronomijen, ce segnefie que li gent d'aucuns regnes se combateront encontre aultre gent. Villes et citez seront prises et pluseurs hommes languiront et morront et famine sera par lieux et segnefie grant yvier.

Dou signe de Aquaire

Quant li lune sera en Aquaire bon fait planter et semer et aler par yauwe et fait bon commenchie choses estables qu'on¹⁸ voelt faire durer si comme maisons et murs et telz chozes. Bon fait entrer en possessions et en seignouries et en nouvielle maison pour manoir. Bon fait parler as riches hommes et as clers et a grans prelas. Bon fait accater toutes choses de noire couleur, noires pennes, noirs chevaux, noires viestes. Boin fait prendre les oysiaux. Boin fait espouser femme. Boin fait saignier de bras. Mal fait encommenchie chose que on voelt tost avoir faite. Mal fait entrer en long voiage. Mal fait aler par mer. Mal fait prendre medechine. Mal fait taillier ongles, queviaux et vestir nouviaux draps. Mal y fait baignier. Chilz signes est fermes et estables, caux et moistes comparez a l'air. Il a le [398] partie de Midi qui est caus et moistes et a son rewart as gambes et qui adont y seroit navrez mal en poroit garir. Chilz signes est veritables.

S'il tonne et le lune est en Aquare ce segnefie maladie des yeux et si seroient li fruit boin et li vin; il plouvera et ventera et sera mortalité de gens en celle annee.

Dou signe de Pisson

Quant li lune est es Piscons il fait boin faire les choses qui appartiennent as yauwes et as peskeurs et as moulins d'yauwe et si fait boin aler en mer et en yauwe et boin fait prendre medechine. Boin fait decevoir femmes et faire paix et accordes et parler d'amistiés et de religion. Boin fait taillier et viestir nouviaux draps. Bon fait accater argent et cangier et accater choses argentees et toutes choses blanches. Mal fait soy courouchier. Mal fait enconter ses ennemis. Mal fait parler de batailles et de discordes. Mal fait medechiner les piés et qui y seroit navrez a paines gariroit. Li signes des Pissons est fleumatiques, frois et moistes, de nature de yauwe, et a le partie d'Occident. Il est communs et de .2. cors, ne muable ne estable. Et sachiés que la chose qui sera adont commenchié, elle sera aultrefois recommenchié et se aucuns ou aucune vient a cy ce sera pour deception ou barat et la chose qui sera adont commenchié ne sera ja adont bien tenue.

Se il tonne (et) le lune (est) ou signe de Pisson li temps sera frois et secs, li homme devenront malade et si ne morront niënt. Plenté sera de fruis et secheresse de terre, plenté de vin et pau d'orge.

Et sachiés que li tonnoilles de quoy nous avons parlé, c'est toudis dou premier tonnoille que on ora, c'est (en) le commencement de l'an. Et doit

¹⁸ qu'on: *ms* con.

on tousjours rewarde de quelle part li tonnoilles naist de premiers. Se li tonnoilles naist premiers deviers Orient, il segnefie occisions de hommes et espandement de sang. Se il commenche a tonner deviers Occident, il segnefie mortalité de tempieste en aucune partie. Se il tonne deviers Midi, il segnefie mortuile de gens. Se il commenche a tonner deviers Aquilone, il segnefie mortalité des paijens.¹⁹ [398']

Ore devez scavoir que li solaux entre toudis en mylieu dou mois en .1. nouviel signe dont il en y a .12. aussi comme .12. mois. Et li solaux met .1. mois a passer .1. signe et chil .12. signe sont ou chiercle dou soleil ouquel chiercle il fait son cours qui est Zadiakes, c'est chiercles de bestes, et ces biestes sont ensi que on les vous nomme et ont tel nom pour le raison dou soleil. Si comme quant li solaux entre en my march ou premier signe, c'est ou Mouton, pour chou que li solaux commenche adont a estre fors et a monter ensi que li moutons est fors devant. Li aultres est nommez Tors par nom pour chou que les labeurs des beufs et des terres apperent quant li solaux y est et c'est en avril. Li tiers signes est appellez Jumiel et sont aussi que .2. frere jumiel qui s'entracolent. Aussi les choses qui naissent de terre en may s'entrelachent quant li solaux y est en cest signe. Li quars est appellez Crevice qui recule aussi quant li solaux est en cest signe <et> s'i recule et se depart de no<stre> emispere c'est quant li jour acourchent. Li quins signes est appellez Lyon, car ensy comme li lyons est de trop ardent nature, ensi est li solaux quant il est en cest signe de ardent nature caulz et secs. Dont en tel signe il ne fait mie bon saignier ne uzer de purgations; et c'est hernus. Li .6^{es}. signes est appellez Virgene, car si comme virgene est chose brehaigne aussi quant li solaux entre en cel signe, c'est en my aoust, nulle chose ne croist, mais les choses meürissent. Li .7^{es}. est appellez Libres, c'est balance, pour chou que en cel temps li jour et les nuis sont de une longueur. Li .8^{es}. signes est appellez Escorpions, car aussi comme li escorpions point de se keuwe, aussi en cel temps quant li solaux y est les froidures poignent les matinees. Li .9^{es}. est appellés Sagittaires pour chou que adont les saijettes du temps sont envoijés sour nous si comme de pluie et de nege et de gresil. Li .10^{es}. est nommez Kievre cornue ensi comme la kievre est une bieste qui se draiche en paissant, aussi en cel signe li solaux se dreche enviers nous et commenche a revenir cha dessus [399'] en no<stre> emispere et c'est devant le Noël quant li jour ralongent. Li .2.²⁰ signe qui

¹⁹ This thunder prognostication (by which the fate of an entire year is determined by the direction from which the first clash of thunder is heard) corresponds roughly to a similar prognostication in Bede's thunderbook. See: Bede, *De tonitruis* (PL 90, 610-611).

²⁰ .2.: ms .12.

demeurent, c'est Aquarre et Poisson qui segnefient habondance d'aigles quant li solaux y est en ces signes, c'est en jenvier et en fevrier et chi²¹ en march.

Nous avons parlé des .12. signes et de leur signifianges quant li lune y est. De chou disent li sage que li lune est plus isnielle que nulles des autres planettes et est plus prochaine a le terre. Pour chou a elle plus grant rewart et segnourie es choses du monde et plus s'en sent toute creature et li complexions humaine de ses mouvemens, si comme quant li lune est plaine li mers est plaine. Et aussi est li sans et li moule es hommes et es bestes.²² Et quant li lune est nouvelle li gent gouteux et maladieu et chil qui ont eü briseures es membres en sont plus entez et plus s'en sentent. De chou dist Aristotes que en le premiere moittiét de chascune lunison les maladies sont plus grandes, mais elles sont mains morteux que en le seconde: quant li lune est en decours tout soient elles meüres. Et li raisons: car en le premiere moittiét dekeurent les maladies et les humeurs qui sont dedens au dehors; et en le darraïne moittiét dekeurent elles de dehors²³ au dedens. Dont est certaine chose que li malle humeurs qui est dedens petite puet plus nuire que li grande qui est au dehors, tout soit elle grande et malle.

Et dient li sage phisicijen que se li lune est en signe muable quant aucune maladie prent premierement, ce segnefie hastieveté au malade ou de bien ou de mal. Et communement aucunes telles maladies se tournent a terminement. Et quant elle est en signe ferme, ce segnefie que celle maladie sera longhe et mettera longuement a garir plus que es aultres signes. Et se li lune est en signe de .2. cors, c'est ne muable ne estable, quant li maladie prent premierement, ce segnefie que telle maladie y a laquelle va de maladie en maladie et se transmuera d'une maniere en ung aultre. Se li lune est ou commenchement que maladie prent en signe qui soit samblables a le maladie, si comme elle soit ou Lyon ou u Mouton ou u Sagittaire et une fievre prent qui est de propre [399'] nature caude, celle maladie est male, pour le concordance des signes et de le maladie qui soit d'une nature. Et au contraire se une fievre prent et li lune soit ou Toriel u en le Vierge ou en le Capricorne qui sont de leur nature froit, telle maladie est communement mains perilleuse, pour le descordance des signes et de le maladie. Et ensi puet on entendre de moult de autres maladies, et cetera.

²¹ chi *lege* aussi.

²² For the influence of the Moon on rising and setting tides and on the waxing and waning of plants and animals, see *Tetrabiblos* I.2 (Loeb ed., p. 7) and Augustine, DCD V.6.

²³ dehors: *ms* dedans au dehors. A correction was made in the manuscript by crossing through 'dans au de'.

4. *A Numerological Game*

As a prognosticative text the *12 Signes* is quite serious in its intentions. With the *Règles* this is slightly different, since it seems to be caught 'betwixt jest and earnest' like all modern oracles and games of chance; the playful, sportive element is always there, but so is seriousness, if the stakes are high enough. It would perhaps not be difficult to trace the playful element in all forms of divination,¹ but some forms evidently present themselves more as games than others. It is this entertaining aspect of fortune-telling, to which ecclesiastical censorship occasionally turned a blind eye, that we encounter in this section.

Next to the more complex astrological forms of divination, there were also easier, simpler and more entertaining methods of learning the future, that look very much like amusements or games. These soothsaying-games or 'do-it-yourself-oracles' (for want of a better phrase) range from tossing coins or throwing dice to intricate and complicated games with elaborate charts and tables.

As a separately identifiable literary genre the 'Books of Fate' were very popular.² These texts always contain a fixed list of questions about the general affairs of life, such as wealth, health and happiness, from which the inquirer is supposed to select one. By performing a certain operation, such as turning a dial or a wheel of fortune or throwing dice, which yields a certain outcome, he is directed to a table with oracles where, on a fixed location (determined by the outcome of, e.g., the dice), he finds an answer to his question. Sometimes there are several tables of oracles and the player is directed from one table to another, before he reaches an answer. Such an unnecessarily indirect and complicated method is usually explained in terms

¹ In his *Livre de divinacions* (chapter 3) Oresme dismissed geomancy as a simple game of odd or even ('le jeu de per et de nom per') and drew attention to the fact that some called it 'le jeu de philosophes, car on n'y peut speculer en aucunes conclusions d'arismetique' (Coopland ed., p. 58). Cf. also: Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, pp. 90-94 on the art of trickery, where he deals with magic and conjuring tricks. In the present survey we will be chiefly concerned with written divinatory games.

² For a discussion of the literature on this genre, as well as a definition of 'Books of Fate', see the appendix of T. C. Skeat, "An Early Medieval 'Book of Fate': The *Sortes XII Patriarcharum*", in: *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* 3 (London 1954), pp. 51-54. Essential studies on this topic are by J. Bolte ("Zur Geschichte der Losbücher", in: Georg Wickrams *Werke*, ed. J. Bolte, vol. 4, pp. 276-348, and J. Bolte, "Zur Geschichte der Punktier- und Losbücher", in: *Jahrbuch für historische Volkskunde* I (1925), pp. 184-214). See also: HWDA V, 'Losbücher', cols. 1386-1401, which is a summary of Bolte.

of the mystifying effect it is supposed to have on the reader,³ though, one feels, the playful element should not be underestimated here. Examples of such texts survive from Antiquity and the Arabic world, and a number of medieval examples of this genre such as the *Experimentarius* attributed to Bernardus Silvester⁴ derive from Arabic originals. Other famous texts in this genre are the *Sortes Sangallenses* (surviving fragmentarily as a sixth-century palimpsest in a manuscript at St. Gall)⁵; and the *Sortes apostolorum* (mentioned and denounced by pope Gelasius in 494, but its earliest surviving copy is in a tenth-century manuscript). Many of these texts found their way into the vernacular and poetic embellishments and versifications were not infrequent.⁶

Especially in fifteenth-century Germany the genre seems to have flourished. By far the most important author of such books of divination was Konrad Bollstatter (Öttingen, c. 1420 - Augsburg, 1482) who sometimes signed his work as Konrad Müller or Mulitor. One of his books clearly illustrates the playful aspect of these divinatory games and may furnish us with a suitable example of how a lot-book ('Losbuch') functions.⁷ The book is handsomely executed with circular charts and drawings that may be reminiscent of the circular figures or wheels of fortune in the earlier mentioned 'spheres of life and death'. The player, using this book, is requested to select one from a list of sixteen questions (e.g. whether or not the woman

³ A sentiment expressed by Skeat ("An Early Medieval 'Book of Fate': The *Sortes XII Patriarcharum*", p. 46) and Thorndike (HMES II, p. 113). Braekman ("Fortune-Telling by the Casting of Dice: A Middle English Poem and Its Background", in: *Studia Neophilologica* 52 (1980), pp. 3-29) adds that 'superstition does not like simple and straightforward methods' (p. 7).

⁴ Thorndike, HMES II, pp. 110-123.

⁵ For a discussion of the St. Gall 'lottery'-text with references, see: Flint, "The Transmission of Astrology", pp. 16-17, and Flint, *The Rise of Magic*, pp. 220-221. Apparently attempts were made in the eighth century in order to erase the text to reuse the leaves for compiling vocabularies. Due to such acts of censure only one quarter of the text survives today.

⁶ See: Braekman, "Fortune-Telling by the Casting of Dice", pp. 3-29. Cf. also: Louis Brandin, "Le livre de preuve", in: *Romania* 42 (1913), pp. 204-254, and Louis Brandin, "Un livre de bonne aventure Anglo-Français en vers", in: *Mélanges de linguistique et de littérature offerts à M. Alfred Jeanroy* (Paris 1928), pp. 639-655. The text Brandin edits in the second article is an adaptation in verse of a Latin original from the thirteenth century. The *Livre de preuve* (also thirteenth century) likewise purports to be a translation: 'Uns clers le fist a Pangelune, / Qui volst savoir d'astronomie / (...) Par les estoiles bien savoit / Tot ce dont il desir avoit. / RIGAU ot non, molt fu vaillans / Et en estude molt saichans' (*Romania* 42, p. 217). But as Brandin points out (*op. cit.*, pp. 204-205) no author is known by that name so the attribution may be fictional.

⁷ *Ein mittelalterliches Wahrsagespiel: Konrad Bollstatters Losbuch in CGM 312 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*, ed. Karin Schneider (Wiesbaden 1978). The book contains facsimiles from the manuscript as well as the complete text of Bollstatter's lot-book rendered into modern German. The quotations were taken from the modern rendering.

he loves is true), after which he has to throw two dice. If, say, the result is 6 points, he can then look up the combination of the question and the 6 points in a table where he can find further directions. In Bollstatter's book the player will thus find: 'Ob deine Liebste treu ist: König von Litauen, 6. Zeile'. In the second part of the book he will find 16 tables with 16 kings, each pronouncing ten oracles. The sixth oracle of the king of Lithuania is as follows: 'Frage den Minnesänger Brennberger, ob deine Liebste treu ist'. On the table with 'Minnesänger' in the third and final part of the book the player will find Brennberger saying: 'Deine Liebste ist treu, aber nicht dir, sondern einem anderen. Man könnte meinen, sie stamme aus Flandern'.

The popularity of these Books of Fate, especially in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, seems to suggest that they were increasingly regarded as an innocent form of entertainment. This was not always the case. There is, for instance, the twelfth-century *Sortes XII Patriarcharum*,⁸ a Book of Fate in which a system is used containing twelve questions, from which the inquirer can choose one. Each question is correlated to twelve answers or oracles (which results in a total of 144 oracles). By throwing two dice the inquirer can find the answer to his question, but since the range of possible scores with two dice is from 2 to 12, this leaves a group of twelve oracles (the first answers to the twelve questions) without a clear function in the game. Skeat, who analysed the game, referred to these twelve oracles as 'dummies, retained for the sake of symmetry', but they are more than that. Instead of answers to the questions, they are 'virulent denunciations of fortune-telling!' and Skeat quotes a number of specimens, such as:

*Velle Dei nosse Casu non est tibi posse; or
Si sequeris Casum, Casus frangit tibi nasum.*⁹

The jocular tone to which Skeat drew attention is unmistakable, but this does not mean they were not meant to be taken seriously. Like warnings on packets of cigarettes, declaring that the contents of these products may damage one's health, these 'oracles' may have been intended to comply with the wishes of authorities and to inform potential players and inquirers of the nature of such a game *sub specie aeternitatis*. Bollstatter is known to have catered for the pious needs of his clients, producing a dice-book with a moralistic purpose. The answers to the casts are not given by kings or sages, but by Christ, Mary and the saints, though Bollstatter probably found it hard

⁸ See Skeat, "An Early Medieval 'Book of Fate': The *Sortes XII Patriarcharum*", pp. 41-54. The system of the game, which is too complicated to be described here, is discussed and analysed by Skeat.

⁹ Skeat, "An Early Medieval 'Book of Fate': The *Sortes XII Patriarcharum*", p. 47.

to suppress his playful moods, for among the saints one quite unexpectedly encounters Judas and Satan.¹⁰

Next to these Books of Fate with questions and answers, also numerological methods of fortune-telling were extremely popular. Though belonging to a slightly different genre, both forms of divination seem to have been transmitted jointly ever since the early Middle Ages and, as we discussed earlier, their roots extend back even further. Especially numerology has a long history.

The idea that number and numerological patterns underly the order of the cosmos has been part of the tradition of Western thought at least since the Pythagoreans. Numbers are not only embedded in reality, they are also used as a structuring device in the divine plan. Thus one can find Augustine¹¹ explaining that many things in the Bible which are figuratively and mystically expressed, are not understood through an ignorance of numbers. He goes on to give the rather exotic example of the forty-day fasts of Moses, Elijah and Christ. Forty is four times ten. The number four denotes time (a year consists of four seasons; a day also has four segments, viz. morning, noon, evening, night) and the number ten symbolises the knowledge of the Creator (the Trinity symbolised by three) and his creature (symbolised by seven). The living creature is denoted by seven on account of his physical existence (his body consists of the four elements) and the life that is in him (man must love God in a three-fold way: with his heart, soul and mind). A forty-day fast, therefore, combines knowledge of God and life with the passing of time and shows that life here on earth should not be spent in pleasure but in temperance and the pursuit of the Good.

Numerology thrived best in languages such as Greek or Hebrew which have no separate symbols for numbers but use the letters of the alphabet instead. A very influential numerological method is gematria¹² which originated possibly in Babylon, was widespread in the literature of the Magi and entered Israel during the period of the Second Temple. It gained prominence in the Middle Ages especially in kabbalistical circles where it was used to explore the mystical dimensions of Scripture. Sir Thomas Browne (1605-1682) presented an example of this in chapter five of his *Garden of Cyrus, or, the Quincunciall, Lozenge, or Net-Work Plantations of the Ancients*,

¹⁰ Braekman, "Fortune-Telling by the Casting of Dice", p. 10.

¹¹ Augustine, DDC II.16 (25); another instance of numerological exegesis in Augustine can be found in DCD XI.30-31. On numerology in Patristic thought, see, e.g., Campion, *The Great Year*, pp. 294-296.

¹² Gematria (Gr. γεωμετρία) 'consists of explaining a word or group of words according to the numerical value of the letters or of substituting other letters of the alphabet for them in accordance with a set system' (EJ 7, cols. 369-374). Cf. also Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, pp. 262-263.

*Artificially, Naturally, Mystically Considered.*¹³ There he expounds the mystical meaning of the number five, the conjugal number (he refers to the parable of the five wise and the five foolish virgins and the Roman custom to admit only five torches in the nuptial solemnities). According to the Kabbalah the Hebrew letter *He*, denoting five, is the number of fertility and generation as was made clear in the names of Abram and Sarai who remained childless until the *He* was added to their names; Abram became Abraham and Sarai became Sarah.

The realisation that numerological patterns were an important structuring device in the Bible made no small contribution to the application of numbers to literary compositions¹⁴ (Dante's *Divina Commedia* is only one of many eminent examples) or the use of numerology in magic, divination and even medicine.¹⁵ We have already encountered the numerological name-'calculation' in the notebook of the Suffolk physician John Crophill and the so-called 'spheres of life and death'. Thorndike¹⁶ explains how one of these 'spheres' from Greek Antiquity works, and we will follow his explanation, since it may aid our understanding of the *Règles* which we will deal with presently. A 'sphere' is a circular figure with several compartments labelled with headings such as 'Life' or 'Death' under which different numbers are grouped together. The numerical value of a person's name may be calculated by adding together the Greek numerals represented by its component letters. To this number the day of the Moon may be added after which the sum is divided by a given divisor. The quotient can be looked up in the compartments. Thorndike adds that this method was used, among other things, to predict the outcome of gladiatorial combats. Later medieval versions of this method of divination, which could obviously not rely on the numerical value of the Greek letters, assigned arbitrary numerical values to the Roman letters, and this may account for the arbitrary appearance of the numbers in the table of the *Règles*. In discussing the pseudo-Aristotelian *Secret of Secrets* and its remarks on the occult properties of numbers, Thorndike¹⁷ draws attention to a Hebrew version of the work which 'adds a puerile method of divination who will be victor in a battle by a numerical calculation based upon the letters in the

¹³ Thomas Browne, *The Religio Medici and Other Writings* (London 1909), pp. 224-225.

¹⁴ See, e.g.: John MacQueen, *Numerology: Theory and Outline History of a Literary Mode* (Edinburgh 1985).

¹⁵ Such 'medical' applications were no doubt criticised by Oresme when he wrote: 'il n'est homme, se il a raison en soy, qui ne voye clerement que c'est une folie croire que par getter per ou non per on puisse savoir si un malade guerira ou mourir' (*Livre de divinacions*, ch. 16, p. 114).

¹⁶ Thorndike, HMES I, pp. 682-683.

¹⁷ Thorndike, HMES II, p. 277.

names of the generals'. This 'puerile method', it will be observed presently, is not far from the method used in the *Règles*.

It is difficult to assess how serious these numerological divining methods were taken, but if they developed along lines similar to that of the Books of Fate, we may surmise that eventually they were used mainly for amusement and entertainment. The *Règles de divination* from the bulky Burgundian codex is a case in point. If this book, or at least the parts we are discussing here, were already part of the Burgundian library around the year 1400, and if it circulated at court, they were a potential target of Pignon's invective. The following presentation of the text is based on the same editorial principles as those of *Contre les devineurs*. Roman numerals, however, have been changed into Arabic ones and the two tables, presented in the manuscript in a linear fashion, have been restructured to accommodate the modern reader.

[405^v] Qui vouldra savoir de quelque chose que soit par lettrez de l'abecé et dou nombre de chacune lettre escript dessus la lettre, il pourra savoir la verité de ce que il demandera s'il fait en celle maniere: Prenez 2 propres noms de nativité et non mie d'aventure, ou pour tenchon, ou pour bataille, ou pour ceulx qui muevent a aler ou chemin, ou pour mariés le quel morra avant, ou pour malades, ou pour quelque chose qu'il vouldra savoir selonc l'espelissement. Prenez de chacune lettre le nombre par soy et puis les partez par 9 tant qu'il demeure 9 ou mains. Sour ce qu'il sera demouré de l'un et de l'autre, gardez en la page de l'argument et vous trouverez qui vainquera et qui sera vaincus.

Et des mariez; partez le nombre des lettres de leurs noms par 7 et celui qui sourmontera l'autre de vie trouverez.

Et des malades; comptez le nombre des lettres du jour que la maladie se prenra et le nom du malade et se le nom du malade vaint il garira et se le nom du jour vaint il moura. Et faites autresi de toutes autres choses de quoy vous voldrez savoir la verité. C'est l'abecé¹⁸ et la page qui ensieut.

¹⁸ In the manuscript the key to the numerical values of the letters of the alphabet is presented in a linear fashion: 'iij . iij . xxiiij . xxiiij . xxv . iij . vij . xv . a . b . c . d . e . f . g . h . i . xv . xxij . xxiiij . xxv . viij . xiiij . xxj . xxiiij . k . l . m . n . o . p . q . r . xxj . viij . j . vj . iij . iij . xxiiij . xxvj . v . s . t . v . x . y . z . Sol . Luna . Mars . xix . xix . xxx . xxiiij . [406^v] Mercurius . Jupiter . Venus . Saturnus'.

a = 3	l = 22	x = 6
b = 3	m = 23	y = 3
c = 23	n = 25	z = 3
d = 24	o = 8	Sol = 24
e = 25	p = 13	Luna = 26
f = 3	q = 21	Mars = 5
g = 7	r = 23	Mercurius = 19
h = 6	s = 21	Jupiter = 19
i = 15	t = 8	Venus = 30
k = 15	u = 1	Saturnus = 24

L'argument

1 et 1 le demandeur vaint
 1 et 2 qui a 2 vaint
 1 et 3 qui a 3 vaint
 1 et 4 qui a 4 vaint
 1 et 5 qui a 1 vaint
 1 et 6 qui a 1 vaint
 1 et 7 qui a 1 vaint
 1 et 8 qui a 8 vaint
 1 et 9 qui a 1 vaint

2 et 2 le deffendeur vaint
 2 et 3 qui a 3 vaint
 2 et 4 qui a 2 vaint
 2 et 5 qui a 2 vaint
 2 et 6 qui a 2 vaint
 2 et 7 qui a 7 vaint
 2 et 8 qui a 2 vaint
 2 et 9 qui a 9 vaint

3 et 3 le demandeur vaint
 3 et 4 qui a 4 vaint
 3 et 5 qui a 3 vaint
 3 et 6 qui a 6 vaint
 3 et 7 qui a 3 vaint
 3 et 8 qui a 8 vaint
 3 et 9 qui a 3 vaint

4 et 4 le deffendeur vaint
 4 et 5 qui a 5 vaint
 4 e(t) 6 qui a 4 vaint
 4 et 7 qui a 7 vaint
 4 et 8 qui a 4 vaint
 4 et 9 qui a 9 vaint

5 et 5 le demandeur vaint
 5 et 6 qui a 6 vaint
 5 et 7 qui a 7 vaint
 5 et 8 qui a 8 vaint
 5 et 9 qui a 5 vaint

6 et 6 le deffendeur vaint
 6 et 7 qui a 7 vaint
 6 et 8 qui a 6 vaint
 6 et 9 qui a 9 vaint

7 et 7 le demandeur vaint
 7 et 8 qui a 8 vaint
 7 et 9 qui a 9 vaint

8 et 8 le deffendeur vaint
 8 et 9 qui a 9 vaint

9 et 9 le deffendeur vaint.

Essentially the game is very simple; it reduces a problem or question to an opposition of two alternatives, represented by two names. These names have numerical values that can be established by adding up the numerical values of their constituent letters, in accordance with the key provided. The total of each name must be divided by 9 (or 7 in case of a married couple) 'tant qu'il demeure 9 ou mains', i.e. the division should not result in a fraction, but in a remainder (*residuus numerus*) that cannot be further divided (e.g. 120 divided by 9 gives 13 with 3 remaining). This is the method used, e.g., in the *Sphere of Petosiris*¹⁹ and was very common in the Middle Ages, so common that the *Règles* need not specify the procedure. The remainder of each name can then be looked up in the *argument* to see which one wins and which one loses. The *Règles* specify that the remainder must be '9 ou mains' i.e. a figure below 10 and not below 9! Probably this was done to keep the remainder from being equal to 0. If, for instance, the numerical value of a name is 108 there is no remainder (108 divided by 9 is 12 with no remainder). In these perhaps not too frequent cases, the player or inquirer is supposed to take 9 as remainder (108 divided by 9 = 11, with 9 remaining).

Let us now turn to a concrete example of this method. Suppose Jean and Louis quarrel and suppose Jean is eager to find out who will get the better of whom. The numerical value of Jean is: $15 + 25 + 3 + 25 = 68$; divided by 9 this gives: 7 ($7 \times 9 = 63$) with 5 remaining. Jean's number therefore is 5. The numerical value of Louis is: $22 + 8 + 1 + 15 + 21 = 67$; divided by 9 this gives: 7 ($7 \times 9 = 63$) with 4 remaining. Louis's number therefore is 4. The *argument* (and the course of history) reveals the winner. As the reader will have guessed, the game could have been very popular at the Burgundian court.

It is not entirely clear why the seven planets were incorporated in the table. They appear in the order of the days of the week (as is well known, each day is named after the planet that rules the first hour of that day) but this does not necessarily relate them to the days on which, according to the *Règles*, a disease manifests itself. The direction clearly says to compute the number of the letters of the day, which suggests one should spell out the name of the day rather than take the number allotted to a corresponding planet. The names of the days may have been added to accommodate specific astrological applications of the game, but, as will be remembered, in the original Greek versions of this type of divining method, the day of the Moon was added to the names before the final sum could be divided by a given

¹⁹ See: *De divinatione mortis et vitae* (PL 90, 963-966).

divisor.²⁰ In the *Règles* the numerical values of the planets representing the days of the week no doubt serve a similar purpose, even though the directions are not entirely clear on this.

Perhaps there was no need for this clarity, for as the reader may verify by some calculations, in the quarrel between Jean and Louis the former might have struck out at the latter any day of the week and be sure of success. By the terms of this game, Louis never stood a chance. The situation, however, would have been different in the fifteenth century. A medieval opponent of divination, taking offence at these games, could quite easily have used the same example to prove the foppery of such soothsaying. Since he would spell the names of the protagonists in the medieval way as Jehan and Loys, he would find different values (74 and 54 resp.) and hence different remainders (2 and 9 resp.). From the *argument* the reader may learn that Jehan, if he was out for success, needed more than the mere numerical value of his name. The ridicule of our medieval critic, however, would be shortlived once the planetary numbers were inserted in the calculations. As many a Burgundian courtier, much to his satisfaction, might have calculated: Wednesday was a propitious day for murder.

²⁰ This is also the case in *De divinatione mortis et vitae* (PL 90, 963-966) where the example is given of the battle between Hercules and Achilles. To the number of Achilles (1276) is added the number allotted to the day of the moon (which in the example is 17; a table gives the number: *Luna 17 - DCCCXCIII*): $1276 + 893 = 2169$.

GLOSSARY

This glossary is devised as a tool to aid the reader not wholly familiar with medieval French in understanding the texts of *Contre les devineurs* and the three documents contained in the appendices. This glossary is not exhaustive and it makes no lexicographical claims. The meanings provided are wholly appropriated to the contexts in which the words occur. Only words which are absent from modern French or whose spelling or meaning deviates significantly from what is customary have been entered.

Abbreviations:

a1, 2, 3: appendix I, II, III; *adj.*: adjective; *adv.*: adverb; *cond.*: conditional; *fig.*: figuratively; *fut.*: future; *imper.*: imperative; *impf.*: imperfect; *ind.*: indicative; *indef.*: indefinite; *pl.*: plural; *pp.*: past participle; *pr.*: present; *prep.*: preposition; *pret.*: preterite; *pron.*: pronoun; *pr.pt.*: present participle; *sf.*: feminine substantive; *sm.*: masculine substantive; *subj.*: subjunctive; *subst.pr.pt.*: present participle as substantive; *v.intr.*: intransitive verb; *v.impers.*: impersonal verb; *v.refl.*: reflexive verb; *v.trans.*: transitive verb.

acquérir, acquerre, acquesir, acisir, aquerir, aqvester; ind.pr.3 acquiert; ind.impf.6 aquisent; pp. acquise, aqoise: v.trans. acquire.

ad: (< avoir) ind.pr.3 has; (=à) prep. to.

adés: adv. always.

adjuiracions: sf.pl. spells.

aduner; ind.impf.3 adunoit: v.trans. gather, bring together.

ahurter; ind.pr.6 ahurtent; pp. ahurté, adhurté: v.refl. (+a,en) cling to, persist in.

ainteuve (< antif): adj. old.

alcançous (< aucun): indef.pron. some.

amendrir; ind.pr.3 amendrit: v.intr. diminish.

amonester; pp. amonesté: v.trans. admonish, exhort. amonetement: sf. admonishment.

arondeaus, arondeles, arondelles: sf.pl. swallows.

arquemie: sf. alchemy.

arrer: v.trans. plow (a3).

aspre: adj. harsh (a3).

assoir, asseir: v.trans. place, base, found.

aveinne: sf. oats.

avigier see aviser.

aviser, adv-, avigier; ind.pr.3 advise, 6 advisent, avisent; pret.3 avisa; fut.6 adviseront; pp. avisé: v.trans. recognize, notice; think over, decide, advise. ce m'est advis, it seems to me.

aymant, la pierre d'aymant: sm. the lodestone.

ayre: de bonne ayre: very noble (a2).

baillier, bal-; ind.pr.3 baille; ind. impf.3 bailla, 6 bailloient; subst.pr.pt. baillans; pp. baillié, ballié: v.trans. give.

barat: sm. deceit (a3).

bassin, bachin: *sm.* basin, bowl.

blechier; *pp.* blechié: *v.trans.* injure.

bos, bois: *sm.* wood.

botellier: *sm.* butler.

boudine: *sf.* belly (a3).

bouter, boter; *ind.pr.6* boutent; *pp.*

bouté: *v.intr.* cast, throw; *v.refl.* cast oneself, throw oneself, fall.

brehaigne: *adj.* barren, infertile (a3).

brief, briefve: *adj.* brief.

brieffté, briété: *sf.* brevity.

brieves, brives: *sm.pl.* letters, notes, small writings.

buchetes: *sf.pl.* straws.

buvrages: *sm.pl.* beverages, drinks.

campt *see* champ.

cangible: *adj.* mutable.

cangier: *v.trans.* change, exchange (a3).

cedule: *sf.* small roll or scroll with writing.

celeement: *adv.* secretly.

chamberiere: *sf.* maid.

champ, campt; *pl.* chams: *sm.* field.

chant; *pl.* chans, canchons: *sm.* song, sound.

charai; *sm.* magic, sorcery, bewitchment.

charmens; *sm.pl.* magic formulas, charms.

chauser; *pr.pt.* chausant, causant: *v.intr.* put on one's shoes or stockings.

cheoir, cheir; *ind.pr.3* chiet, 6 cheent; *subj.pr.3* chiee: *v.intr.* fall, drop. c. en erreur, c. en ydolatrie: fall (*fig.*). c. sur: fall under.

chetis, chetive: *adj.* wretched.

chier: *adj.* costly. chier temps: lean times, times of scarcity. avoir chier qn.: to hold dear (a3).

choettes: *sf.* owls.

collacion: *sf.* meeting, exchange of thoughts.

combien que; con-: *adv.* although.

compuns: compunction.

conveniens: *sm.pl.* events, consequences.

convenir; *ind.pr.3* convient, covient; *ind.impf.3* convenoit; *cond.3* convendroit, convenroit (a3): *v.impers.* be necessary, must.

converser; *ind.pr.3* converse; *ind.impf.6* conversoient; *pp.* conversé: *v.intr.* associate (with); spend time (with, at).

cornelles, cornilles: *sf.pl.* crows.

corre, corir; *ind.pr.3* keurt (a3): move, pass.

courcier, courouchier (a3); *ind.impf.3* coursa, courcha; *fut.6* courcheront (a3); *pp.* courcié: *v.refl.* become angry, enraged.

courouc, courous: *sm.* wrath, anger.

courré: *adj.* currant.

courtillier: *v.trans.* cultivate a garden (a3).

cuidier; *ind.pr.5* cuidiés, 6 cuident, cuydent; *ind.impf.6* cuidoient; *pr.pt.* cuidans, cuidant: *v.trans. and intr.* think, believe.

cuillir, cuyllir, cuellir, quillir; *pr.pt.* cuillant: *v.trans.* pick, reap.

debouter; *pp.* deboutée: *v.intr.* throw away.

decevable: *adj.* deceitful.

decevoir, decevoir; *ind.pr.2* deçoit, dechoit, 5 decevés, 6 deçoivent, dechoivent; *cond.3* deceveroit; *pp.* deceü, deceüt, decheü: *v.trans.* deceive.

decorre; *ind.pr.6* dekeurent (a3): *v.intr.* run, move away.

degeter; *pp.* degeté, degetté, degetés: *v.trans.* cast out, deject.

delaissier; *ind.pr.3* delaisse, dellesse 6 delaisissent; *pp.* delaissié, delessié: *v.trans.* leave, abandon.

demorant: *sm.* remainder, rest.

deporter; *ind.pr.6* deportent; *subj.impf.3* deportaissent: *v.refl.* to abandon,

- move away from; conduct oneself, behave.
dés: *sm.pl.* dice.
desconfiture: *sf.* discomfiture.
desnoier; *ind.pr.3* desnoie: *v.refl.* (+de) untie oneself from, abandon.
devise (a2): *sf.* discourse, story.
discans (< L. *discere*): *v.trans. pr.pt.* knowing, having learned.
dobte; *pl.* dobtes: *sf.* doubt.
douter; *ind.pr.1* doubte, 3 doubte; *ind.impf.3* doubta; *pr.pt.* dobtant; *pp.* dobté: *v.trans.* fear, respect.
enchariement; *sm.* enchantment, bewitchment.
enquerir, enquesir: *v.trans.* find out, investigate.
ensuïr, ensuyr; *ind.pr.3* ensiut, ensuit, ensieut, 6 ensivent, ensievent; *pr.pt.* ensivant, ensivans, ensyvant, ensyans, ensyevant: *v.refl.* follow.
enter: *v.trans.* 1. engraft; 2. infuse, penetrate (a3).
entracoler: *v.refl.* embrace (each other) (a3).
esbahir; *pp.* esbahi: *v.refl.* be amazed, bewildered.
escarpir de: *v.refl.* tear oneself loose from.
eschever, eschiever: *v.trans.* avoid, prevent.
eschoir: *v.intr.* occur, happen.
espase, espasse, espace, espasce: *sm.* duration, period.
espavé: *adj.* lost, uncontrolled.
espelissement: *sf.* spelling (a3).
estaindre, estandre: *v.trans.* extend.
esternuer; *ind.pr.3* esternue: *v.intr.* sneeze.
esstarnuement: *sm.* sneezing.
estey: *sm.* summer
estoile, estoille, esstoile, estoile, estoelle, estole: *sf.* star.
estrines: *sf.pl.* new year's gifts.
estriver; *pr.pt.* estrivant: *v.intr.* dispute.
esvechiés: *sm.pl.* bishoprics.
eure; en l'eure: immediately.
exaucier, exaucer: *v.trans.* raise up, exalt.
fallir, falir; *ind.pr.3* faut, fault, 6 fallent; *ind.impf.3* faloit, falut; *fut.6* faudront, faulront (a3); *cond.3* faudroit, fauroit; *pret.3* fali, fausist; *pp.* falli: *v.intr.* fail, be wrong; *v.impers.* be necessary.
fauteur: *sm.* patron, supporter.
fie: *sm.* liver (a3).
fourmens, fourment: *sm.* grain, wheat (a3).
fu, feu: *sm.* fire (a3).
fuisel: *sm.* top.
geter, jeter; *ind.pr.3* gette, 6 gettent; *pret.3* jeta, 6 geterent; *pp.* geté: *v.trans.* throw, cast.
gueredonner; *ind.pr.3* gueredone: *v.trans.* reward.
haineux: *sm.* enemy.
haïr; *ind.pr.3* het, 6 heient: *v.trans.* hate.
hancques: *sf.pl.* hips (a3).
hayne: *sf.* hate, hatred.
hayneus: *adj.* hateful.
hernus: *sm.* dog days, hot weather (a3).
hireter: *v.trans.* inherit (a3).
hostel, ostel; *pl.* ostelz: *sm.* house, home.
illuec: *adv.* there.
illustracion: *sf.* enlightenment, illumination.
immüer; *pp.* immüé, inmüee; *v.trans.* mutate, permeate.
immutacion, in-: *sf.* mutation.
inconveniens, incoveniens: *sm.pl.* disadvantages, harms, mishaps.
injurer; *pp.* injurrés: *v.trans.* insult.
injure: *sf.* insult.
innaner: *v.* enfeeble, enervate.

involution: *sf.* complexity, intricacy.

issiel: *adj.* quick, fast (a3).

issir; *subj.pr.3* **isse:** *v.intr.* go out, come out.

issue: *sf.* end.

jeune; *pl.* **jeunes, junes:** *sm.* fasting, fasts.

jeuner; *ind.pr.6* **junent;** *ind.impf.6* **jeunoient;** *pr.pt.* **jeunant:** *v.intr.* fast.

keurt *see* **corre.**

keuwe: *sf.* tail (a3).

larrechin, larrenchin: *sm.* larceny, theft (a3).

liesse: *sf.* merriment.

loange: *sm.* praise.

louer, loër: *v.trans.* praise.

lunison: *sf.* lunar cycle (a3).

maiennement *see* **moignant.**

maintien; en maintien de: by means of.
mangier, mengier; *ind.pr.3* **mengne, 4 mangons;** *pp.* **mangié:** *v.trans. and intr.* eat.

mansonge, mengnonne; *pl.* **mansonges:** *sm.* lie, falsehood.

menchonne, mansongieres, menchonnaules (a3): *adj.* untruthful, mendacious.

menchonnier: *sm.* liar.

meür: *adj.* mature, careful.

meürir; *ind.pr.6* **meürissent:** *v.intr.* ripen (a3).

moigne: *sm.* monk.

moigner: *v.trans.* do, conduct, execute.

moignant, moignant, maiennement: *adv.* by means of.

mon: *affirm.adv.* well; **assavoir mon:** to examine carefully.

moule: *sf.* marrow (a3).

moustrer, moutrer; *ind.pr.3* **moustre, montre, 6 moustrent;** *pret.3* **moutra;** *fut.1* **mousterai, mousterei,**

mousteré, montsterai; *pp.* **moutré, moustré, moustrees:** *v.trans.* show, demonstrate; *v.refl.* show oneself, reveal oneself.

movoir; *ind.pr.3* **muet, 6 meuvent;** *pr.pt.* **movent:** *v.trans.* move. **movent:** *sm.* motive.

mue: *adj.* mute.

müer: *v.trans.* change, alter.

nigromancie: *sf.* necromancy.

nigromancien: *sm.* necromancer.

nonsachant: *adj.* ignorant.

nuisale: *adj.* harmful.

nyer: *v.trans.* deny.

occoison, *sf.* carnage, killing.

ocire; *pp.* **occis:** *v.trans.* kill.

odiance; **donner o. a:** listen to.

oïr, oÿr; *ind.pr.4* **oöns;** *ind.impf.6* **ooient;** *pret.3* **oÿt, ouÿ, 6 oÿrent;** *fut.3* **ora** (a3); *pp.* **oït, oÿ, oÿe, oÿes:** *v.trans.* hear, hear of.

oisel; *pl.* **oyseaus, oyseaux, oysiaus, oysiaux:** *sm.* bird.

or, ore: *adv.* now.

ordoier; *ind.pr.3* **ordoie, 6 ordoient:** *v.trans.* defile.

orison: *sf.* prayer.

ors: *adj.* filthy.

ostel *see* **hostel.**

otrier; *pret.3* **otria:** *v.trans.* grant.

oÿl: *affirmative adv.* yes.

paille: *sf.* frying-pan.

pener; *ind.pr.3* **painne:** *v.trans.* suffer, tolerate.

pertuise: *adj.* hollow.

pesquier: *v.intr.* fish (a3).

pis: *sm.* breast.

plait; *pl.* **plaix:** *sm.* lawsuit, legal case (a3).

plouvasse: *sm.* rain (a3).

pou, po, pau: *adv.* little. **p. de,** little.

pourpensé: *adj.* planned, contrived, concocted.

- poursuïr, poursuivre; *pr.pt.* poursievant, poursuiant: *v.trans.* pursue.**
proesse: *sf.* prowess.
pronosqueurs: *sm.pl.* predictors.
pronosquer, prenosquier, prenosquer, prenosquir; *ind.pr.6* prenosquent, pronoquent; *pr.pt.* pronosquant; *pp.* prenosquié, pronosquié: *v.trans.* predict.
pronostications, pre-: *sf.pl.* prognostications.
prouvenche: *sf.* trial, test (a3).
proveance: *sf.* providence, care.
proveoir; *pp.* proveü: *v.trans.* (+a) provide for.
provosquier: *v.trans.* provoke.
puison: *sf.* medicine, medicinal drink (a3).
punaisie: *sf.* stench.
- querre, quesir; *ind.pr.3* quiert, 6 quierent; *fut.6* querront; *pp.* quis (a1): *v.trans.* seek, look for.**
queviaux: *sm.pl.* hairs (a3).
quillir *see* cuillir.
- rebouter; *ind.pr.3* reboute: *v.intr.* throw.**
regard, reward: *sm.* (celestial) influence.
regehy *see* rejehir.
rejehir; *ind.pr.3* regehy (a1): *v.* confess.
repaistre; *ind.pr.3* reput: *v.trans.* feed.
reput *see* repaistre.
requerre debtez: reclaim debts (a3).
rere: *v.trans.* shave (a3).
respandre; *pp.* respandu: *v.trans.* shed.
reube *see* robe
reward (a3) *see* regard.
rewarder: *v.trans.* to have influence on (a3).
robe (a1), reube (a3): *sf.* 1. dress, garment (a3); 2. goods, things (a1).
roe: *sf.* wheel.
- rude, ruide: *adj.* simple, primitive, unschooled; coarse.**
rungier; *pp.* rungié: *v.trans.* gnaw.
- saijettes: *sf.pl.* arrows (a3).**
saillir; *ind.pr.6* sallient: *v.intr.* leap, jump.
sainnier: *v.intr.* let blood (a3).
sarrer; *ind.pr.6* sarrent: *v.intr.* huddle (together).
savoir, savor; *ind.pr.3* scet, set, 6 scevent, sevent; *subj.pr.6* sachent; *imper.5* sachiés; *ind.impf.3* savoit, 6 savoient; *cond.1* saroie, 3 saroit; *subj.impf.3* sceüst, sceüt, seüst: *v.trans.* know.
secerece: *sf.* drought.
seel: *sm.* seal.
signacles, sinacles: *sm.pl.* signs.
soloir; *ind.pr.3* seult: *v.intr.* be accustomed, wont.
sordre; *fut.6* sourderont, surdront: *v.intr.* arise, occur.
soris: *sf.* mice.
sors, sort; *sm.* lot-drawing or -casting.
soudre: *v.trans.* solve.
soustraire; *ind.pr.3* soutrait, 6 soutraient; *ind.impf.6* soustrahoit: *v.trans.* take away, withdraw, subtract.
soutiex, soutieux (a3): *sm.* wise, prudent.
soutif: *adj.* ingenious.
soutil, soutilz: *adj.* clever.
soutillement, soutiement, soutillement, soutilment: *adv.* secretly, skilfully.
soutiveté: *sf.* ingenuity.
suïr: *v.trans.* follow.
- tenchon: *sf.* tension (a3).**
terme: *sm.* intention, design. prendre mon t.: intend to do.
tesmoing: according to
teste (*sm.*); tieste (*sf.*): head.
teux (< telles): *pron.* such.
travailler; *ind.pr.3* travaille: *v.trans.* torment, plague.

trencher; *ind.pr.3* trenchast: *v.trans.*
cut off.

tuit: *adj.* all.

valoir; *ind.pr.3* valt, vault, vaut 6
valent; *ind.impf.3* valoit; *cond.3*
vaudroit, vauroit: *v.trans.* be worth.

vellier; *ind.pr.6* vellent; *pr.pt* veillant:
v.intr. be awake, watch, watch for.

veoir, voir; *ind.pr.1* voi, 3 voit, 4
veons, 6 voient; *ind.impf.3* veoit, 6
veoient; *fut.3* verra; *pr.pt.* veans,

veant; *pp.* veü, veüe, veües, veüs:
v.trans. see.

vestir; *ind.pr.3* veist; *pp.* vestu: *v.trans.*
put on, dress.

viser: *ind.pr.3* vise: *v.trans.* aim at.

voir, vrai: *adj.* true.

warde (= garde); *pl.* wardez: *imper.*
take care (a3).

yauee, eaue, yauwe (a3); *sf.* water.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

MANUSCRIPTS

- Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, ms. 10319.
Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, ms. 10394-414.
Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, ms. 11209.
Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, ms. 11216.
Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 6015.
München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 5338.
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 7443.
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. 25552.

PRINTED SOURCES

- Albertus Magnus, *Speculum astronomiae*, eds. S. Caroti, M. Pereira, et al. in: Paola Zambelli, *The 'Speculum Astronomiae' and Its Enigma* (Dordrecht/London 1992), pp. 208-273.
Ambrose, *Commentarium super Lucam*, PL 15, 1527-1850.
Aquinas, Thomas, *Thomae Aquinatis liber de veritate Catholicae Fidei contra errores infidelium seu «Summa Contra Gentiles»*, textus Leoninus, 3 vols. (Roma 1961).
—, *Summa Theologiae*, Blackfriars edition, 60 vols. (London/New York 1964-1966).
—, *In quibus homo potest licite uti iudicio astrorum ad fratrem Raynaldum de Piperno*, in: S. Thomae Aquinatis opuscula omnia, ed. P. Mandonnet (Paris 1927), vol. 3: *Opuscula genuina theologica*, opusc. 17, pp. 142-143.
—, *De sortibus ad dominum Jacobum de Tolongo*, in: S. Thomae Aquinatis opuscula omnia, ed. P. Mandonnet (Paris 1927), vol. 3: *Opuscula genuina theologica*, opusc. 18, pp. 144-162.
Aristotle, *Categories and De interpretatione*, transl., J. L. Ackrill (Oxford 1985) [1963¹].
—, *Historia Animalium*, transl. D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson (Oxford 1967) [1910¹].
—, *Physics*, transl. P. H. Wicksteed and F. M. Cornford, Loeb Classical Library, Aristotle vols. 4-5 (London/Cambridge, Mass. 1980) [1929¹].
—, *On the Soul, On Memory*, transl. W. S. Hett, Loeb Classical Library, Aristotle vol. 8 (London/Cambridge, Mass. 1975) [1936¹].
—, *Metaphysics*, transl. H. Tredennick, Loeb Classical Library, Aristotle vols. 17-18 (London/Cambridge, Mass. 1980) [1933¹].
Augustine, *Confessiones*, CC 27.
—, *De civitate Dei*, CC 47+48.
—, *De diversis quaestionibus ad Simplicianum*, PL 40, 11-148; CC 44a, 11-249.
—, *De divinatione daemonum*, PL 40, 581-592.
—, *De doctrina Christiana*, CC 32, 1-167.
—, *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*, PL 34, 173-220.
—, *De Genesi ad litteram*, PL 34, 245-486.
—, *De haeresibus*, PL 42, 21-50.
—, *De libero arbitrio*, PL 32, 1221-1310.
—, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, CC 38.
—, *Retractationes*, CC 57.
Beda, *Expositio super actus apostolorum*, PL 92, 937-996.

- (ps.-) Beda, *De tonitruis libellus*, PL 90, 609-614.
 —, *Pronostica temporum*, PL, 951-952.
 —, *De divinatione mortis et vitae, Petosyris ad Necepsum regem Aegypti epistola*, PL 90, 963-966.
 Bodel, Jehan, *Le jeu de saint Nicolas*, ed. Albert Henry (Bruxelles 1981).
Biblia Sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem, recensuit R. Weber (Stuttgart 1994⁴).
 Bollstatter, Konrad, *Ein mittelalterliches Wahrsagespiel: Konrad Bollstatters Losbuch in GCM 312 der bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, ed., comm. Karin Schneider (Wiesbaden 1978).
 Bourgeois de Paris, *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris 1405-1449*, ed. Alexandre Tuetey (Paris 1881).
 —, *A Parisian Journal 1405-1449*, transl. Janet Shirley (Oxford 1968).
Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, ed. H. Denifle, 4 vols. (Paris 1889-1897).
 Chobham, Thomas of, *Thomae de Chobham Summa Confessorum*, ed. F. Broomfield (Louvain/Paris 1968).
Chronique rimée Parisienne écrite en 1409, eds., Claude Gauvard and Gillette Labory, in: B. Guenée, ed., *Le métier d'historien au Moyen Age; études sur l'historiographie médiévale* (Paris 1977), pp. 197-231.
Chroniques relatives à l'histoire de la Belgique sous la domination des ducs de Bourgogne: Le livre des trahisons de France; La geste des ducs de Bourgogne; Le Pastoralet, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove (Bruxelles 1873).
 Chroniques, *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, ed. Jules Viard (Paris 1920), vol. 1.
 Cicero, *De divinatione*, transl. W. A. Falconer, Loeb Classical Library, Cicero vol. 20 (London/Cambridge, Mass. 1992) [1923¹].
 Commines, Philippe de, *Mémoires*, ed. J. Calmette, 3 vols. (Paris 1964-1965) [1924-1925¹].
Comptes généraux de l'état bourguignon entre 1416 et 1420, ed. Michel Mollat, 5 vols. (Paris 1965-1970).
 Deschamps, Eustache, *Œuvres complètes*, eds. marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire and Gaston Raynaud, 11 vols. (Paris 1966) [1878-1903¹].
 Erasmus, *The Colloquies of Erasmus*, transl. C. Thompson (Chicago 1965).
 Ficino, Marsilio, *Three Books of Life*, ed., transl. Carol V. Kaske and John R. Clark (Binghamton 1989).
 Fredericq, Paul, *Corpus documentorum inquisitionis haereticae pravitatis Neerlandicae*, 5 vols. (Gent's-Gravenhage 1889-1903).
 Froissart, Jehan, *Histoire et Cronique*, ed. Denis Sauvage (Lyon 1561), vol. 4.
 Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Vie de Merlin, attribuée à Geoffroy de Monmouth, suivie des prophéties de ce barde*, eds. F. Michet and T. Wright (Paris 1837).
 Gerson, Jean, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Mgr. Glorieux, 10 vols. (Paris 1960-1973).
Geste des ducs de Bourgogne see *Chroniques relatives à l'histoire de la Belgique*.
 Gratianus, *Decretum Gratiani*, PL 187.
 Graves, F. M., ed., *Quelques pièces relatives à la vie de Louis I, Duc d'Orléans et de Valentine Visconti, sa femme* (Paris 1913).
 Gregorius, *Homiliae in evangelia*, PL 76, 1075-1312.
 Gregor von Tours, *Zehn Bücher Geschichten / Historiarum Libri Decem*, eds. B. Krusch, R. Buchner, transl. W. Giesebrecht, 2 vols. (Darmstadt 1977).
 Hansen, Joseph, ed., *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Hexenwahns und der Hexenverfolgung im Mittelalter* (Bonn 1901).
 Ignatius of Antioch, *Epistle to the Ephesians*, in: *Early Christian Writings: The Apostolic Fathers*, transl. M. Staniforth (Harmondsworth 1968), pp. 73-84.
 Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, PL 82.
 Jean de Venette, *The Chronicle of Jean de Venette*, transl. Jean Birdsall (New York 1953).
 Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, ed. T. Graesse (Osnabrück 1965) [1890³].

- , *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, transl. W. G. Ryan, 2 vols. (Princeton 1993).
Jerome, *Commentariorum in epistolam ad Galatas*, PL 26, 331-468.
- John of Salisbury, *Joannis Saresberiensis episcopi Carnotensis Policratici sive de nugis curialium et vestiigiis philosophorum libri VIII*, ed. C. C. I. Webb, 2 vols. (Frankfurt a. Main 1965) [London 1909¹].
- , *Frivolities of Courtiers and Footprints of Philosophers; Being a Translation of the First, Second, and Third Books and Selections from the Seventh and Eighth Books of the 'Policraticus'*, transl. Joseph B. Pike (New York 1972).
- , Denis Foulechat, *Le Policratique de Jean de Salisbury (1372) Livres I-III*, ed. Charles Brucker (Genève 1994).
- Josephus, *The Jewish War*, transl. H. Thackeray, Loeb Classical Library, Josephus vol. 2 (London/Cambridge, Mass. 1967) [1927¹].
- , *Jewish Antiquities*, transl. R. Marcus and H. Feldman, Loeb Classical Library, Josephus vols. 7 and 9 (London/Cambridge, Mass. 1965-66) [1934¹].
- Juvenal des Ursins, *Histoire de Charles VI, roy de France (...) depuis 1380 jusques à 1422*, eds. Michaud and Poujoulat, in: *Nouvelle Collection des Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France* (Paris 1836), vol. 2, pp. 339-569.
- Laborde, le comte de, *Les ducs de Bourgogne: études sur les lettres, les arts et l'industrie pendant le xve siècle. Seconde partie: Preuves*, 3 vols. (Paris 1849-1852).
- Lorris, Guillaume de, and Jean de Meun, *Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. Félix Lecoy, 3 vols. (Paris 1970).
- Macrobius, *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, transl. W. H. Stahl (New York 1990).
- Manilius, *Astronomica*, ed., transl. G. P. Goold, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass./London 1977).
- McNeill, J. T., and Helena M. Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance. A Translation of the Principal 'Libri Poenitentiales' and Selections from Related Documents* (New York 1990) [1938¹].
- Medizinisch-astrologischer Volkskalender*, ed. Maria Mitscherling, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1983).
- Merlin, *'Les Prophecies de Merlin' edited from ms. 593 in the Bibliothèque Municipale of Rennes*, ed. Lucy Allen Paton (New York 1966) [1926¹].
- , *Les prophécies de Merlin (Cod. Bodmer 116)*, ed. Anne Bertholet (Cologny/Genève 1992).
- Mézières, Philippe de, *Le Songe du Vieil Pelerin*, ed. G.W. Coopland, 2 vols. (Cambridge 1969).
- Monstrelet, *La Chronique d'Enguerran de Monstrelet, 1400-1444*, ed. L. Douët-d'Arcq, 6 vols. (Paris 1857-1862).
- Nicolas de Baye, *Journal de Nicolas de Baye, greffier du parlement de Paris 1400-1417*, ed. Alexandre Tuetey, 2 vols. (Paris 1885).
- Oresme, Nicole, *Livre de divinacions*, in: G. W. Coopland, *Nicole Oresme and the Astrologers* (Liverpool 1952), pp. 50-121.
- , *Questio contra divinatores horoscopios*, ed. Stefano Caroti, in: *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age* 43 (1976), pp. 201-310.
- , *De causis mirabilium*, in: Bert Hansen, *Nicole Oresme and the Marvels of Nature* (Toronto 1985), pp. 135-363.
- Orosius, *Commonitorium de errore priscillianistarum et origenistarum*, PL 31, 1211-1216.
- Pastoralet* see *Chroniques relatives à l'histoire de la Belgique*.
- , *Le Pastoralet*, ed. Joël Blanchard (Paris 1983).
- Petrarca, Francesco, *Rerum familiarium libri I-VIII*, transl. A. S. Bernardo (Albany 1975).
- Philo, *De gigantibus*, ed., transl. F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker, Loeb Classical Library, Philo vol. 2 (London/Cambridge, Mass. 1958).
- Pignon, Laurens, *Catalogi et Chronica*, ed. G. Meersseman OP (Roma 1936).

- , *Traictié de la cause de la diversité des estaz*, ed. A. J. Vanderjagt, in: *Laurens Pignon, OP: Confessor of Philip the Good* (Venlo 1985), pp. 145-190.
- Pisan, Christine de, *Le livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles*, eds. Michaud and Poujoulat, in: *Nouvelle Collection des Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France* (Paris 1836), vol. 2, pp. 1-145.
- Plato, *Symposium*, ed., transl. W. R. M. Lamb, Loeb Classical Library, Plato vol. 3 (London/Cambridge, Mass. 1975).
- , *Epinomis*, ed., transl. W. R. M. Lamb, Loeb Classical Library, Plato vol. 12 (London/Cambridge, Mass. 1986) [1927¹].
- Pliny, *Natural History*, ed., transl. H. Rackham, W. H. S. Jones, and D. E. Eichholz, Loeb Classical Library, 10 vols. (Cambridge, Mass./London 1938-1962).
- Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, ed., transl. E. F. Robbins, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass./London 1980).
- Religieux de Saint-Denys, *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI, de 1380 à 1422*, ed., transl. L. Bellaguet (*Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France*), 6 vols. (Paris 1839-1852).
- Simon de Phares, *Recueil des plus célèbres astrologues et quelques hommes doctes faict par Symon de Phares du temps de Charles VIII*, ed. Ernest Wickersheimer (Paris 1929).
- Tertullian, *De idolatria*, PL 1, 661-696.
- Vincent of Beauvais, *Vincentius Bellovacensis Speculum Naturale* (Graz 1964) [1624¹].
- , *Vincentius Bellovacensis Speculum Doctrinale* (Graz 1965) [1624¹].
- , *Vincentius Bellovacensis Speculum Morale* (Graz 1964) [1624¹].
- , *Vincentius Bellovacensis Speculum Historiale* (Graz 1965) [1624¹].
- Witelo, *De natura daemonum*, in: Jerzy Burchardt, *List Witelona do Ludwika we Lwówku Śląskim* (Wrocław/Warszawa 1979), pp. 161-180.

REFERENCE WORKS

- Avril, F., and J. Lafaurie, *La librairie de Charles V* (Paris 1968).
- Bächtold-Stäubli, H., ed., *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, 10 vols. (Berlin/Leipzig 1927-1942).
- Barrois, J., *Bibliothèque protypographique ou Librairies des fils du roi Jean* (Paris 1830).
- Collin de Plancy, J., *Dictionnaire Infernal* (Bruxelles 1845).
- Davidson, Gustav, *A Dictionary of Angels, including the Fallen Angels* (New York 1971) [1967¹].
- Delaissé, L. M. J., et al., *De gouden eeuw der Vlaamse miniatuur: Het mecenaat van Filips de Goede 1445-1475. Tentoonstelling georganiseerd ter gelegenheid van de 400ste verjaardag der stichting van de Koninklijke Bibliotheek van Filips II te Brussel op 12 April 1559* (Brussel/Amsterdam 1959).
- Dogaer, Georges and Marguerite Debae, *De librije van Filips de Goede: Tentoonstelling georganiseerd bij de 500ste verjaardag van de hertog* (Brussel 1967).
- Etablissement de règles pratiques pour l'édition des anciens textes français*, in: *Romania* 52 (1926), pp. 243-249.
- Gachard, M., *Les bibliothèques de Madrid et de l'Escurial: notices et extraits des manuscrits qui concernent l'histoire de Belgique* (Bruxelles 1875).
- Gheyn, J. van den, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique* (Bruxelles 1903), vol. 3.
- Godefroy, Frédéric, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française*, 10 vols. (Paris 1880-1902).
- Junquera de Vega, Paulina, and Concha Herrero Carretero, *Catálogo de Tapices del Patrimonio Nacional*, 2 vols. (Madrid 1986).

- Kaeppeli, Thomas, *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum medii aevi*, 3 vols. (Roma 1970-1980).
 Klauser, Theodor, ed., *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, 17 vols. (Stuttgart 1950-present).
 Mayer, Cornelius, et al., eds., *Augustinus-Lexikon*, 1 vol. (Basel 1986-present).
 Migne, ed., *Dictionnaire des Sciences Occultes*, 2 vols. (Paris 1860-1861).
 Omont, Henri, *Bibliothèque Nationale. Catalogue général des manuscrits français; anciens petits fonds français II* (Paris 1902).
 Opie, Iona and Moira Tatem, *A Dictionary of Superstitions* (Oxford/New York 1992).
 Quéatif, J., and J. Echard, *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum*, 2 vols. (Paris 1719-1721).
 Robbins, Rossell Hope, *The Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology* (London 1959).
 Tobler-Lommatsch, *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch*, 11 vols. (Berlin 1925-present).
 Toorn, K. van der; B. Becking; P. W. van der Horst, eds., *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible (DDD)* (Leiden 1995).
 Vacant, A., and E. Mangenot, eds., *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, 15 vols. (Paris 1923-1950).
 Wickersheimer, Ernest, *Dictionnaire biographique des médecins en France au Moyen Age*, 2 vols. (Genève 1979).

STUDIES

- Alverny, Marie-Thérèse d', "Survivance de la magie antique", in: *La transmission des textes philosophiques et scientifiques au Moyen Age* (Aldershot 1994), article I, pp. 154-178.
 —, "Récréations monastiques. Les couteaux à manche d'ivoire", in: *Pensée médiévale en Occident. Théologie, magie et autres textes des XIIe-XIIIe siècles* (Aldershot 1995), article XIII, pp. 10-32.
 Avout, Jacques d', *La querelle des Armagnacs et des Bourguignons* (Paris 1943).
 Barraclough, Geoffrey, *The Medieval Papacy* (London 1992).
 Barton, Tamsyn, *Ancient Astrology* (London/New York 1994).
 Bataille, Georges, *Le procès de Gilles de Rais* (s.l. 1985) [1965].
 Bell, Dora M., *Etude sur le Songe du Vieil Pèlerin de Philippe de Mézières (1327-1405)* (Genève 1955).
 Bernheimer, Richard, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages: A Study in Art, Sentiment, and Demonology* (Cambridge, Mass. 1952).
 Boll, Franz; Carl Bezold; Wilhelm Gundel, *Sternglaube und Sterndeutung: Die Geschichte und das Wesen der Astrologie* (Darmstadt 1977).
 Bolte, J., "Zur Geschichte der Losbücher", in: Georg Wickrams *Werke*, ed. J. Bolte, vol. 4, pp. 276-348.
 —, "Zur Geschichte der Punktier- und Losbücher", in: *Jahrbuch für historische Volkskunde I* (1925), pp. 184-214.
 Bonney, Françoise, "Autour de Jean Gerson: Opinions de théologiens sur les superstitions et la sorcellerie au début du XVe siècle", in: *Le Moyen Age: Revue d'histoire et de philologie* 77 (1971), pp. 85-98.
 Boogert, Bob van den, and Jacqueline Kerkhoff, *Maria van Hongarije: Koningin tussen keizers en kunstenaars 1505-1558* (Zwolle 1993).
 Borchgrave, Christian de, *Diplomaten en diplomatie onder hertog Jan Zonder Vrees: Impact op de Vlaamse politieke situatie* (Kortrijk-Heule 1992).
 —, *Diplomaten en diplomatie onder hertog Jan Zonder Vrees: Impact op de Vlaamse politieke situatie; Bijlagen* (Kortrijk-Heule 1992).
 Boudet, Jean-Patrice, "L'astrologie, la recherche de la maîtrise du temps et les spéculations sur la fin du monde du Moyen Age et dans la première moitié du XVIe siècle", in: *Le temps, sa mesure et sa perception au Moyen Age*, ed. B. Ribémont (Caen 1992), pp. 19-35.

- , "La papauté d'Avignon et l'astrologie", in: *Fin du monde et signes des temps; visionnaires et prophètes en France méridionale* (Toulouse 1992), pp. 258-260.
- , *Lire dans le ciel: La bibliothèque de Simon de Phares, astrologue du xve siècle* (Bruxelles 1994).
- , and Thérèse Charmasson, "Une consultation astrologique princière en 1427", in: *Comprendre et maîtriser la nature au Moyen Age: Mélanges d'histoire des sciences offerts à Guy Beaujouan* (Genève 1994), pp. 255-278.
- Bourquelot, Felix, "Les Vaudois du quinzième siècle", in: *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 3 (1846), pp. 81-109.
- Brackman, W. L., "Fortune-Telling by the Casting of Dice: A Middle English Poem and Its Background", in: *Studia Neophilologica* 52 (1980), pp. 3-29.
- Brandin, Louis, "Le livre de preuve", in: *Romania* 42 (1913), pp. 204-254.
- , "Un livre de bonne aventure Anglo-Français en vers", in: *Mélanges de linguistique et de littérature offerts à M. Alfred Jeanroy* (Paris 1928), pp. 639-655.
- Braswell, L., "Popular Lunar Astrology in the Late Middle Ages", in: *Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa/University of Ottawa Quarterly* 48 (1978), pp. 187-194.
- Campion, Nicholas, *The Great Year: Astrology, Millenarianism and History in the Western Tradition* (London 1994).
- Carey, Hilary M., *Courting Disaster: Astrology at the English Court and University in the Later Middle Ages* (London 1992).
- Caroti, Stefano, *La Critica Contro l'Astrologia di Nicole Oresme e la sua Influenza nel Medioevo e nel Rinascimento* (Roma 1979).
- , "Nicole Oresme's Polemic against Astrology in his *Quodlibeta*", in: Patrick Curry, ed., *Astrology, Science and Society* (Woodbridge 1987), pp. 75-93.
- Cartellieri, Otto, *Am Hofe der Herzöge von Burgund: kulturhistorische Bilder* (Basel 1926).
- Cauzons, Th. de, *La magie et la sorcellerie en France*, vol. 2: *Poursuite et châtement de la magie jusqu'à la Réforme protestante - Le procès des Templiers - Mission et procès de Jeanne d'Arc* (Osnabrück 1974) [1901-1913¹].
- Chadwick, Henry, *Priscillian of Avila: The Occult and the Charismatic in the Early Church* (Oxford 1997) [1976¹].
- Charmasson, Thérèse, *Recherches sur une technique divinatoire: La géomancie dans l'Occident médiéval* (Genève/Paris 1980).
- Cohn, Norman, *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (London 1957).
- , *Europe's Inner Demons: An Enquiry Inspired by the Great Witch-Hunt* (London 1975).
- , *Cosmos, Chaos and the World to Come: The Ancient Roots of Apocalyptic Faith* (New Haven/London 1993).
- Collas, Emile, *Valentine de Milan, duchesse d'Orléans* (Paris 1911).
- Cooplund, G. W., *Nicole Oresme and the Astrologers: A Study of his Livre de Divinacions* (Liverpool 1952).
- , "Eustache Deschamps and Nicholas Oresme; A Note on the *Demoustracions contre sortilèges*", in: *Romania* 52 (1926), pp. 355-361.
- Copenhaver, Brian P., "Astrology and Magic", in: Charles B. Schmitt ed., *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy* (Cambridge 1988), pp. 264-300.
- Copleston, F. C., *Aquinas* (Harmondsworth 1988).
- Coville, Alfred, *Jean Petit: La question du tyrannicide au commencement du xve siècle* (Genève 1974) [1932¹].
- , "Le véritable texte de la Justification du Duc de Bourgogne par Jean Petit (8 Mars 1408)", in: *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 72 (1911), pp. 57-91.
- Craig, William Lane, *The Problem of Divine Foreknowledge and Future Contingents from Aristotle to Suarez* (Leiden 1988).

- Dembowski, Peter F., "Learned Latin Treatises in French: Inspiration, Plagiarism, and Translation", in: *Viator* 17 (1986), pp. 255-296.
- Dijksterhuis, E. J., *De mechanisering van het wereldbeeld* (Amsterdam 1950). [Translated by C. Dikshoorn, *The Mechanization of the World Picture* (Oxford 1961).]
- Dinzelsbacher, Peter, "Die Realität des Teufels im Mittelalter", in: Peter Segl, ed., *Der Hexenhammer: Entstehung und Umfeld des Malleus maleficarum von 1487* (Köln 1988), pp. 151-175.
- Doutrepoint, Georges, *La littérature française à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne* (Genève 1970) [1909¹].
- , *Inventaire de la «Librairie» de Philippe le Bon 1420* (Genève 1977) [1906¹].
- Duhem, Pierre, *Le Système du Monde* (Paris 1958), vol 8.
- Durrieu, Paul, "Jean Sans-Peur, duc de Bourgogne, lieutenant et procureur général du diable", in: *Annuaire-Bulletin* 24 (1887), pp. 193-224.
- Eade, J. C., *The Forgotten Sky: A Guide to Astrology in English Literature* (Oxford 1984).
- Eerden, Peter van der, "De *Malleus maleficarum*, de duivel en de kwestie van de verdwenen geslachtsdelen", in: G. Rooijakkers et al., eds., *Duivelsbeelden: Een cultuurhistorische speurtocht door de Lage Landen* (Baarn 1994), pp. 137-167.
- Eijk, Ph. J. van der, *Aristoteles über Träume und über die Weissagung im Schlaf*, dissertation (Leiden 1991).
- Famiglietti, R. C., *Royal Intrigue: Crisis at the Court of Charles VI 1392-1420* (New York 1986).
- Flint, Valerie I. J., "The Transmission of Astrology in the Early Middle Ages", in: *Viator* 21 (1990), pp. 1-27.
- , *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton 1991).
- Fontaine, Jacques, "Isidore de Séville et l'astrologie", in: *Revue des Etudes Latines* (1954), pp. 271-300.
- Franz, Adolph, *Der Magister Nikolaus Magni de Jawor: ein Beitrag zur Literatur- und Gelehrten-geschichte des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts* (Freiburg 1898).
- Fresne de Beaucourt, G. du, "Le Meurtre de Montereau", in: *Revue des Questions Historiques* 5 (1868), pp. 189-237.
- Fürbeth, Frank, *Johannes Hartlieb: Untersuchungen zu Leben und Werk* (Tübingen 1992).
- Gallet-Guerne, Danielle, *Vasque de Lucène et la Cyropédie à la cour de Bourgogne (1470). Le traité de Xénophon mis en français d'après la version latine du Pogge* (Genève 1974).
- Gallop, David, *Aristotle on Sleep and Dreams* (Peterborough 1990).
- Garin, Eugenio, *Astrology in the Renaissance: The Zodiac of Life*, transl. Carolyn Jackson and June Allen (London 1984).
- Gauvard, Claude, and Gillette Labory, "Une chronique rimée Parisienne écrite en 1409: «Les aventures depuis deux cents ans»", in: Bernard Guenée, ed., *Le métier d'historien au Moyen Age: études sur l'historiographie médiévale* (Paris 1977), pp. 183-231.
- Giese, Wilhelm, "Zum 'wilden Mann' in Frankreich", in: *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 56 (1932), pp. 491-497.
- Ginzburg, Carlo, *Ecstasies: Deciphering the Witches' Sabbath*, transl. Raymond Rosenthal (London 1990).
- Grant, Edward, "Medieval and Renaissance Scholastic Conceptions of the Influence of the Celestial Region on the Terrestrial", in: *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 17 (1987), pp. 1-23.
- Grévy-Pons, Nicole and Ezio Ornato, "Qui est l'auteur de la chronique latine de Charles VI, dite du Religieux de Saint-Denis?", in: *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 134 (1976), pp. 85-102.
- Guenée, B., *Un meurtre, une société. L'assassinat du duc d'Orléans, 23 novembre 1407* (Paris 1992).

- Gundel, Hans Georg, *Zodiakos: Tierkreisbilder im Altertum. Kosmische Bezüge und Jenseitsvorstellungen im antiken Alltagsleben* (Mainz am Rhein 1992).
- Halbronn, Jacques, "L'itinéraire astrologique de trois Italiens au XIII^e siècle: Pietro d'Abano, Guido Bonatti, Thomas d'Aquin", in: C. Wenin, ed., *L'homme et son univers au Moyen Age*, 2 vols. (Louvain-la-Neuve 1986), vol. 2, pp. 668-674.
- Hansen, Bert, *Nicole Oresme and the Marvels of Nature: A Study of his De Causis Mirabilium with Critical Edition, Translation and Commentary* (Toronto 1985).
- Harmening, Dieter, *Superstitio: Überlieferungs- und theoriegeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur kirchlich-theologischen Aberglaubensliteratur des Mittelalters* (Berlin 1979).
- Hillgarth, J. N., *Ramon Lull and Lullism in Fourteenth-Century France* (Oxford 1971).
- Hissette, Roland, *Enquête sur les 219 articles condamnés à Paris le 7 Mars 1277* (Louvain/Paris 1977).
- Holmyard, E. J., *Alchemy* (Harmondsworth 1957).
- Hughes, Muriel J., "The Library of Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders, first Valois duke and duchess of Burgundy", in: *Journal of Medieval History* 4 (1978), pp. 145-188.
- Huizinga, Johan, *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen: Studie over levens- en gedachtenvormen der veertiende en vijftiende eeuw in Frankrijk en de Nederlanden* (Haarlem 1935*).
- Jones, Charles W., *Beda's Pseudepigrapha: Scientific Writings Falsely Attributed to Bede* (New York/London 1939).
- Jourdain, Charles, "Nicolas Oresme et les astrologues de la cour de Charles V", in: *Revue des Questions Historiques* 18 (1875), pp. 136-159.
- Kieckhefer, Richard, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge 1992).
- Lewis, C. S., *The Discarded Image: An Introduction to Medieval and Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge 1967).
- Litt, Thomas, *Les corps célestes dans l'univers de Saint Thomas d'Aquin* (Paris 1963).
- Mackie, J. D., *The Earlier Tudors 1485-1558* (Oxford 1957).
- MacQueen, J., *Numerology: Theory and Outline History of a Literary Mode* (Edinburgh 1985).
- Markowski, Mieczysław, "Der Mensch und der kosmische Determinismus im späten Mittelalter und in der Renaissance", in: C. Wenin, ed., *L'homme et son univers au Moyen Age*, 2 vols. (Louvain-la-Neuve 1986), vol. 2, pp. 709-718.
- Markus, R. A., *Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of St. Augustine* (Cambridge 1970).
- Mauss, Marcel, *A General Theory of Magic*, transl. R. Brain (London 1972).
- Menut, Albert D., "A Provisional Bibliography of Oresme's Writings", in: *Mediaeval Studies* 28 (1966), pp. 279-299.
- Mirot, Léon, "Un essai de guérison de Charles VI en 1403", in: *Revue des Questions Historiques* 47 (1912), pp. 96-100.
- Monfrin, Jacques, "Humanisme et traductions au Moyen Age", in: *Journal des Savants* (1963), pp. 161-190.
- Monfrin, Jacques, "La connaissance de l'Antiquité et le problème de l'humanisme en langue vulgaire dans la France du XVe siècle", in: G. Verbeke and J. IJsewijn, eds., *The Late Middle Ages and the Dawn of Humanism outside Italy* (Leuven/The Hague 1972), pp. 131-170.
- Mulert, Werner, "Der 'wilde Mann' in Frankreich", in: *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 56 (1932), pp. 71-88.
- Müller, Heribert, *Die Franzosen, Frankreich und das Basler Konzil (1431-1449)*, 2 vols. (Paderborn 1990).
- Niccoli, Ottavia, *Prophecy and People in Renaissance Italy*, transl. L. Cochrane (Princeton 1990).
- North, John, "Diviners and Divination at Rome", in: M. Beard and J. North, eds., *Pagan Priests: Religion and Power in the Ancient World* (London 1990), pp. 49-71.

- North, J. D., "Astrology and the Fortunes of Churches", in: *Centaurus* 24 (1980), pp. 181-211.
- , "Celestial Influence - The Major Premiss of Astrology", in: *Stars, Minds and Fate: Essays in Ancient and Medieval Cosmology* (London/Ronceverte 1989), pp. 243-298.
- , *Horoscopes and History* (London 1986).
- Owst, G. R., "Sortilegium in English Homiletic Literature of the Fourteenth Century", in: *Studies presented to Sir Hilary Jenkinson*, ed. J. Conway Davies (London 1957), pp. 272-303.
- Paravicini, Werner, *Guy de Brimeu: Der burgundische Staat und seine adlige Führungsschicht unter Karl dem Kühnen* (Bonn 1975).
- Paschetto, Eugenia, "Witelo et Pietro d'Abano à propos des démons", in: Christian Wenin, ed., *L'homme et son univers au Moyen Age*, 2 vols. (Louvain-la-Neuve 1986), vol. 2, pp. 675-682.
- Pearson, Karl, *Die Fronica. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Christusbildes im Mittelalter* (Strassburg 1887).
- Popper, K. R., *The Open Society and Its Enemies*, 2 vols. (London 1969) [1945¹].
- Pouille, Emmanuel, "Horoscopes princiers des XIVe et XVe siècles", in: *Bulletin de la société nationale des antiquaires de France* (1969), pp. 63-69.
- , *Les instruments de la théorie des planètes selon Ptolémée: Equatoires et horlogerie planétaire du XIIIe au XVIe siècle*, 2 vols. (Genève/Paris 1980).
- Pouille-Drieux, Yvonne, "L'hippiatrie dans l'Occident latin du XIIIe au XVe siècle", in: G. Beaujouan, *Médecine humaine et vétérinaire à la fin du Moyen Age* (Genève/Paris 1966).
- Préaud, Maxime, *Les astrologues à la fin du Moyen Age* (Paris 1984).
- Reeves, Marjorie, "Joachimist Influences on the Idea of a Last World Emperor", in: *Traditio* 17 (1961), pp. 323-370.
- , *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages; A Study in Joachimism* (Oxford 1969).
- Ricardo-Gil, Joan Nancy, *The Practice of Witchcraft and Magic in Fact and Fiction during the French Middle Ages*, dissertation (Ann Arbor 1980).
- Runeberg, Arne, *Witches, Demons and Fertility Magic: Analysis of their Significance and Mutual Relations in West-European Folk-Religion* (Helsingfors 1947).
- Ruska, Julius, *Tabula Smaragdina: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der hermetischen Literatur* (Heidelberg 1926).
- Russell, Jeffrey Burton, *Witchcraft in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca/London 1972).
- Savage-Smith, Emilie, and Marion B. Smith, *Islamic Geomancy and a Thirteenth-Century Divinatory Device* (Malibu 1980).
- Scott, Alan, *Origen and the Life of the Stars: A History of an Idea* (Oxford 1994).
- Shore, Lys Ann, "A Case Study in Medieval Nonliterary Translation: Scientific Texts from Latin to French", in: Jeanette Beer, ed., *Medieval Translators and Their Craft* (Kalamazoo 1989), pp. 297-327.
- Skeat, T. C., "An Early Medieval 'Book of Fate': The *Sortes XII Patriarcharum*", in: *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* 3 (1954), pp. 41-54.
- Skinner, Stephen, *Terrestrial Astrology: Divination by Geomancy* (London 1980).
- Smoller, Laura Ackerman, *History, Prophecy and the Stars: The Christian Astrology of Pierre d'Ailly 1350-1420* (Princeton 1994).
- Steppe, J. K., "De Zeven hoofdzonden van Pieter Coecke van Aelst iconografisch verklaard", in: *De Bloeitijd van de Vlaamse Tapijtkunst; L'âge d'or de la tapisserie Flamande, Colloque International 1961* (Brussel 1969), pp. 325-327.
- Tester, S. J., *A History of Western Astrology* (Woodbridge 1990) [1987¹].
- Thomas, Keith, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England* (London 1971).
- Thompson, Guy Llewelyn, *Paris and Its People under English Rule: The Anglo-Burgundian Regime 1420-1436* (Oxford 1991).

- Thorndike, Lynn, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 8 vols. (New York/London 1964) [1923-1958¹].
- , "Traditional Medieval Tracts concerning engraved Astrological Images", in: *Mélanges Auguste Pelzer; Etudes d'histoire littéraire et doctrinale de la Scolastique médiévale offertes à Monseigneur Auguste Pelzer* (Louvain 1947), pp. 217-274.
- , "Notes on Manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale", in: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 20 (1957), pp. 112-172.
- , "Chiromancy in Mediaeval Latin Manuscripts", in: *Speculum* 40 (1965), pp. 674-706.
- Trachtenberg, Joshua, *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk Religion* (New York 1970).
- Trevor-Roper, H. R., *The European Witch-Craze of the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Harmondsworth 1978) [1969¹].
- Tuchman, Barbara W., *A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous Fourteenth Century* (New York 1978).
- Vandenbroeck, Paul, *Over wilden en narren, boeren en bedelaars. Beeld van de andere, vertoog over het zelf* (Antwerpen 1987).
- Vanderjagt, A. J., *'Qui Sa Vertu Anoblist': The Concepts of NOBLESSE and CHOSE PUBLICQUE in Burgundian Political Thought* (Groningen 1981).
- , "Enige inleidende opmerkingen over Laurentius Pignon en zijn werk", in: *Excursiones Mediaevales; Opstellen aangeboden aan Prof. dr. A. G. Jongkees door zijn leerlingen* (Groningen 1979), pp. 197-222.
- , "Burgundian Political Ideas between Laurentius Pignon and Guillaume Hugonet", in: *Fifteenth-Century Studies* 9 (1984), pp. 197-213.
- , *Laurens Pignon, OP: Confessor of Philip the Good: Ideas on Jurisdiction and the Estates, including the texts of his treatises and Durand of St. Pourçain's De origine iurisdictionum* (Venlo 1985).
- Vaughan, Richard, *John the Fearless: The Growth of Burgundian Power* (London 1966).
- , *Philip the Good: The Apogee of Burgundy* (London 1970).
- , *Charles the Bold: The Last Valois Duke of Burgundy* (London 1973).
- Veenstra, J. R., "Cataloguing Superstition: A Paradigmatic Shift in the Art of Knowing the Future", in: Peter Binkley, ed., *Pre-Modern Encyclopaedic Texts: Proceedings of the Second COMERS Congress, Groningen, 1-4 July 1996* (Leiden 1997), forthcoming.
- Walker, D. P., *Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella* (London 1958).
- Wedel, Theodore Otto, *The Mediaeval Attitude Toward Astrology Particularly in England* (s.l. 1968) [1920¹].
- Wickersheimer, "Un jugement astrologique de la paix d'Arras et le médecin Thomas Broun", in: *Association bourguignonne des sociétés savantes; douzième congrès tenu à Dijon* (Dijon 1937), pp. 202-204.
- Willard, Charity Cannon, "The Manuscripts of Jean Petit's Justification: Some Burgundian Propaganda Methods of the Early Fifteenth Century", in: *Studi Francesi* 13 (1969), pp. 271-280.
- Yates, Frances A., *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London/Boston 1975).

INDEX OF NAMES IN CLD

Folio-numbers from the manuscript were added between parentheses. The list includes the variant spellings from Pignon's treatise.

- | | |
|--|--|
| Aaron 320 (47v) | Crete 262 (19v) |
| Abraham, Abrahan 231, 232 (6r), 266 (21v), 267 (22r) | Crisostome 326 (51r) |
| Achor 291 (34r) | Daniel 287 (32r); <i>Songes de Daniel</i> 287 (32v) |
| Alain (de Lille) 326 (51v); <i>De complanctu Nature</i> 326 (51v) | David 322 (49r) |
| Albert de Coulogne (Albertus Magnus) 326 (51v) | Democritus 305 (40v) |
| Ambrose 290 (34r), 325 (50v), 326 (51r) | Digon 239 (9r) |
| Anaxagoras 305 (40v) | Egipcians 231 (6r), 262 (19v); jours Egipcians, jours Egipsiens 248 (12v), 337 (58r) |
| Aristote, Aristolte 243 (10v), 271 (23v), 273, 274 (25r), 279 (28r), 280 (28v), 299 (38r), 306 (40v), 307 (41v), 309 (42v), 330 (53v), 331 (54r), 332 (54v), 333 (55v); <i>livre de Ethiques</i> 332 (54v); <i>livre de Methafisique</i> 331 (54r); <i>Pery Armenes</i> 331 (54r) | Egipte 287 (32r), 320 (47v) |
| Arras 330 (53v) | Empedocles 305 (40v) |
| Artois 223 (2r) | Espaigne 329 (52v) |
| Augustin 231 (6r), 242 (10r), 249 (13r), 256 (17r), 257 (17v), 261 (19r-v), 273, 274 (25r), 276 (26v), 282 (30r), 290, 291 (34r), 295 (36r), 297 (37r), 299 (38r), 300 (38v), 306 (41r), 310 (42v), 313 (44v), 321 (48v), 325 (50v), 336 (58r); <i>De la Cité de Dieu</i> 231 (6r) | Flandres 223 (2r) |
| Babiloniens 231 (6r) | France, Franche 329 (53r) |
| Babilonne, Babiloinne 296 (36v), 328 (52r) | Galatas, l'espire a ceux de Galatas 259 (18v), 324 (50r) |
| Bede 290 (34r), 326 (51r) | Gracianus 290 (34r); <i>Decret</i> 242 (10r), 290 (34r), 338 (58v) |
| Belus 265 (21r) | Grece 265 (21r) |
| Besençon 248 (12v) | Gregoire (de Tours) 330 (53r) |
| Boèce, Boëse 306, 307 (41r), 326 (51v); <i>Consolacion, Consollacion</i> 306 (41r), 326 (51v) | Grigore (saint) 326 (51r) |
| Borgoigne, Borgogne 223 (2r), 248 (12v) | Guillaume de Paris 326 (51v) |
| Cacodemonas 253 (16r) | Helie 290 (33v) |
| Calcodemines 253 (16r) | Hermes 262 (20r) |
| Chilperic, Cihilperic 329, 330 (53r) | Hermes Trimestitus 261 (19r) |
| Ciceron 326 (51r); Ciceroniens 326 (51r) | Ismaël 231 (6r), 265 (21r) |
| Contranus 329, 330 (53r) | Israël 267 (21v), 320 (47v) |
| | Jacob 266 (21v) |
| | Jehan duc de Borgoigne 223 (2r) |
| | Jehan (saint) 247 (12v), 291 (34r), 304 (40r) |
| | Jerome (saint) 259 (18v), 260 (19r), 326 (51r) |
| | Jherusalem 323 (49v) |

- Jhesucrist 232 (6r), 262 (19v), 275 (25v-26r), 276 (26v), 290 (33v), 295 (36r), 319 (47v), 324 (50r), 326 (51r), 327 (52r), 330 (53v), 337 (58v)
 Job 251 (14v)
 Jonas 245 (11v), 290 (33v), 291 (34r)
 Jonatas 291 (34r)
 Josef 287 (32r)
 Josué 322 (48v)
 Josuel 291 (34r)
 Jovis 262 (19v)
 Juba 262 (19v)
 Judas 245 (11v)
 Jude (saint) 328 (52r)
 Juis 232 (6r), 260 (18v), 263 (20r), 265 (21r), 292 (34v), 313 (44r), 338 (58v)
 Julius Cesar 232 (6r)
 Jupiter 261 (19r), 306 (41r)
- Leire 330 (53r)
 Lion 248 (12v)
- Manichees 325 (50v)
 Martin, saint Martin de Tours 330 (53r)
 Mathié, saint Mathé 245 (11v), 291 (34r), 328 (52r)
 Maurienne 262 (19v)
 Melan 325 (50v)
 Mellin 282 (30r)
 Mercure 310 (43r)
 Meroveüs 329, 330 (53r-v)
 Moÿse, Moïse 232 (6r), 258 (18r), 260 (19r), 267 (21v-22r), 291 (34v), 319, 320 (47v-48r), 322 (48v)
- Nabugodonosor 287 (32r), 296 (36v)
 Nambrot 265 (21r)
 Ninivé, Ninivee 231 (6r), 265 (21r)
 Ninus 231 (6r), 265 (21r)
 Noë 266 (21v), 267 (22r)
- Ocozias 323 (49v)
 Omerus 306 (41r)
- Paris 228 (5r), 239 (9r), 326, 327 (51v), 335 (56v)
 Perses 231 (6r)
- Persyde 328 (52r)
 Pharaon 287 (32r), 320 (47v)
 Pharisiens, Phariziens 303 (40r), 313 (44r)
 Phiton 239 (8v)
 Pierre (saint) 339 (59r)
 Platon 261 (19r), 307 (41v)
 Pol (saint) 223 (2r), 251 (14v), 259 (18r), 261 (19r), 262, 263 (20r), 295 (36r), 319 (47v), 324 (50r), 337 (58v)
 Porphire, Porfire 299 (38r)
 Priscilla 313 (44r)
 Prometheus 265 (21r)
 Ptholomee *see* Tholomee
- Radegunde 329 (53r)
 Romains, l'epître aux Romains 261 (19r)
- Sacharie 291 (34r)
 Salomon, Salemon 227 (5r), 263, 264 (20v), 267 (21v), 295 (36r)
 Samuel 276, 277 (26r-v), 322 (48v-49r)
 Sarrazins 320 (48r), 329 (52v)
 Saturne 261 (19r), 310 (43r)
 Saul 276 (26r-v), 277 (26v), 291 (34r), 322 (48v)
 Seneques 257 (17v)
 Sens 239 (9r)
 Socrates 261 (19v)
 Stoiciens 306 (41r)
 Symon (saint) 328 (52r)
- Thimotee 223 (2r)
 Tholomee, Ptholomee, Ptholomeus 232 (6r), 310 (43r), 314, 315 (45r), 318 (46v)
 Thomas, saint Thumas d'Aquin 290 (34r), 326 (51v); *Somme* 290 (34r)
 Tours 330 (53r)
 Turquie 281 (29v)
- Vaudois 235 (7v), 248 (12v)
 Venus 261 (19r)
- Yndes, Ynde 328 (52r)
 Ysaac 266 (21v)
 Ysaie 322 (48v)
 Ysidore, Ysidoires 261, 262 (19v)
 Ysis 262 (19v)

INDEX OF NAMES

This index contains the names of persons and places. Titles of books are listed in the subject-index. Medieval persons are mainly listed by their first name. Only the names of those modern scholars who are mentioned in the introductory study or whose work is of special relevance for the main themes of this book, have been entered.

- Aachen (Aix-en-Chapelle) 109, 360
 Abgar 88
 Abraham 108, 231, 232, 264, 266, 267, 360, 397
 Absalom 53
 Achan 290
 Adam 71, 72, 99, 100, 108, 151, 303, 360
 Adelard 168
 Aegidius 293
 Aelst *see* Pieter Coecke van Aelst
 Agincourt 132
 Agostino Trionfo 180
 Ahuramazda 105
 Ailly *see* Pierre d'Ailly
 al-Kindi 110
 Alain de Lille 167, 326, 327
 Albertus Magnus 167, 168, 178, 179, 300, 303, 326, 327
 Albigensians 87, 166
 Albumasar 11, 110, 127, 128, 184, 219
 Alcabitus 128, 219
 Alcuin 109
 Alençon 37, 123, 364
 Alexander of Hales 168
 Alexander the Great 101
 Alexander V, pope 35
 Alexander VI, pope 368
 Alofresant 362
 Alofresin, Alofresant 4, 357-371
 Alva 363
 Amadeus VIII 34, 40
 Ambrose 290, 325, 326
 Amiens 47, 48
 Anaxagoras 305
 André Cotin 48
 André de Sully 131
 Angelo Cato 133
 Anjorrand *see* Denis Anjorrand
 Anselm of Canterbury 164, 186
 Anthoine Chuffaing 74
 Anthony of Burgundy 123
 Antonius de Monte Ulmi 174
 Antwerp 363
 Apollo 155, 239
 Apuleius 169, 249, 261, 377
 Aquinas, Thomas 2, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15-20, 28, 32, 33, 56, 70, 80, 96, 106, 137, 138, 142, 146-148, 150, 152, 154, 157-160, 162-164, 166, 168, 170, 171-173, 179, 180, 184, 188-194, 196, 197, 202, 203, 210, 214, 216, 220, 222, 229-318, 327, 329, 332, 354
 Aristotle 5, 12, 101, 138, 141, 159, 168, 175, 177-179, 181, 187-189, 191, 192, 197, 198, 214, 219, 243, 273, 280, 289, 299, 306, 307, 309, 311, 316, 331, 332, 392
 Armagnacs *see* Burgundian-Armagnac conflict
 Arnaud Guillaume 67-72, 74, 76, 82, 86, 88, 96, 151, 293, 334, 349
 Arnay-le-Duc 50
 Arnoul de Quinquempoix 219
 Arras 33, 46, 126, 152, 153, 330
 Artemidorus 178
 Arthur de Richemont 120, 121
 Artois 38, 44, 223, 367
 Asmodeus 94
 Astrampsychos 178
 Athalia 53
 Athanasius 275
 Augustine 11-13, 18, 20, 32, 70, 80, 102, 103, 105-109, 118, 140, 164, 165, 167, 169, 171, 180, 182, 184-189, 195, 214, 219, 231, 236, 242, 247, 249, 251, 253, 256, 257, 261, 264, 273, 276, 282, 290, 291, 295, 297, 299, 301, 304, 306, 309, 312, 321, 325, 329, 333, 392, 396
 Auxerre 34, 40
 Avicenna 27

- Avignon 35, 47, 48, 73, 75, 112, 128, 131, 344
 Aymeri de Poitiers 91
- Babylonia 232, Babylon 365, 396
 Bacon, Roger 110, 112, 168
 Bajazet 83, 359, 368
 Bar *see* Jehan de Bar
 Bathsheba 182
 Baye *see* Nicolas de Baye
 Béatrix Gonsalve 130
 Bede 107, 122, 290, 326, 376, 377, 380, 381, 391
 Bedford, regent of France 120, 121, 126, 130
 Benedict XIII, pope 35, 47
 Bernard (St.) 86
 Bernard d'Armagnac 37, 84
 Bernardo Gui 235
 Bernardus Silvester 394
 Bernheimer, R. 92
 Berry 35, 38, 40, 44, 47, 66, 91, 382
 Bertrand de Guesclin 131
 Bethlehem 31, 101, 104, 105, 111, 112
 Blaise de Parma 116
 Boccaccio 219
 Boethius 187-189, 218, 306, 326
 Bolingbroke *see* Henry Bolingbroke
 Bollstatter *see* Konrad Bollstatter
 Bonatti, Guido 97
 Boniface VIII, pope 23
 Boniface, private demon 24
 Boniface, sorcerer 74, 75, 82
 Bonne d'Artois 367
 Boudet, J.-P. 98-101, 110, 119-126, 128, 130
 Bourbon, duke of 37, 44, 65
 Bourbon, constable 371
 Bourgeois de Paris 21, 37-39
 Bourges 39, 40, 100
 Braswell, L. 376-378, 382
 Bridget (St.) 361, 362
 Brimeu *see* Guy de Brimeu
 Briquet 72-76, 82, 131, 142, 239, 285
 Brittany 37, 66, 115, 186
 Browne, Sir Thomas 396, 397
 Bruges 45, 129, 130, 152, 212
 Burchard of Worms 93
 Burgundian-Armagnac conflict 2, 33, 36-40, 43, 45, 52-54, 69, 359, 364, 365
- Cambrai 133, 369
 Campion, N. 108-111, 396
 Carey, H. 9, 22, 25, 26
 Carneades 10
 Cartellieri, O. 44, 51, 153
 Catherine (St.) 24, 90
 Catherine de Fastaverin 90
 Cato 101
 Cauzons, T. de 23, 24, 65, 69, 90, 343, 350
 Cérisy *see* Thomas de Bourg
 Charlemagne 109, 360-362
 Charles V, king of France 3, 26-28, 35, 41, 63, 127, 131, 136, 138, 143, 160, 219, 222, 233
 Charles V, emperor 4, 357-371
 Charles VI 2, 20-22, 25, 26, 29, 35, 37, 41, 43, 45, 46, 56, 58, 63, 65, 68, 74, 81, 82, 84, 85, 95, 113, 115, 118, 122, 123, 138, 140, 143, 153, 160, 219, 285, 346, 353
 Charles VII 120-122, 126, 129, 132, 142
 Charles VIII 98, 99, 369
 Charles d'Espagne 100
 Charles d'Orléans 34, 116, 132
 Charles Soillot 219
 Charles the Bold 4, 104, 133, 134, 212, 213, 222, 354, 367
 Chartres 37, 167
 Chastellain, Georges 354
 Chaucer 98
 Chauny 38
 Christine de Pisan 27, 28
 Chrysostom 303, 326
 Cicero 10, 11, 14, 15, 20, 177, 183, 186, 219
 Clement V, pope 23
 Clement VII, Avignon pope 35
 Clement VII, pope 368, 371
 Cohn, N. 14, 23, 24, 80, 108, 165, 360
 Collas, E. 50, 51, 54, 58, 59, 64, 65, 69, 72, 77, 80-84, 88, 90, 113, 114
 Cologne 130, 144, 149, 152, 370
 Commynes *see* Philippe de Commynes
 Coopland, G. W. 127, 139, 140, 160, 162, 227, 335, 393
 Corneville 120
 Coville, A. 44, 48-50, 54, 56, 58, 61-63, 68, 83, 84, 90, 92, 343, 346, 364
 Craig, W. L. 187, 188
 Crécy-en-Brie 78
 Cyprus 63, 140, 289

- Cyrus 104, 105, 396
 Daniel 26, 178, 182, 183, 284, 286, 287
 Dante 97, 102, 169, 183, 188, 397
 David 41, 108, 182, 264, 322
 De Cléry, Picard knight 115
 Dembowski, P. 219-222
 Democritus 305, 377
 Denis Anjorrand 99, 130
 Denis Foulechat 143, 219, 247, 352
 Diana 235, Dyana 235, Dyane 176, 235
 Dijksterhuis, E. J. 167, 168
 Dijon 19, 72-76, 96, 126, 129, 131, 203, 239
 Dinkelsbühl *see* Nikolaus of Dinkelsbühl
 Dionysius the Areopagite 173, 197, 198
 Dionysius the Carthusian 144
 Doutrepont, Georges 1, 28, 45, 51, 60, 105, 127, 128, 152, 211-213, 219, 222, 234, 357, 358, 359, 365, 369, 373, 374
 Du Clercq 152, 153
 Durand de St. Pourçain 31, 214
 Durrieu, P. 358, 364, 365
 Egypt 232, 248
 Elijah 106, 118, 288, 360, 375, 396
 Elisha 87
 Endor 7, 201, 239, 276
 Enoch 100, *Book of Enoch* 163
 Ephesus 87, 88
 Erasmus 70
 Esau 185, 333
 Escolgant 359, 366
 Estramain, demon 60
 Eugenius IV, pope 33, 34
 Eusebius 88
 Eustache Deschamps 54, 113, 139, 369
 Eymeric *see* Nicholas Eymeric
 Ezechiel 122, 163
 Fastolf, Sir John 120
 Ferdinand of Naples 368
 Ficino 174, 175
 Flint, V. 105, 107, 165, 313, 375, 376, 394
 Flodden 369
 Foix, bastard of 91, 122
 Foulechat *see* Denis Foulechat
 Francis I 358, 367
 Francis (St.) of Assisi 109, 181, 362
 Franciscus Florentinus 110, 111
 Franz, A. 149, 151
 Frederick II 360
 Frederick III 212
 Frederick of Tarente 133
 Froissart 21, 62, 75, 83, 90-92, 282, 293, 357, 358
 Fürbeth, F. 149, 150, 378
 Gabriel, archangel 159
 Gallop, D. 177, 179, 181
 Gamaleon 361, 362
 Garin, E. 111, 174, 184
 Gelasius, pope 394
 Gencien de Beaugenci 131, 344, 346
 George Causez 130
 Géraud d'Armagnac 84
 Germanus (St.) 235
 Gerson, Jean 8, 9, 50, 59, 71, 96, 142, 143, 149, 160, 175, 186, 201, 228, 247, 253, 327, 343, 344, 346, 347, 354
 Geuffroy d'Abbeville 132
 Ghent 213
 Giangaleazzo Visconti 24, 82
 Gillette Verrière 78
 Gilles de Louviers 116
 Gilles de Rais 25, 26
 Ginzburg, C. 235
 Godefroy de Buillon 368, 371
 Grançon 133
 Gregory XII, pope 35
 Gregory the Great 105, 313, 326
 Gregory of Tours 107, 202, 329
 Guérart 78
 Guido Bonatti *see* Bonatti
 Guienne 65, 69, 70, 114, 345
 Guillaume de Carlat 84
 Guillaume de Cologne 130
 Guillaume de Lorris 235
 Guillaume de Toury 100
 Guillaume Floret 74
 Guillaume Hobit 130
 Guillaume Hugonet 28, 212
 Guisay 91
 Guy de Brimeu 211-213
 Guy de Trémoille 114, 115, 333
 Habonde 235
 Hadrian VI, pope 368
 Hainsselin Planite 77
 Halbout de Troyes 120
 Haly Abenragel 127, 128, 382
 Ham 38

- Hansen, B. 139, 168, 173
 Hansen, J. 77, 78, 81, 143, 144, 146, 147, 149, 152, 304
 Harmening, D. 16, 19, 107, 155, 156, 178, 180, 238, 239, 246, 326, 354
 Hartieb, Johannes 149, 150, 378
 Haussibut, demon 79, 81
 Heidelberg 72, 147, 149, 151
 Hélye 84
 Hennequin de Ruilly 78, 79
 Henri Seldem 132
 Henry V 129, 136, 367
 Henry VI 120, 121, 126
 Henry VII 368, 369
 Henry VIII 369, 370
 Henry Arnault 129
 Henry Bolingbroke 58, 82
 Henry de Malinis 100
 Henry of Gorcum 144, 304
 Hérémas, demon 60
 Hermes 71, 72, 261, 262, 303, 348
 Herodias 176, 183, 235
 Hildegard of Bingen 109, 362
 Hissette, R. 141
 Hugh of Santalla 159
 Hugonet *see* Guillaume Hugonet
 Huguet de Guisay 91, 122
 Huizinga, Johan 59, 89, 213, 354
 Hussites 368

 Ignatius of Antioch 104
 India 144
 Innocent VII, pope 47
 Innocent VIII, pope 368
 Isaac Israeli 27, 28
 Isabel of Bavaria 45, 46, 81
 Isabelle de Portugal 367
 Isaiah 104, 105, 274, 322
 Isidore of Seville 15, 107, 118, 154-157, 159, 162, 202, 214, 231, 232, 236, 239, 261, 262, 313
 Ismael 231, 264, 265
 Ives Gilemme 74

 Jacob 185, 266, 284, 333
 Jacobus Angeli 344
 Jacobus de Voragine 235, 328
 Jacobus Engelhart 116-117
 Jacques d'Angiers 65, 131
 Jacques de Molay 23
 Jacques de Templeuve 211

 Jacques le Grand 143
 Jacquette Griffart 43
 James IV 369
 Jean Creton 25, 26
 Jean d'Astarac 84
 Jean de La Keythulle 47
 Jean de Meun 235
 Jean de Roquetaillade (John of Rupescissa) 109, 112, 361, 362
 Jean de Roux (Jean de Rubeis) 128, 129, 136
 Jean de Troyes 130
 Jean de Venette 112
 Jean de Vésale 134
 Jean Duchesne 219
 Jean Flandrin 74, 75, 345
 Jean Gerson *see* Gerson
 Jean le Chassa 213
 Jean Marchant 31
 Jean Mercier 75
 Jean Miélot 219
 Jean Petit 1, 3, 24, 35, 36, 44, 45, 48-64, 66, 68, 69, 82, 83, 84, 90-92, 94, 131, 142, 343-346, 364
 Jean Sans-Peur *see* John the Fearless
 Jean Spierinck 133
 Jeanne d'Arc 24
 Jeanne de Brigue 78-81, 85, 86, 96
 Jehan Bonost 211
 Jehan, count of Angoulême 37
 Jehan de Bar 4, 64, 67-69, 71, 74, 76, 78, 83, 86, 87, 94, 131, 156, 174, 249, 266, 299, 343-355
 Jehan de Bregy 132, 133
 Jehan de Cologne 130
 Jehan de La Chesnel 211
 Jehan de Montagu 37, 40
 Jehan du Locron 133
 Jehan Feron 373
 Jehan Gautier 74
 Jehan le Tourneur 212
 Jehan Taincture (Tinctoris) 149, 152, 172, 175, 197, 235
 Jericho 290
 Jerome 105, 214, 259, 260, 326
 Jerusalem 53, 118, 365
 Joachim of Fiore 109, 111, 360, 361
 Johann Liechtenberger 361
 Johannes Cesar 130
 Johannis Lachenel 207, 211
 John XXIII, pope 209

- John Crophill 376, 397
 John of Frankfurt 147, 148
 John of Rupescissa *see* Jean de Roquetaillade
 John of Salisbury 9, 56, 105, 107, 117, 140, 143, 154, 156-159, 162-164, 182, 183, 219, 247, 287, 304, 329, 352, 353, 377
 John the Fearless (Jean Sans-Peur) 1, 3, 4, 8, 9, 22, 29-31, 34, 36-41, 44-51, 53, 55, 57-59, 84, 95, 100, 119, 123-127, 129, 131, 132, 135, 136, 201, 227, 357-360, 362-366, 374, 375
 Joigny, count of 91, 122
 Jonah 245, 288, 290
 Jordan 151
 Joseph 9, 104, 178, 183, 284, 286, 287
 Josephus 117, 232, 313
 Judas (St.) 106, 328
 Judas, traitor 245, 396
 Julian the apostate 52
 Julius II 368
 Julius Caesar 15, 182, 232
 Jupiter 110, 112, 124-126, 134, 135, 196, 261, 306, 398, 399
 Juvenal des Ursins 21, 44, 47, 62, 65, 67, 69, 71, 73, 74, 82, 84, 86, 88, 90, 113, 132, 239, 345, 359

 Kervyn de Lettenhove 45, 50, 354, 357, 358
 Kieckhefer, R. 26, 352, 393
 Konrad Bollstatter (Mulitor) 394, 395
 Kramer 166

 Laigny-sur-Marne 60
 La Marche *see* Olivier de La Marche
 Lancelot, Augustinian monk 64-67
 Laurent Muste 120, 130
 Lausanne 133
 Le Mans 115
 Le Moine, cardinal 113
 Leo X, pope 368
 Lille 30, 130, 167, 326
 Livy 15, 20
 Lombardy 25, 74, 75, 82-84
 Louis XI 133, 134, 367
 Louis d'Orléans 4, 24, 34, 36, 37, 43, 45-47, 49, 51-59, 62-64, 67, 81-83, 91, 94, 95, 119, 122-124, 132, 140, 141, 227, 344, 345, 364, 366
 Louis de Sancerre 65, 86, 131
 Louis of Anjou 40, 44, 47
 Lucifer 50, 53-55, 78, 79, 163, 365

 Lull *see* Ramon Lull
 Luxembourg 47, 58
 Lyon 65, 98, 345

 Macette 78, 79
 Macrobius 178, 182, 183
 Maguelonne 113
 Manilius 381, 383, 386
 Marco Polo 371
 Margaret (St.) 24
 Margaret of Austria 367
 Margaret of Bavaria 227
 Margaret of Male 27, 81
 Margaret, sister of Henry VIII 369
 Margot de la Barre 77, 78, 80
 Marie de Blansy 74
 Marion la Droiturière 77, 78
 Markus, R. A. 32, 102
 Mars 124, 134, 196, 398, 399
 Martin Le Franc 152, 153
 Martin Porée 29, 31
 Mary of Burgundy 360, 361, 367
 Mary of Hungary 363
 Maternus Hatten of Spire 362
 Mathieu de Richemond 116
 Matthias 245, 290
 Matthias Farinator 178
 Maximilian I 360, 361, 363, 367, 369, 370
 Mellin 65
 Mercury 112, 191, 192, 196, 309
 Merlin 26, 126, 282
 Merovechus 329
 Messahalal 219
 Mézières *see* Philippe de Mézières
 Michael (St.), archangel 24, 54, 55
 Michel de la Chesnaye 132
 Michel Pintoin 20, 21
 Michelle de France 367
 Miélot *see* Jean Miélot
 Milton 164
 Mirot, L. 74-76, 285, 345
 Monk of St. Denis (Religieux de St. Denis) 20, 21, 40, 44, 46, 47, 50, 59-77, 82, 85, 86, 88-92, 94, 113-118, 123, 239, 285, 329, 333, 334
 Monstrelet, Enguerrand de 21, 40, 48, 50, 51, 53, 54, 57-60, 63, 64, 68, 82, 90, 91, 345
 Montdidier 38
 Montereau 30, 31, 45, 122, 128, 136, 366
 Montfaucon 40, 60, 61, 63, 66

- Montjay 50, 59-61, 63, 77
 Montlezun 84
 Montpellier 142, 344
 Morat 133
 Moses 53, 70, 88, 106, 178, 375, 396
 Mulitor *see* Konrad Bollstatter

 Nancy 367
 Nebuchadnezzar 105, 287
 Nesle 38
 Nevers 29, 34, 359
 Nicholas EymERIC 146
 Nicolas de Baye 21, 37, 44, 45, 47, 66, 117, 123
 Nicolas de Paganico 100, 131
 Nicolas de Savigny 48
 Nicolaus Jacquerius 152
 Nicole Oresme *see* Oresme
 Nicolle de Berbeth 132
 Nicopolis 34, 51, 83, 113, 114, 124, 359, 364
 Nigidius Figulus 185
 Nikolaus Jauer 149-151, 352
 Nikolaus of Dinkelsbühl 144
 Ninus 231, 265
 Normandy 100, 186
 North, J. D. 11, 12, 110-112, 116, 241, 349
 Nostradamus 359

 Olivier Chantemerle 132
 Olivier de Clisson 62
 Olivier de La Marche 208, 213
 Oresme, Nicole 27, 28, 41, 127, 128, 138-140, 148, 149, 154, 160-163, 166, 168, 173, 181, 190-192, 197, 199, 200, 202, 212, 219-221, 227, 322, 327, 335, 383, 393, 397
 Origen 107
 Orosius 313
 Ortolanus 72
 Othée 36
 Oultremer 373, 374
 Oxford 98

 Pannemaker *see* Willem de Pannemaker
 Paravicini, W. 211-213
 Paulus Tigrin 88
 Pèlerin de Prusse 27, 219
 Perrault, Charles 25
 Perrin Hemery 74
 Peter of Abano 110, 166
 Peter of Courtenay 114, 115, 333
 Petit *see* Jean Petit
 Petrarch 179
 Petrus de Monte Alcino 116
 Petrus Mamoris 143
 Pharaoh 106, 171, 182, 287
 Philip IV 23, 219
 Philip, count of Alençon 123
 Philip the Bold (Philippe le Hardi) 3, 27, 29, 45, 74, 81, 100, 127, 130, 131, 285, 345
 Philip the Fair (Philippe le Bel) 23, 24, 125, 367, 368
 Philip the Good 1, 4, 22, 28, 30, 33, 34, 120, 126, 128, 129, 132-134, 152, 153, 201, 211, 212, 222, 367, 374
 Philippe de Commynes 133
 Philippe de Mézières 28, 63, 128, 140-142, 149, 232, 233, 322, 327, 329, 351, 369
 Philippe Mouskes 136
 Philo 169, 289
 Picardy 38
 Pierre, Augustinian monk 64-67
 Pierre Aux-Boeufs 48, 49
 Pierre Cochon 346
 Pierre d'Ailly 11, 12, 35, 96, 110, 111, 124, 125, 132, 135, 139, 140, 160
 Pierre de Craon 62, 63, 94
 Pierre le Broussart 152
 Pierre Salmon 84
 Pieter Coecke van Aelst 359, 363
 Pisan *see* Christine *and* Thomas de Pisan
 Plato 118, 167, 169, 173, 177, 307
 Pliny 73, 355
 Plotinus 70
 Poinson 72-76, 82, 131, 142, 239, 285
 Poitiers 91, 99, 100, 130, 143
 Policrates 101
 Poncet du Solier 74, 75, 345
 Popper, K. 6
 Poulle, E. 119, 120, 126, 129, 355
 Prague 149
 Priscillian 313
 Proclus 70
 Prometheus 264, 265
 pseudo-Dionysius *see* Dionysius the Areopagite
 Ptolemy 11, 27, 127, 128, 191, 214, 219, 309, 314, 315, 318, 381-383, 386
 Pyrenees 92
 Pythagoras 377
 Pythagoreans 396

- Rabelais 293
 Ramon Lull 346
 Raoul d'Anquetonville 43, 45, 54
 Raoul de Presles 219
 Raymundus de Tarrega 145, 174
 Raziel 303, 304
 Reeves, M. 360-362, 371
 Reims 29
 Reinhard 362
 Religieux de St. Denis *see* Monk of St. Denis
 Renauld Fréron 68
 René of Sicily 133
 Richalm of Schöntal 165, 166
 Richard II 25, 26, 34, 46, 58, 82
 Robert Godefroy 27, 219
 Robertus Ansem 207
 Roger Bacon *see* Bacon
 Roland l'Ecrivain 120, 121, 126, 130
 Rome 15, 28, 87, 360, 367, 368, 371
 Rouen 113
 Runeberg, Arne 92, 93

 Saint-Claude 38, 39
 Saint-Denis 38, 39, 113
 Sambry *see* Zimri
 Samuel 7, 276, 277, 322
 Sarah 397
 Satan 17, 164, 165, 169, 171, 365, 396
 Saturn 110, 124-126, 134, 135, 191, 192, 196
 Saul 7, 9, 41, 201, 276, 277, 290, 291, 322
 Sauvigne 74
 Scipio 178, 182, 183
 Seneca 257
 Sens 19, 29, 76, 239
 Sergius 52
 Shakespeare 120, 353
 Shore, L. A. 219-221, 381
 Sigismund 116
 Simon de Boesmare 120, 121, 125, 126, 130
 Simon de Phares 3, 65, 98-101, 116, 119, 122, 129-133, 228, 232, 233, 282, 344-346, 350
 Simon de Saulx 48
 Simon du Phar 132
 Smoller, L. A. 12, 110, 111, 124, 125, 135
 Socrates 249, 261
 Soillot *see* Charles Soillot
 Solomon 41, 71, 293
 Somme 38, 236, 290
 Stephen, pope 159, 291, 292

 Stoics 184, 217, 306, 313

 Tanneguy du Châtel 122
 Telesphorus 361
 Templars 23, 24
 Théroutanne 370
 Thomas, K. 106, 162
 Thomas Broun 126
 Thomas de Bourg, abbé de Cérissy 54, 57-60, 62-64, 69, 77, 83, 85, 91, 141, 343, 344, 346
 Thomas de Pisan 27
 Thomas Ebendorfer of Haselbach 144
 Thorndike, L. 70-72, 98, 107, 116, 119, 126, 128, 130, 131, 139, 142-147, 149, 156, 174, 175, 178-180, 186, 243, 248, 282, 287, 293, 299, 304, 320, 327, 344, 345, 348, 349, 352, 376-378, 394, 397
 Tiberius 88
 Tinctoris *see* Jehan Taincture
 Tobit 94, 145
 Toledo 154, 162, 255, 293
 Tournai 152, 370
 Toz Grecus 303, 348
 Trachtenberg, J. 17, 304, 396
 Trevor-Roper, H. 166, 173
 Troyes 33, 120, 130
 Tumtum 159

 Urban VI, pope 35
 Uriah 182

 Valentina Visconti 24, 50, 54, 58, 62, 64, 80-85
 Vanderjagt, A. J. 28-32, 105, 173, 211, 213, 357
 Varro 15, 155, 156, 159
 Vasque de Lucène 104, 105, 219
 Vaughan, R. 30, 37-39, 44, 46, 47, 51, 126, 132, 134, 212, 213, 364, 365, 367
 Venice 51, 369
 Venus 196, 261, 371, 398, 399
 Veronica 88
 Vincent of Beauvais 235, 282
 Visconti family 51, *see also* Valentina Visconti *and* Giangaleazzo Visconti
 Volkerinchove 133
 Voragine *see* Jacobus de Voragine

 Waldensians 18, 19, 87, 89, 152, 153, 166, 235, 248

- Walsingham, Thomas 26
Werner von Freiburg 151
Wickersheimer, E. 69, 84, 98, 126, 128-131,
346
Willem (Guillaume) de Pannemaker 358,
359, 363
William de Bechis 144
William of Auvergne 144, 157, 190, 320,
327, 349
William of Conches 168
William of Moerbeke 159
Witelo 166, 167, 169, 174, 200
Ysaac 28, 266
Zael 219
Zimri 52-54
Zoroaster 104

INDEX OF SUBJECTS AND TITLES

- aeromancy 13, 15; *aeromantia* 155, 156, 158, 237, 239
aetates *see* history
 alchemy 25, 26, 72, 282, 293
 amulets 18, 105, 106, 159, 303, 304, 344
 angels, angels and locomotion 172, 193, 197, 198; angels as agents in creation 151; angels as instructors and illuminators 70, 71, 100, 173-174, 285, 348, 349, 354; angels in CLD 249, 284, 303, 304, 329; Gerson on angels 175; *intelligentiae* 170, 171, 174; invocation of angels 303, 304; rebel angels, fall of the angels, 54, 55, 145, 163, 164, 169, 170, *The Book of the Angels* 71; *see also* demons, theurgy
 Anglo-Burgundian rule over Paris 39, 119-126, 370
 Arbre Sec 371
arioli 75, 155, 156, 159, 242, 287
ars notoria, Notory Art 18, 70, 146-148, 151, 158, 159, 162, 293, 294
ars punctatoria 159
artes liberales, liberal arts 27, 48, 100, 233
 Arthurian literature 282
aruspices 154-156, 242; *aruspicium* 158, 237, 239; haruspicy 13
 astrology, astrology and history *see* chapter 3 *passim*; court astrology 127 ff.; distinction between astronomy and astrology 232 ff.; Oresme's division of astrology 160, 161; *see also* conjunctions, determinism, Zodiac
 augury 10, 15, 18, 106, 138, 237, 240; *augurium* 155-159, 321; *augures* 155, 158, 159
auspices 155, 157, 162

 Bal des Ardents 89-95, 122
 birds 14, 67, 106, 117, 155, 178, 240, 288
Bonae res 235; *bonnes choses* 176, 235, 248
 bonfires 89, 247, 300, 301
 Books of Fate 376, 393-396, 398
Buch aller verbotenen Kunst 150

 Canon episcopi 235, 248

Catalogus fratrum spectabilium 29, 131, 214
 causality 184-199; celestial causation 192, 193, 305-318; necessary and contingent causes 189-190, 269-272; *Prima Causa* 27, 188, 194, 196; secondary causes 197, 316-318; proximate causes 197, 316-318
Champion des dames 152
 cherubim 258
 Childermas Day 338
 chiromancy, *chiromantia* 13, 26, 156-159, 237, 240; *ciromance* 240, 162; palmistry 13, 159, 239
Chronica compendiosa 28-30, 34, 36, 38, 40, 46, 47, 214, 323
 circle *see* magic circle
 comets 107, 112-114, 116-118, 134; comet of 1396 113; comet of 1399 116; comet of 1402 116
Concordantia astronomie cum hystorica narratione 135
 condemnation of 1277 141, 160; condemnation of 1398 141, 142, 343, 346ff.
Confessiones 187, 325, 333
conjectores 156, 157
 conjunctions 102, 160, 161, 269, 278; Jupiter-Saturn conjunctions 110-111, 124-126, 134-135
 contingency 5, 12, 13, 97, 136, 142, 187-190, 192-195, 197, 269, 278, 311, 315, 316
Contra divinatores et sompniatores 180
Contra divinatores horoscopios 139
Contra judicarios astronomos 139
Contra superstitionem sculpturae leonis 142, 344
Contra vitia superstitionum 144
 Council, Council of Basle 33, 34, 367; Council of Braga 313; Council of Pisa 35; Council of Toledo 154; Council of the faith 50; heavenly council 163, 164, 195

De causis mirabilium 139, 148, 168
De complacentu Naturae 167, 326
De deo Socratis 169, 249, 261

- De divinatione daemonum* 13, 167, 169, 242, 249, 251, 253
De divinationibus 139
De erroribus circa artem magicam 142, 143, 247, 327, 346, 347, 349
De falsis prophetis 139-140
De interpretatione (Perihermeneias) 187, 189, 331, 409
De invocatione daemonum 145
De magnis conjunctionibus 184
De occultis et manifestis 174
De potestate spirituum 144
De vita 175, 177
Decretum 15, 231, 236, 242, 245, 247-249, 287, 290-292, 305, 336
 demons *in general* *see* chapter 4, esp. 163-176; astral demons 174, 175; demonic illumination 70, 173 ff.; demonic magic 85, 99, 141, 142, 144-149, 174, 199, 200; demonology 3, 10, 77, 92, 137, 138, 149, 151-153, 157, 163, 169, 174, 175, 197, 199, 200, 203, 248, 254; demons and local motion 172, 197, 198; demons as *mediae potestates* 166, 169, 170; demons causing illusions and affecting the *imaginatio* 167, 168, 172, 175, 176, 248; demons in CLD 249-254; demons turning rods into serpents 171-172; John of Frankfurt on coercing demons 147, 148; knowledge of demons 146, 148, 151, 166, 171, 172; physiology of demons 168, 169; private demons 14, 23, 24, 79, 98, 249, 352
Demoustracions contre sortileges 139
 determinism 5, 8, 11, 32, 96, 111, 138, 141, 142, 157, 184-188, 193, 194, 197, 215, 216, 241, 311, 326, 327
 dice 158, 244, 393-396
Directorium Inquisitionis 146
divinatio somniorum 157, 237
 Dream-books 178, 182, 287
 dreams 6, 7, 13, 18, 104, 106, 138, 156, 157, 162, 172, 175-183, 203, 215, 228, 236, 326, 361, 377; causes of dreams 179; dream-interpreters 13, 95, 156, 178, 180, 181, 203, 228, 285; John of Salisbury on dreams 182, 183; Pignon on dreams 180, 181, 283-287; *see also* songeurs
 duel 114, 115
 eclipses: solar eclipse 1399 124, 125; solar eclipse 1406 117, 123; lunar eclipse 1407 123
 Egyptian days 248, 337, 376
Electiones 219
 elections 132, 161, 351
Epistola de substantia et natura daemonum 166
 eschatology *see* history
Etymologiae 15, 118, 154, 159, 231, 232, 261, 262
 exorcism 173, 200
Experimentarius 394
Expositio somniorum 178, 179
Flagellum maleficorum 143
 foreknowledge 5, 12, 181, 186-190, 331
 free will, free choice 5, 6, 10-12, 14, 96, 97, 114, 138, 142, 157, 161, 184-190, 193, 194, 197, 272, 311, 314, 318, 326, 327, 331, 332, 380
 future contingents 187 ff.
 Gallican Church 35
 gematria 396
 generation 191, 198, 308, 397; spontaneous generation 144, 171, 172
genethliaci 106, 155, 157, 158; *geneatici* 158
 geomancy, *geomantia* 10, 13, 15, 26, 130, 155, 156, 158, 159, 162, 237, 239, 348, 393
Geste des ducs de Bourgogne 1, 45, 50, 55, 60, 63, 64, 82, 90, 357, 369
Giomansie d'Esbatemens 127
Grande Chroniques de France 329
 hallucinations 172, 176, 235, 248
Haly qui est des Livres de astrologie 127
 haruspicy *see* aruspices
 heresy 19, 20, 24, 25, 33, 35, 52, 80, 87, 89, 95, 116, 149, 151-153, 157, 181, 199, 259, 313
 hidden virtues *see* occult virtues
 hierarchy 27, 32, 102, 103, 121, 135, 138, 169-175, 193-195, 197-199
 history, *aetates* of the world 89, 264; Augustine's Great Week 108; astrological historicism 6, 100 ff., 135; end of time 12, 22, 35, 102-104, 109, 111; eschatology 97, 107-112, 58; Joachim of Fiore's

- tripartite division of history 360, 361;
millennium, millenarianism 102, 103,
108, 109, 111, 264, 360, 361; *see also*
Last World Emperor; periodisation 103,
108, 110; *saeculum* 32, 102, 361
- horoscopes 4, 6, 8, 14, 27, 99, 100, 106,
112, 119-126, 129, 131-133, 155, 185,
232, 240, 241, 357, 360; *horoscopi* 155,
157
- humours 161, 172, 284, 384
- Hundred Years' War 22, 33, 35, 113, 118
- hydromancy 13, 15; *hydromantia* 155, 158,
162, 237, 239; *ydromantia* 156
- idolatry, *idololatria* 6, 16-19, 24, 25, 53, 54,
56, 57, 89, 140, 142, 151, 157, 190,
199, 202, 231, 232, 245, 258, 259,
261-265, 282, 300, 320, 327
- illumination (divine, demonic, angelic) 70,
150, 151, 158, 173-176, 294
- imaginatio* 283
- imaginarii* 156, 157
- incantatores* 141, 145, 155, 156, 162, 242,
321, 352
- insomnia* 182
- intellect 141, 150, 170, 191, 192, 194, 233,
234, 248, 294, 305-310, 331; rational
soul 173, 177, 191, 199
- intelligentiae* *see* angels
- interrogations (astrological) 100, 141, 161,
233
- Jeu des echecs moralisés* 127, 128
- Justification du duc de Bourgogne* 1, 24, 36,
41, 45, 47-64, 66, 68, 69, 83, 85, 90,
92, 95, 142, 343, 346, 364
- Kabbalah 293, 396, 397
- Last World Emperor 109, 358, 360 ff.
- latria* 256, 258
- laws of nature 145, 146, 172, 173, 175
- laxatives 130, 388
- Les 12 signes dou firmament* 127, 128, 224,
234, 243, 373-392
- Liber intelligentiarum* 174
- Liber introductorius Astronomie super*
Alcabissus 127, 219
- Liber revelationum de insidiis et versutiis*
daemonum 165
- Liber sacratus, Liber sacer* 71, 84, 304
- liberal arts *see artes liberales*
- Livre d'Astronomie* 127
- Livre de divinacions* 28, 41, 127, 139, 140,
149, 160-162, 190, 191, 199, 221, 227,
322, 327, 335, 383, 393, 397
- Livre des neuf anciens juges de astrologie*
127, 128, 233, 234, 219; *Liber novem*
judicum 27
- Livre de l'exposicion des songes* 127
- Livre de Zacarye Albazarye* 127
- Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy*
Charles 27, 28, 291
- Livre du Mirouer aux Dames* 127
- local motion 144, 171-173, 176, 197-199
- lots 14, 106, 157, 158, 162, 244, 245, 290,
291
- lunaria* *see* Moon-books
- lycanthropy 166, 200
- magi* 144, 155-157, 287, 375, 396
- Magi (the three Magi) 101, 104, 105, 151,
304
- magic circle 72 ff., 141, 142, 174, 349, 350,
353
- Malleus maleficarum* 24, 27, 81, 227, 367,
369
- manuscripts: Brussels, B.R., ms. 733-741
152; Brussels, B.R., ms. 11209 152, 172,
175, 176, 198, 235; Brussels, B.R., ms.
10319 27, 128, 233, 234; Brussels, B.R.,
ms. 10394-414 128, 373 ff.; Chantilly,
Musée Condé, ms. 878(1197) 364;
Kassel, Ständischen Landesbibliothek,
ms. theol. 509 152; London, B.L., ms.
Harley 1735 377; London, B.L., ms.
Harley 3017 377; Madrid, Biblioteca
Nacional, mss. 6015 357 ff.; München,
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 5338
149, 150; Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms.
Digby 194 126; Oxford, St. John's
College, ms. 164 27; Paris, B.N., ms.fr.
1348 27; Paris, B.N., ms.lat. 7443 119-
125, 130; Paris, B.N., ms.lat. 25552 343
ff.; Vienna, Staatsbibliothek, ms. 2657
364
- marmousets 63
- marvels *see mirabilia*
- mathematici* 155, 156, 232, 282
- matter 170, 172, 192-195, 198, 298, 315-
318
- melothesia* 381

- millennium *see* history
mirabilia 139, 144-146, 148, 150, 167, 168, 172, 175, 198
 Moon 4, 49, 104, 107, 123-125, 129, 130, 161, 169, 178, 196, 199, 373-401
 Moon-books, *lunaria* 107, 376-379, 382
 Mosaic law 232, 260, 266, 291, 320; Old law 16, 17
 mount of the congregation 163, 164

 Nature-Grace motif 103, 188
 natural magic 144, 145, 148
 necromancy 9, 13, 26, 41, 69, 106, 174, 240, 359, 364, 365; *necromantia* 231; *nigromantia* 156, 157, 237, 238; nigromance 57, 161, 162; nigromancien 67, 300, 345, 359, 364
 Neoplatonism 70, 138, 164, 166, 169-175, 187, 193, 199, 257
nigromantia see necromancy
 nominalism 173
 Notary Art *see* *ars notoria*
 numerology 4, 103, 127, 373, 374, 376, 377, 393, 396-398

 occult virtues, occult properties 144-148, 171, 192, 199, 247, 297, 298; hidden virtues of signs, stones and herbs (in CLD) 294, 295, 297-299, 304
 Old law *see* Mosaic law
 omens, *omina* 10, 14, 15, 20, 86, 102, 104-106, 112-115, 117, 118, 135, 138, 157, 158, 159, 162, 240, 247, 248, 329, 368; *see also* comets
 omnipotence 5, 6, 167, 184, 186, 348
 omniscience 5, 167, 184, 186, 187, 348
 ordeal 291, 292

 pact (with the devil) 13, 14, 17, 22, 23, 25, 53, 57, 80, 89, 95, 147, 151, 152, 163, 180, 183, 197, 285, 294, 295, 297, 347, 352; devil's pact in CLD 199, 236 ff., 274 ff.
 palmistry *see* chiromancy
 Parlement of Paris 21, 44, 48, 77, 79, 80, 153
Parousia 103, 104, 108, 109, 135, 167
 participation, *participatio* 215, 257, 273
Parva naturalia 177, 178
 passions 12, 169, 190-192, 250, 309, 313, 314

Pastoralet 1, 45, 357, 364, 365
phantasma 182
 physiognomy 14, 26, 130
Policraticus 9, 56, 57, 105, 107, 117, 118, 143, 156, 157, 163, 164, 182, 247, 287, 304, 329, 352, 353, 377
Pour la réforme du Royaume (Vivat Rex) 9, 143
praestigium 13, 156, 157, 237, 238; *praestigiatōres* 156; prestige 13, 80, 238
 precognition *see* foreknowledge
privatio boni 16, 145, 164, 167, 174, 187, 199, 200
 processions 119
 prophecy 5, 9, 12, 13, 15, 26, 52, 101, 103, 109-113, 124, 125, 132, 135, 136, 176-183, 189, 282, 283, 286, 287, 302, 357-371
 propitious days 8, 14, 19, 89, 130, 134, 136, 142, 154, 155, 161, 186, 240, 243, 379, 380, 401
protractio punctorum 158, 159
 pyromancy 13, 15, 162; *piromantia* 156; *pyromantia* 155, 158, 237, 239
 pythonic divination 13, 155, 276; *pythones* 155, 156, 158, 237, 239, 321; Python 156, 239

Quadripartitum 27, 318
 Quadrivium 233
Quadrupli Tholomé 127
Quaestio utrum potestas coercendi demones fieri possit per caracteres figuras atque verborum prolationes 147
Quodlibeta 139

raml 159
 rational soul *see* intellect
rationes seminales 118, 171
Recueil des plus célèbres astrologues 3, 65, 98-101, 116, 129-133, 228, 232, 233, 282, 344, 350
Regards des XII cignes 127
Règles de divination 128, 208, 227, 373-375, 377, 378, 382, 393-401
 responsibility 5, 6, 11, 138, 165, 185, 332
 rings 24, 60, 63, 68, 105, 161, 348, 350

saeculum see history
 salamanders 289
salisatores 156, 157, 159

- scepticism 10, 11, 85, 86, 88, 89, 113, 117, 139, 145, 162, 181, 185, 199, 383
- Schism 22, 35, 36, 48, 49, 111, 113
- School of Chartres 167
- Secret of Secrets* 243, 397
- Semaphoras* 71, 344
- sensus communis* 170
- Sermo de secta Vaudensium* 152
- sign-theory (Augustine) 105, 106, 180
- Signifiance* 358, 363
- Smagorad* 70-72, 151, 349
- sneezing 14, 20, 105, 158, 240, 242, 247, 311
- somnium* 139, 181-183, 287, 321
- Somnium viridarii* 139
- Songe du Vieil Pelerin* 128, 140, 149, 232, 233, 327, 329, 332, 351, 369
- songeurs 13, 95, 180, 181, 224, 227-230, 232-235, 238, 241, 247, 252, 274, 278, 279-281, 285, 286, 314, 315, 321-323, 327, 328, 332, 337; *see also* dreams
- Sortes apostolorum* 394
- Sortes sanctorum* 155
- Sortes Sangallenses* 394
- sortilegium, sortilegi* 155, 157, 242, 246; *sortilege* 14, 17, 19, 230, 236, 240, 246, 255, 290, 319, 325; *sors, sortes* 14, 158, 159, 230, 240, 244-246, 290, 291, 329, 393-395
- spatulimantia* 156, 158; *spatulomancy* 162, 240
- specularios* 156, 157
- spheres, divining spheres 376, 377, 394, 397; *Sphere of Democritus* 377; *Sphere of Petosiris* 377, 400; *Sphere of Pythagoras* 157, 377
- spirits 13, 24, 41, 87, 92-94, 98, 155, 156, 162, 163, 164, 174, 175, 239, 344, 347, 352
- spontaneous generation *see* generation
- St. John's Day 247
- St. John's fires 301
- sudarium* 86-88, 95
- Summa confessorum* 236
- Sun 28, 49, 104, 123, 125, 129, 161, 196, 378, 382, 383
- Tabula Smaragdina* 71, 72
- theurgy 174, 175
- thunder prognostications 376, 377, 380, 381 ff.
- Timaeus* 177
- Tractatus de cometis* 116
- Tractatus de superstitionibus* 149
- Tractatus de superstitionis quibusdam casibus* 144
- Traictié de la cause de la diversité des estaz* 29, 31, 32, 104, 214
- Traictié contre la Vauderie* 152, 153, 172, 175, 176, 197, 198
- Traictié sur la sphère* 27
- transvections 14, 176, 183, 235, 248
- Treaty of Troyes 33
- Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* 382, 386
- trickery 73, 145, 156, 157, 163, 345, 393
- Trilogium astrologiae theologizatae* 142, 143, 175, 344
- triplicity 110, 241
- twins, twin argument 67, 106, 185, 186, 333
- university of Paris 29, 35, 37, 47, 48, 50, 66, 98, 114, 120, 130, 140-142, 232, 266, 343, 344, 346
- Urim 7
- Vauderie *see* *Traictié contre la Vauderie*, and Waldensians
- virgin boys as medium 352
- visio* 183
- Volkskalender* 379-382, 387
- vultivoli* 156, 157, 300; *envoûtement* 354
- wax 78, 79, 81, 84, 145, 156, 240, 298, 299, 315, 347, 352, 354
- wild men 90-93
- witch-craze 10, 14, 25, 89, 166, 173, 200, 203, 248, 293
- witchcraft, witches 14, 17, 19, 20, 25, 59, 64, 69, 72, 77, 78, 80, 89, 93, 149, 152, 153, 166, 173, 183, 235, 247, 345, 346, 350, 368; witchcraft no objective existence 25; witch of Endor 7, 201, 239, 276
- Zodiac 4, 104, 110, 111, 127, 174, 373-392